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METHODIST REVIEW

(BIMONTHLY)

VOLUME LXXXVII.—FIFTH SERIES, VOLUME XXI

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, LL.D., EDITOR

NEW YORK: EATON & MAINS
CINCINNATI: JENNINGS & GRAHAM

N 706330

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JENNINGS & GRAHAM, Cincinnati, O.

METHODIST REVIEW

JANUARY, 1905

Art. I.—THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ITALY AND SWITZERLAND—A CONTRAST

When we left Lucerne, about the first of November, everything was cold and gloomy, the hotels were empty, the Lion of Thorwaldsen and the Glacier Garden were deserted; across the lake came a chilling blast that drove everyone indoors or caused the passers-by to hurry along, crouching and shivering, in a vain attempt to keep warm. A few days later, when we issued from the railroad station at Rome and took the cab for our lodgings on the Via Boncompagni, the sun was shining brightly, the sky was blue, and a soft, springlike breeze whispered among the stone oaks and cypresses which rose picturesquely over the villa walls. Seven months later we left the hot, dusty cities of Italy and after passing through the long tunnel of Saint Gothard came out once more among the mountains and valleys of Switzerland—this time clothed with all the charm of spring, fresh and beautiful in the velvet of its green upland meadows, the murmur of its clear-flowing streams, and the keen air blowing down from the high mountains

> "Where the white mists forever
> Are spread and upfurled
> In the stir of the forces
> Whence issued the world."

Many a time as I sat on the porch of our little chalet, high up on a cliff above Meiringen, and looked out over the valley beneath to the summits of the Weishorn and Eiger, has the thought of Italy come back to me—warm and sweet in winter, hot and enervating in summer—and involuntarily the words of Tennyson came to my mind:

> "Dark and true and tender is the north,
> And bright and false and fickle is the south."

For these lines can apply to the climate as well as to the people of the north and south, whom the poet had in mind when he wrote them, and it may not be overfanciful to look on the contrast between the climatic conditions of Italy and Switzerland as typical of the difference in character of the peoples inhabiting them, the one quick-witted, artistic, yet passionate and changeable, the other rude and simple, yet honest and true.

The first thing I did at Rome was to visit in turn and as thoroughly as possible all those wonderful monuments which make the city so full of invincible charm to every intelligent traveler, but when the first keen edge of sight-seeing had worn off I began to be aware of the world beneath the surface of the show places, and one of surpassing interest to the student of history and society. For here in Rome is being fought out, perhaps to the bitter end, the old contest between conservatism and progress in the field of religious life. Here in the Vatican mediævalism is shut up, and the Roman pontiff can look out of his window across the Tiber to the Quirinal, which symbolizes the end of the temporal power of the church; to the university, where freethinking and even atheism are publicly avowed, and to the handsome Methodist building on the Via Venti Settembre which personifies the fact that religious tolerance has found a refuge even in the very citadel of Roman Catholicism. But in studying the religious life of Italy the first thing that strikes us is its objectivity. Not in the quiet seclusion of his own chamber, in the reading of Scripture, communion with God, and in prayer does the Italian give expression to his religious instincts, but in outward form and ceremony. The gorgeous churches, encrusted with precious marbles, gold, and silver; the multitude of blazing candles, the chant of the red- and white- and purple-robed priests, the incense and the swinging censers all produce a wonderful spectacular effect. It is difficult to describe the charm of all this, especially when the great miracle of the mass is about to be consummated, and when

> "the organ sounds and unseen choirs
> Sing the old Latin hymns of peace and love
> And benedictions of the Holy Ghost."

This objectivity finds especial illustration in the worship of sacred

pictures, statues, and relics. One day I went to the Church of Saint Agostino, where a statue of the Madonna and Child is worshiped with a peculiar reverence. The figures are beautiful, but so covered with rich garments, jewelry, and precious stones that it is hard to see clearly the features. The walls are covered with votive offerings, for the most part consisting of silver hearts or legs or arms, presented by those who had been healed of sickness by the Madonna. In some cases rude pictures were hung up representing, for instance, a shipwreck, or a man falling from a window, or a deathbed scene, with the Virgin Mary appearing and saving from destruction those who were in peril of death. All the offerings were marked with the letters P. G. R. ("for grace received"). Before the altar, lighted with never extinguished candles, a constant stream of worshipers kneeled and prayed to the miraculous image, then rose and reverently kissing its foot departed. Similar scenes are to be found in almost every church in Rome. The worship of relics, one of the strangest features of mediæval history, can be seen in all its primitive superstition in the Rome of to-day. No church but has its sacred relic—bone, or garment, or something else that once belonged to saint or martyr. Everybody knows of the lance of Longinus at Saint Peter's and also the Veronica, the image of the Saviour imprinted on a cloth given him by a woman to wipe away the perspiration from his face, on his way to Calvary, but the strangest of all may be seen at Santa Croce del Gerusalemme, one of the seven pilgrimage churches at Rome. The official list of these relics includes "the finger of Saint Thomas, apostle, with which he touched the most holy side of our Lord Jesus Christ; one of the pieces of money with which the Jews paid the treachery of Judas; great part of the veil and of the hair of the most blessed Virgin; a mass of cinders and charcoal united in the form of a loaf with the fat of Saint Laurence, martyr; one bottle of the most precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; another of the milk of the most blessed Virgin; a little piece of the stone where Christ was born; a little piece of the stone where our Lord sat when he pardoned Mary Magdalene; of the stone where our Lord wrote the Law given to Moses on Mount Sinai; of the stone where reposed Saints Peter and

Paul; of the cotton which collected the blood of Christ; of the manna which fed the Israelites; of the rod of Aaron which flourished in the desert, of the relics of the eleven prophets." It must be confessed that to the ordinary observer religion in Italy seems to have but little influence on the heart and soul of the people. What they do is apparently perfunctory. Watch the crowds as they murmur the Litany and see how little real expression of true feeling there is. Nay, watch the officiating clergymen themselves. In the Church of Saint Eusebius a bishop was celebrating mass on the feast of Saint Anthony. Before touching the sacred vessels which held the blood of Christ he washed his hands in a silver basin and wiped them on a clean towel. Then he reached his hand under his cassock, took out his handkerchief, and after blowing his nose, deliberately spat on the highest step of the altar so sacred that he alone, as bishop, was allowed to stand on it. Perhaps the two most popular churches in Rome are the Gesù and San Carlo al Corso. In the former Padre Passavich, a Venetian friar, preached every day at eleven o'clock during the whole of Lent. His sermons were not like those with which we are so familiar in Protestant countries, discussions of the life and teachings of Christ with a direct application to the individual souls. I confess I was not attracted to Padre Passavich. He seemed to me insincere and casuistic. One day I went to the Gesù by way of the Capitol and stopped for a moment to look at the wolf that paced restlessly back and forth in his cave on the side of the Capitol steps. As I leaned over the balustrade two soldiers came by and looked into the cave. One asked the other, "E volpe?" ("Is it a fox?") and the other replied, "No, è lupo" ("No, it is a wolf"). A few minutes afterward as I stood in the crowded church and saw Padre Passavich moving back and forth in his narrow pulpit and heard his smooth plausible tones stealthily attacking the government and arraigning with bitterness all modern civilization, involuntarily the words came up in my mind, "E volpe o è lupo?" Father Crisostomo at San Carlo was the most popular preacher I heard. He impressed one as sincere. He had a powerful and yet pleasant voice, his language was choice, and the musical periods of the Italian flowed from his lips in an uninterrupted stream of eloquence.

Yet the range of his ideas seemed narrow. His subjects were largely the same preached by all Catholic preachers—faith, love, repentance, observance of Sunday, the sacraments of the church, etc. It seemed as if the ideas were furnished beforehand and that the individual could only vary the method of presenting them. In sermons by different preachers the general scheme was always the same. One on keeping the Sabbath by Padre Crisostomo in Rome was almost exactly the same as that preached by Padre Bonfiglio in Venice. Padre Crisostomo, however, seemed not to have the stuff of the martyr in him, to judge by an incident which occurred during my stay in Rome. The year before a famous preacher who had cast reflections on the king had been hooted from his pulpit by a crowd of students. Padre Crisostomo in this instance made an attack on modern society and some one in the crowd cried out, "Viva il socialismo." Instantly the priest stopped, looked around for a moment, then hurriedly left his pulpit and went to the sacristy escorted by a burly guardsman. Many of the sermons deal with the present status of the papacy, and are full of bitter complaints of the loss of the temporal power, but in them, as in the methods of worship, stress was chiefly laid on outer observances, little on the training of character. The bitter and unyielding struggle between the upholders of the temporal power and the patriotic party is probably responsible for the fact that a large proportion of the Italian people to-day are without any religion. I heard the well known criminologist, Ferri, publicly declare at the University that he was an atheist. His talk on this occasion was an interesting one. He had been lecturing on the delinquent classes, endeavoring to prove his theory that the true criminals were degenerates, representing a trend toward their animal ancestors. After touching on the physical characteristics he discussed the psychology of the degenerate criminals, among other things their religion. This he declared had little or no influence on their lives, and that murderers and robbers, pious in all the outward observances of religion, often were known to pray to the Virgin Mary for success in some particular enterprise. In this connection Ferri spoke of the Protestants, and declared that with their simple meetinghouses

and lack of ceremony they would never succeed in proselyting the Italians, who by nature as well as by custom were attracted only by the brilliant spectacle afforded by the Catholic service, with its magnificent cathedrals, its gorgeous decorations, its lights and music. Ferri was led to make the statement because more and more every year the efforts of Protestant missions are attracting the attention of the Italians themselves. Curiously enough, the Methodists have become perhaps the best known, and to-day the Pope himself is greatly troubled by the outward evidences of their activity. It is interesting to read what the clerical papers say about these missions. Such papers as the Voce della Verita constantly allude to them as the "mercanti di anime [buyers of souls] di Via Firenze." On the occasion of the Duke of Norfolk's visit to Rome a few years ago the Pope in one sentence praised Queen Victoria for her spirit of tolerance, which allowed so much freedom to Catholics in England, and then in the very next paragraph deplored the tolerance under the new government of Italy which allowed Protestant propagandism to go on in Rome itself.

From Italy to Switzerland—how short the distance yet how great the contrast. On the one hand an almost tropical country, flowing with oil and wine, with an ever-blue sky and springtime lasting nearly all the year, on the other hand the temperate zone, where the winter is cold and rigorous and where even the summer is tempered by the snow and ice which lie eternal on the mountain tops. What a difference likewise in the people. On the one hand the haggard, emaciated, fever-stricken peasant on the desolate campagna, on the other the healthy, sturdy, independent, and often well-to-do owners of comfortable farms. What is the cause? Is it race, or religion, or climate? Who can tell? At any rate the difference exists, and is as striking to the traveler as is the contrast between the winter-cold of Lucerne and the sunny fields of Italy on the other side of the mountains.

There is no country on the continent of Europe so like our own, in history and customs, as Switzerland. The people as you meet them seem more like Americans in their ways of thinking and in general character than do the French, Italians, or even Germans. Many interesting parallels might be traced between

their political development and our own, even down to their civil war—the Sonderbund—when a part of the cantons tried to found a separate confederacy. And this resemblance is seen especially in their religious life. As a contrast to the services in the churches of Italy I will here briefly describe a typical church scene in Switzerland. The observance of Sunday as I saw it in Zurich, while far more complete than in most American cities, irresistibly reminded us of home. Every store was tightly closed and the people hurried to the services in streams in the morning. The Grosse Münster, the scene of Zwingli's sermons, was crowded, among others being a solid mass of soldiers in uniform. Custom devotes the seats in the center of the churches to the women while the men sit in the pews along the side. These seats are usually raised when not used. The men stand during all the preliminary service, prayer and hymn, and only sit down when the preacher begins his sermon. Then a loud banging is heard all over the church as the seats are lowered. The interiors of the Swiss churches are extremely bare. This poverty of ornament gives a cold appearance to the great stone pillars and walls of such churches as the Grosse Münster in Zurich and the cathedrals of Bern and Lausanne. Once they were adorned with frescoes, altars, and tombs, but Calvinism was radical. During the first zeal of the Reformation even the organs were removed and no music was allowed. Probably no Protestant denomination has a service so simple as the Reformed Church of Switzerland. It is all over in less than an hour. First two stanzas of a hymn are sung, then comes a short prayer, then the reading of the text, the sermon, two more stanzas of the hymn already sung, the benediction is pronounced, and all is over. The collection is taken by men at the door or the offering is put into boxes there. The sermons are simple, practical, and are listened to with devout attention by the congregation. The faces, both of men and women, are not handsome, perhaps, or refined, but they bear witness of sterling qualities of character, sober living, honesty, sincerity, and moral strength. Although the Reformed Church is the state religion of Zurich, Bern, Basel, and other cantons, great freedom of worship is allowed. The four original cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Lucerne,

Unterwalden, are still Catholic, and it will be remembered that it was the religious questions between Protestant and Catholic which brought on the war of the Sonderbund some fifty years ago. In addition to these two great confessions there are many other denominations and sects for the growth of which Switzerland has ever been a fertile soil. Hence we are not surprised to find Methodism and the Salvation Army flourishing here. The former has several prosperous churches in Zurich. On communion Sunday service at the largest Methodist church at least three hundred people went up to the altar. On the afternoon of that same Sunday there was special interest at a large gathering of the Salvation Army in the fact that General Booth was present. Around the building —a bicycle rink—there were many idlers and sight-seers while here and there were little booths where refreshments were sold. Strangely enough for revival services, an entrance fee of ten cents was charged in addition to the usual collection and to the vending of copies of the War Cry and hymn books. For revival service it was. There was a large crowd, hundreds of men and women being in the uniform of the army. General Booth preached in English and a man interpreted his sermon, sentence by sentence, into German. It was the most skillful thing of the kind I ever saw, and very effective. General Booth was evidently very much in earnest; he shook his long gray beard over the desk at the people who seemed deeply moved by his eloquence even though uttered in a foreign tongue. In Bern I had the opportunity of seeing another side of Swiss "Sektenwesen." At the *pension* were two English ladies with whom we became very well acquainted. They were Irvingites, and to my surprise told me there was a church of this denomination in Bern. I went with them one Sunday and was much interested in the services. Most of those present were of the lower classes, but there was also a Baron and a member of the von Mülinen family, one of the oldest families in Bern. The white-robed angels and prophets produced a picturesque effect. One old peasant who sat on the same seat with me began to tremble as the spirit of prophecy came upon him, and in a strange, strident voice he called out from time to time, "Sie werden zum verderben" ("They will all be destroyed").

Perhaps it is not generally known that Switzerland furnished to the American colonies a body of early settlers not inferior to the Puritans in sterling character and in stern, unbending purpose to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. Up to the year 1710, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was an unbroken wilderness inhabited only by Indians. The first permanent settlements were made by the Swiss Mennonites, or Quakers, as they were sometimes called, who under the leadership of John Herr and Martin Kendig settled on the banks of the Pequea Creek, near the present city of Lancaster. The land was soon brought under cultivation, and so skillfully was farming carried on that to-day Lancaster County is the richest agricultural county in the United States. Martin Boehm, father of Henry Boehm, Bishop Asbury's traveling companion, belonged to these Swiss Mennonites who came chiefly from the cantons of Zurich and Bern. The story of their trials, persecutions, and final departure for Pennsylvania, is told in a volume by Pastor Müller, of Langnau, about two hours' ride on the railroad from Bern, and I gladly accepted the invitation of Pastor Müller to spend a day with him in Langnau, which is a large and flourishing village in the Emmenthal, one of the most fertile valleys in Switzerland. The great barns, the picturesque chalets, the broad fields and meadows told of the prosperity of the people. There are many Methodists here, and—what interested me still more—a continuation of that Mennonite community to which I have referred. To-day the same principles and customs prevail among the Mennonites in the Emmenthal and in Pennsylvania: the same refusal to take oath or to go to war, the same simplicity in dress and worship, the same effort to live free from worldly ambition and in strict accordance with the teaching of the fifth chapter of Matthew. As I sat in a bright, sunny room of the town hall, looking over the old records, imagination made real that time—1709—when several hundred families left the Emmenthal, made their way to Bern, there embarked on boats, sailed down the Aar to the Rhine, down this to Rotterdam, and thence over the ocean to Philadelphia.

One of the most primitive villages in Switzerland is Reuti, high up on a cliff above Meiringen, with a view of the Hasli valley

as far as the Grimsel, of Lake Brienz, the Reichenbach Falls, and the mountains of the Bernese Oberland. Our landlady in the beautiful, picturesque little chalet came from Wädenswyl, on Lake Zurich, where she had been a Methodist. Her husband belongs to an old Hasli valley family and is a member of the Reformed Church. The village of Reuti, however, is too small to support a separate church organization, and so on Sunday the people, dressed in their best, walked for an hour or more down the steep, zigzag road to attend church at Meiringen. One Sunday afternoon some half dozen members of the Salvation Army came toiling up the hill and, standing at the crossroads, sang, prayed, and exhorted, while the people, attracted by the sounds, came across fields from all directions. In our chalet all things spoke of the religious feelings of the people. On the walls were mottoes or communion certificates framed. The few books were all of a religious nature, and on Sunday afternoons we sang Moody and Sankey hymns in a German translation. One scene that occurred at Reuti is indelibly fixed in my memory. At the house where we were stopping was a minister from a small town in the canton of Bern. One Sunday morning he conducted services on the little plateau behind our chalet beneath the spreading branches of a tree. As we sat there on that beautiful day in early July, and sang the old German chorals, we could see far below us the Hasli valley, with the Aar running through it like a silver thread, till it was lost in the blue waters of Lake Brienz; on the opposite side of the valley, were the Reichenbach Falls and the Scheideck Pass, over which we could see the snow-covered summits of the Weishorn, the Wetterhorn, and the Eiger. The air was fragrant with the odor of grass and flowers and musical with the song of the birds, and the murmur of running water. The sermon was simple, yet appropriate. Many a time as I think of that Sunday morning do the words of Pastor Lenz's text come back to me with new meaning: "Ich hebe meine Augen zu den Bergen wovon mir die Hilfe kommt" ("I will lift up mine eyes to the hills, whence cometh my help"). Perhaps the most striking evidence of genuine religious character that I met in Switzerland was on a farm in the canton de Vaud, not far from Lausanne. This farm contained about fifty acres of rolling land,

hill and valley, meadows, and fields of grain, interspersed with beautiful groves of trees. It was situated high upon the hill called Le Mont, and one could see in clear days the Salève behind Geneva at one end of the lake, and at the other the Rhone valley with the snowy Combin in the distance. Across the blue waters which lay at our feet was Meillerie, rendered so famous by Rousseau, over one shoulder of which peeped Mont Blanc. This was the view we had when we took our meals, as we often did, outside under a large linden tree where we "ate and drank and saw God also." The farm at Penau is owned by the widow of a Bernese peasant, but she herself is of old French Vaudois stock. She is perhaps between fifty and sixty years old, tall, straight, with a look of dignity, refinement, strength, and command in all her bearing. Nor do her looks belie her. This woman, who works from 4 A. M. till 10 P. M. nearly every day, has yet found time for reading many good books. She was the personal friend of the late Urban Olivier, whose stories of Swiss peasant life have made him deservedly beloved and popular. In the general sitting room of the old white farmhouse, built in typical Vaudois style, the ornaments are largely of a religious nature. Mottoes such as "Moi et ma maison, nous servirons l' Eternel," hang upon the wall. The books are all either of an agricultural or religious nature. In these days when American goods seem to be overflowing Europe it may be of interest to note that even American religious books are very popular in Switzerland. Here in our own farmhouse we found translations of Sheldon's In His Steps, and of the Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss. Our landlady has two grown sons, both of whom work on the farm, although one is a lieutenant in the army and the other is president of the cantonal Young Men's Christian Association. Both are married and live at home. A more harmonious family I never saw. All the farming operations go on without a hitch, and everyone deeply enjoys the life of labor, hard as it is. No more idyllic picture have I ever seen than when late on a spring evening, as the sun was setting, we all went out to the fields, children as well as men and women, to rake hay. The rays of the setting sun flushed with rosy light the fields, the hills, the valleys, the broad surface of the lake, and the distant snow-peaks of the

Grand Combin. When the work was done the wagon started on its way to the great barn, the young men walking beside it whistling, while the old lady and her daughters-in-law moved homeward with their rakes thrown across their shoulders. Involuntarily the words of Horace came to my mind:

> "Happy the man in busy schemes unskilled,
> Who living simply, like our sires of old,
> Tills the few acres which his father tilled
> Vexed by no thoughts of usury or gold."

On Sunday, however, a great change took place. The great yard had been swept the night before. Not a stroke of work was done the whole day. Men and women, dressed in their Sunday clothes, when not at the little rustic church—a half a mile away—sat restfully beneath the great chestnut trees or gathered about the melodion singing religious songs. One Sunday evening we all gathered in the sitting room and listened to a simple sermon by a Waldensian pastor who was here convalescing from a severe sickness. He came from the far-away valleys of northern Italy, which the Waldensians for many centuries have made famous by their heroism and their sturdy persistence in worshiping God according to their own conscience. This night Pastor Micol told us, as we sat in the dimly lighted room, about that "Glorious Return," which is the classic story of the Waldensians. How their ancestors had been driven out of their native valleys by terrible persecution and forced to flee into Switzerland. How in 1689 some hundreds of them left the shores of Lake Geneva, at Nyon, where a monument commemorating the event still stands, and made their way over almost impassable mountains covered with snow, till, reaching their native valleys, this handful of God-fearing men conquered some sixteen thousand French soldiers sent against them by Louis XIV and thus regained their ancestral homes, where they have remained to this day.

One fact kept growing on me constantly while in Italy and Switzerland, and that is, that Protestantism makes for character, for progress, and for civilization. Italy is to-day in a state of poverty, political corruption and crime that is in sad contrast with the high hopes of the founders of United Italy. It is at times

hard to see what will become of it, if things go on as they are now. Undoubtedly, if the country could be suddenly and completely colonized by English, Americans, Swiss, or Germans, an enormous change would take place at once. Agriculture would flourish, malaria would be banished, commerce set in motion. Can the Italians themselves be metamorphosed thus? Can the Gothic and Lombard elements of the north, the old Latin and Etruscan element of middle Italy, the Greek and Saracenic blood of the south, be amalgamated into a homogeneous people fit to compete with the other nations of Europe? Or is it that the race that once conquered the world has spent its force, and that Italy must forever be the scene of ruin, beautiful and gorgeous, but with the iridescent beauty of decay? No one can tell, but none who bear in mind what this country has done for the world, how modern law, religion, scholarship, civilization, art, have come from Italy, can think of such a possibility without a feeling of sadness.

L. Oscar Kuhns.

Art. II.—LITERATURE AND ETHICS

In this caption the word "ethics" is not used in any technical sense, referring to what is known or studied as the formal subject of moral philosophy, but rather in the more current and the wider sense of morality, as designating that which is true and pure and in accordance with the established principles of right and goodness. Perhaps the adjectives, the literary and the ethical, would more nearly convey our meaning. Judging from the attention which this topic has received from the very beginnings of modern literature, and the increasing attention given it in the last two decades of European and English history, it is well worth the while of every student of letters and of morals to acquaint himself with the history of opinion thereupon, and to examine for himself the grounds of such opinion so as to be able to give a good reason for his personal views respecting it. So extreme are the positions taken by different critics that it would seem well-nigh impossible to secure any common ground on which conflicting interests might meet.

Such an author as Selkirk, in his admirable discussion of The Ethics and Æsthetics of Modern Poetry, speaks of the "correlation of the religious and the poetical instincts;" as if, indeed, the one were the necessary complement of the other. "I only demand of the poet," writes Vinet, "that he be true and do not interest himself in vice," the supposition being that it would require an actual effort of the will for an author to be other than moral in his writings, and he adds, "When thought is nothing more than the slave of matter there is nothing literary." So that concise statement of Bacon's, that "poetry has a participation of divineness," brings into exercise what Wordsworth, with the same idea in view, has called "the vision and the faculty divine." Nor is such opinion confined to the sphere of poetry; it finds its expression applicable as well to prose, where the author, according to Mr. Arnold, must deal with "the best that is known and thought," and must be possessed of that "sense of conduct" which, in its place, is fully as important in letters as the "sense of beauty." Even so free an

author as Chateaubriand asserts that "unbelief is the chief cause of the decline of taste and genius," arguing, *per contra*, that in an age of positive and sound convictions literature might be expected to flourish. It needs but a casual glance at the pages of literary history in Europe to find the confirmation of this statement. It was so especially in Roman letters when the empire was socially and civilly corrupt; so in Arabia and the East under the blighting influence of Mohammedanism; so in France in the days of the Encyclopedists and freethinkers; and so in England in the middle of the seventeenth century under the degrading influence of the second Charles. When the church has been untrue to her trusts, and a false theology has begotten a false theory of life and conduct, contemporary and subsequent literature has always revealed the presence of the decline. So has a false philosophy begotten a correspondent type of authorship, while in its morality and immorality the history of European art can be said to mark the history of European letters. Archbishop Trench raises at this point the practical question whether what is known as The Renaissance, referring to the revival of art at the time of Francis the First, can in justice be called a renaissance, or new life, in that the art which was revived was pagan, and not Christian, and thus calculated to lower rather than elevate the tone of life and letters. If it be asked, What is meant precisely by the ethical in literature as a principle or method? it may be answered, The indissoluble union of literature with truth and faith, with the highest and best interests and instincts of man, correlating it with all those departments of thought and forms of personal human activity which have to do with the raising of men to a higher level of life and outlook. It is a study in literature, and by it, of character and motive; of those great influences, individual and general, which tend to regenerate and uplift. When Possnett speaks of literature as "a spiritual reality" he states this truth in most emphatic form. A phrase used by some critics of prose fiction, "the novel of purpose," has special reference to the same generic idea. Most of the references in literary criticism to the inner spirit of literature and to its controlling tone and tendencies magnify this principle. When a modern writer in referring to Arthur Hugh Clough speaks of his

"conscientious skepticism" he is discovering the ethical side of his verse, as he must do who speaks of that "honest doubt" to which the late English laureate refers in the pages of his "Elegy." When we are told that authors as a class "aim at a purely artistic effect" the lesson to be learned is that this is not enough to constitute true authorship, an essential element—the ethical—being omitted.

One of the best evidences of the normal relationship of the literary and the ethical is found in the fact that literature has always given it a commanding place despite all desire that might have existed to evade it. In the department of history such authors as Clarendon and Hallam, Mahon and Lingard, Palgrave, Knight, Stanley and Turner have recognized it, while even on the side of skeptical authorship the ethical has played a most important part in the pages of Hume and Gibbon, Buckle and Taine, John Morley and John Stuart Mill. Biography, as the history of personal character and action, must, in the nature of the case, be of this cast. The large circle of philosophic or didactic authors have necessarily dealt with this element, as Paley and Bentley and Boyle and Warburton and Locke and Cudworth, Hobbes and Butler, Maurice, Coleridge and Emerson, while most of the miscellaneous prose of England has evinced it, as in the pages of the great British and American essayists—Landor, Forster, Arnold, Newman, Addison and Burke and Lowell. In poetry, as the expression of human life and feeling, we naturally seek it, whether in the profound study of character, as in the Shakespearean drama; in the stately and serious course of the Miltonic epics; in the reflective verse of Wordsworth; or in such a philosophic elegy as "In Memoriam." When Milton speaks of poetry as "passionate" it is but saying that it treats of human character. It is certainly a striking fact that in the development of modern prose fiction, where we would, perhaps, least expect to find the province of moral teaching, this tendency is more and more conspicuous.

If, as Lanier insists, the prime object of the English novel is to detect and reveal human personality, what is this but saying that the prime object is a moral one? Hence it is that such a novelist as George Eliot, whom he selects as the representative of this

theory, is scarcely more or less than a moralist in fiction. Such examples as Daniel Deronda, Adam Bede, Middlemarch, and Romola we call philosophical; and so they are, but especially on the side of conduct and character. The very word "characterization" applied either to the drama or the novel is significant, as expressive of the dominance of character in these types of literature, the dominance of soul and purpose and motive. A great play, such as Othello, or a great novel, such as The Scarlet Letter, might fittingly be called a study of conscience, a study in ethical philosophy, only that the imagination is more distinctly prominent than in other forms of literature. Russian fiction in the person of Tolstoi represents the same tendency. So pronounced is this drift that much abstruse theological discussion is now contained in the pages of what is called fiction, as in Mrs. Ward's Robert Elsmere and her later works, David Grieve and Helbeck of Bannisdale; in Mrs. Deland's John Ward, Preacher, and in Celia Parker Wooley's Rachel Armstrong (Love and Theology). Charles Reade, in his Never Too Late to Mend, is a moral teacher, as is Charles Kingsley in all his attempts to lead the way in social reform.

In Mr. Stedman's latest discussion of poetry, under the title The Nature and Elements of Poetry, four out of the eight chapters are on the distinctly ethical side of verse, namely, Poetry and Truth, Poetry and Faith, Melancholia, and The Faculty Divine, while even in the other four it enters as an important factor. An explanation of this is not far to find, since the ultimate object of the author is the ultimate object of the philosopher and moralist—the obtaining of the truth, the realization of ideals and, more profoundly still, the solution of the great problems of human character and destiny. Nowhere else as at this point do the highest literature and the highest ethics meet, so that when the author sits down to pen a poem or an essay he has in hand—only by another method—the purpose of the moral scientist in studying the fundamental truths of God and man and the visible world. One of the most characteristic expressions of this common purpose is seen in the attraction that literary work has always possessed for the clergy, in the union of the Divinities and the Humanities;

the seeking and finding and teaching of truth being prominent in each, the sacred and the secular. Stopford Brooke has called the attention of scholars to "The Theology of the English Poets" as it is seen in Pope, Cowper, Burns, and Wordsworth. Such a theological tendency on the part of authors has been fully reciprocated in the literary tendency of the clergy and theologians. Meeting one another in the spirit of brotherhood, theology and literature have alike been the gainers and done a more beneficial work.

In treating of this relation of literature to ethics a caution is in place, lest at any time the literary become too subordinate and the author take the place of the mere moralist. "A certain kind of preachment," writes Stedman, "antipathetic to the spirit of poesy has received the name of didactism. Instinct tells us that it is a heresy in any form of art. An obtrusive moral in poetic form is a fraud on its face and outlawed of art. Pedagogic formulæ of truth do not convey its essence." What the American critic here applies to poetry is applicable to literature in general, and it is safe to say that just as all art is to be concealed art, so as to have the freshness and force of nature, so all didacticism or ethical teaching in literature is to be so concealed as to have the reader feel that the author is not so intent upon pointing a moral as upon expressing his thought and feeling and taste. Often the best way of doing good is by seeming not to be too intent upon doing it, and more is accomplished by indirectness than by directness. The history of literature affords suggestive examples of this undue conspicuousness of the ethical intent on the part of authors. In southern Europe, and in France more particularly, it took the form of Pietism, or Mysticism, carried to such an extreme as to repel those minds honestly intent upon seeking the truth, and to offend the taste of those who, when they came to literature for literary purposes, were more than displeased to find themselves inside a conventicle where they were obliged to sit in silence and listen to the homily. In the British Isles, especially at the middle of the seventeenth century, it expressed itself at times extremely in the form of Puritanism, when Baxter and Bunyan and George Herbert and Jeremy Taylor and Fuller and Sir Thomas Browne

set the form of authorship in the line of the homiletic and didactic. Even John Milton wrote his prose pamphlets mainly in this ultra ethical spirit. One of the special reasons why Izaak Walton's Complete Angler holds such a high place in literary miscellany is that it was absolutely free from professional ethics, expressing in a genial, natural and readable manner what he had to say on the art of angling. The correct and over-careful school of the time of Queen Anne has not escaped censure in this particular, as carrying poetry to the extreme of professionalism and making prose too prosaic and proper. Students of English criticism are familiar with the stinging comments made by Taine upon the moralizing in which Addison indulges in the pages of The Spectator. It is clear that the Engli h essayist lost his influence with his French critic by trying too laboriously to reach his conscience and correct his morals. Here, again, Daniel Defoe, in his Robinson Crusoe, relieved this moralistic monotony very much as Izaak Walton relieved it in the days of the Commonwealth. Later on, in the Georgian era, we have what has been called the prolonged and pious descriptions of Thomson's Seasons, the somewhat forced and overdrawn teachings of Richardson's Pamela and Clarissa Harlowe, Thomson's Castle of Indolence, Johnson's Vanity of Human Wishes, and the prosaic morality of Edward Young's Night Thoughts. When Voltaire was asked what estimate he placed upon these he sharply answered, in the line of what we are emphasizing, "Very good for night thoughts." The extreme literary libertinism of such authors as Savage and Smollett and Sterne and Bolingbroke is partially a reaction from the stilted and conventional ethics of the time, and readers preferred, if they must choose, Roderick Random and Tristram Shandy to Shenstone's Schoolmistress or Akenside's prosaic poem on the Imagination. Equally severe have been the strictures at this point upon the poetry of Wordsworth, who is represented by his critics as literary for a purpose—to reform the English morals of his day. Hannah More may have been an able and estimable woman and authoress, but the average Englishman and the average man is too worldly, it is urged, to enjoy his literature prepared and dispensed just as she insisted on giving it. Cowper and Blair, Campbell and Maria

Edgeworth and Jane Austen and Martin Tupper came, to an extent, under the same condemnation, while by way of literary and mental relief the Englishmen of that day betook themselves to the natural and sprightly pages of Goldsmith and Sidney Smith; of Sheridan and Burns and Lamb and Scott, even at the risk of passing to the other extreme. The immense influence of Lord Byron in his day and later is partly attributable to this same opposition to the professionally ethical. Recent critics have not hesitated to question the method of so pronounced an educator and author as Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, in keeping his ethical intent so prominently before his pupils and readers as at length to reduce it to what Taine calls the commonplace, and awaken thereby a feeling of aversion. It is not altogether aside from truth to suggest that the opposite course assumed by his gifted son, Matthew Arnold, may have been in part occasioned by this indiscreet procedure. All this is necessary by way of caution, and in no sense militates against the theory that literature in its essential nature and purpose should conserve and express truth and purity, should be ethical in spirit and final result, it being the part of its best exponents to keep this side the line of the professional moralist and not to make a show of goodness in their character as authors.

A brief examination of literature as related to doubt and unbelief is in place. The reference here is to literature as denying that there is any essential or even formal connection between letters and morality. Any such element is ignored; with the inevitable result that such a type of literature is found at length to be an outspoken exponent of infidelity and skepticism. The denial of the ethical leads to the assertion of the unethical. Not that there is an inevitable tendency in the highest literary art to take on such form, which has sometimes been asserted both as to philosophy and letters, nor that the skeptical element or tendency is at all the dominant one in the ablest literature, but that in Continental and English literature there is enough of this to demand the careful examination of the student into its causes, the varied forms and periods of its manifestation, the results of it in literature itself and kindred spheres, and the best means by which it may be minimized or eliminated. As to its causes, apart from

the inherent human tendency to misinterpret or evade the truth, an unethical literature is generally the fruit of a skeptical philosophy or science, or due at times to those exceptional crises in national life and history when the very foundations of morality are shaken and all the worst elements of society come into prominence. Hume in philosophy, and Priestley in science, and Voltaire in French national life are sufficient proofs of this connection. As to forms and periods, they may be said to be as diversified as the forms of thought and the different eras of historical life. Literary skepticism has thus been expressed in the forms of stoicism, or gross materialism, or in sensualism, or in pantheism, while it often takes the type of negation and indifference. The results are evil, and only evil; not only within the province of literature itself, in the lowering of its tone and the impairing of its rightful influence, but in all related departments and spheres of thought, so that an unbelieving literature is at once the effect of antecedent conditions and the gauge and test of general national life. The remedy must needs be found in a new order of philosophy and science and in purified public opinion; in the prevalence of Christian as distinct from pagan or antichristian principles. The original and historical trend of English literature has been a sound and wholesome one, as initiated by Cædmon and Bede and Alfred and Wiclif, and the existing tendency in a counter direction is in despite of precedent and the best interests of the English race. Such gifted poets as Tennyson and Whittier evince the presence of this historical tendency, as Swinburne and Whitman belie it. One of the most decided and one of the saddest forms of literary doubt is found in the line of literary despondency, where faith has given way to unbelief and hope has given place to moroseness, or where, apart from any preexistent belief, the mind has been, from the first, under the control of error. The most significant recent example of this declension on the side of melancholia is found in the person and work of Arthur Hugh Clough. Such of his poems as Qua Cursum Ventus, Qui Laborat Orat, The Shadow, In Venice, The Stream of Life, Where Lies the Land, and, Say Not the Struggle Naught Availeth, clearly evince the truth of this statement. As he says in his Peretie Perchè:

"To spend uncounted years of pain,
Again, again, and yet again,
In working out in heart and brain
The problem of our being here;
To gather facts from far and near,
Upon the mind to hold them clear,
And, knowing more may yet appear,
Unto one's latest breath to fear
The premature result to draw—
Is this the object, end and law,
And purpose of our being here?"

Though Clough's skepticism was sincere, and partly constitutional, it was none the less harassing. It almost shipwrecked his sensitive soul. Out on a wide waste of waters, and anxious to make the right port, he tossed about aimlessly and verily died at sea. Goethe, in the pages of Wilhelm Meister, and Faust, and especially in The Sorrows of Werther, was the victim of the same mental and moral unrest, and never found that "More light" for which it is said that at the time of his death he longingly asked. So Byron, in his disappointment as to all things human and his desire "to quit the scene," as affording him no peace of spirit or satisfied ambition.

There is, then, a valid connection between literature and ethics and Christian faith. He who ignores it is unwise. Truth has its claims on every man and insists upon asserting them and demands their acknowledgment and satisfaction. The natural and the supernatural are so involved in each other in the present order of things that he essays no easy task who attempts to disjoin them and write and speak on the level of a purely worldly philosophy. The "mundane" school of literature and art has had its day and place and is still in being, but always under the protest of the deepest instincts and interests of men. The best literature must rest after all on what we now term "the primary human convictions," and must find its fullest and most natural expression in what the British poet Watson has called "the things that are more excellent."

J. W. Hunt

Art. III.—NOTES ON THE BOOK OF MORMON

The confidence with which men of all creeds have staked their lives and destinies on their beliefs, and the earnestness with which they have embraced their various faiths, ought to incline all honest men to at least a respectful consideration of any book which is regarded by a numerous people as the inspired word of God. Such a claim is made for the Book of Mormon, and as such it should be examined with impartiality, for Truth does not love to show herself where Prejudice rules. I have begun and continued this study in the same spirit in which I would pursue all studies, willing to receive the truth wherever and in whatever form it may be found. Six hundred pages before I read the book's request in its own behalf, I asked "God, the eternal Father, in the name of Christ, if these things" were true (Moroni 10. 4). The claim is made for this book that it is a translation of the records contained in a set of metallic plates divinely revealed to Joseph Smith and translated by him "by the gift of God through the means of the Urim and Thummim," which latter were two transparent stones set in a silver frame. The work is supposed to contain the records of the earliest inhabitants of the American continent. The families of Jared and his brother, on account of their righteousness, were spared the affliction of the confusion of tongues at the tower of Babel (Ether 1. 35). They traveled south and east till they reached the ocean, which they crossed in a vessel of strange construction (Ether 2. 16, ff.). In the new world their people became very numerous and reached a high degree of civilization, but were finally destroyed on account of their sinfulness (Ether 15. 15, ff.). In the first year of the reign of Zedekiah, Lehi with his family left Jerusalem. His wanderings brought him to the western coast of South America. This second colony had a history of varying prosperity and adversity, peace and strife, righteousness and wickedness for a period of one thousand years. After the death of Lehi dissensions arose among his people, and the more wicked part were made dark-skinned. These Lamanites, who were the ancestors of the North American Indians of modern

times, almost completely annihilated the more righteous people in a battle which took place in 384 A. D. in Ontario County, New York (Mormon 6. 4, ff.). About the year 400 A. D. Moroni, the last of the race of the Nephites, in obedience to the will of God, hid the sacred writings of his people in the large hill near the scene of their great battle, being assured that they would "be brought out of darkness unto light" (Mormon 8. 16). On the twenty-second of September, 1823, the plates were shown to Joseph Smith, but not until four years from that date was he permitted to take possession of them.

The work bears the name of Mormon because it was he who prepared the ancient records and delivered them to his son Moroni, who, after making some additions, deposited the plates in their secret place. The Book of Mormon is a little over one third as large as the English Bible. It is divided into fifteen books. These are divided into chapters and verses. The books differ greatly in length. Alma has sixty-three chapters, and comprises nearly one third of the entire volume. The books of Enos, Jarom, Omni, 4 Nephi, and the Words of Mormon contain but one chapter each. The chapters also are very unequal in length. Jacob 5 contains seventy-seven verses, and 4 Nephi 1, forty-nine, while 3 Nephi 30 and Moroni 5 have only two each. Many verses are of ordinary length. Others are extremely long. Alma 60. 16 contains one hundred and thirty-six words. Jacob 6. 75 has only three less. The following will illustrate the division into verses:

13. And it came to pass that he did according as the Lord had commanded him. And they departed out of the land into the wilderness, as many as would hearken unto the voice of the Lord; and they were led by many preachings and prophesyings. And they were admonished continually by the word of God; and they were led by the power of his arm, through the wilderness, until they came down into the land which is called the land of Zarahemla. (Omni 1. 13.)

11. And they were handed down from king Benjamin, from generation to generation, until they have fallen into my hands. And I, Mormon, pray to God that they may be preserved, from this time henceforth. And I know that they will be preserved; for there are great things written upon them, out of which my people and their brethren shall be judged at the great and last day, according to the word of God which is written. (Words of Mormon 1. 11.)

15. And the brother of Jared repented of the evil which he had done, and did call upon the name of the Lord for his brethren who were with him. And the Lord said unto him, I will forgive thee and thy brethren of their sins; but

thou shalt not sin any more, for ye shall remember that my Spirit will not always strive with man; wherefore, if ye will sin until ye are fully ripe, ye shall be cut off from the presence of the Lord. And these are my thoughts upon the land which I shall give you for your inheritance; for it shall be a land choice above all other lands. (Ether 2. 15.)

11. O my beloved son, how can a people like this, that are without civilization;

12. (And only a few years have passed away, and they were a civil and a delightsome people;)

13. But O my son, how can a people like this, whose delight is in so much abomination,

14. How can we expect that God will stay his hand in judgment against us? (Moroni 9. 11-14.)

It is not perfectly clear why each of the first three passages should be counted as one verse and the last should be divided into four. Literature is not to be measured in inches, and such facts as these concerning the division of the work into chapters and verses would have no significance whatever, provided there appear to be any natural reason for the divisions being made as they are. When chapters are cut into verses without consideration of the natural requirements of the sense, we are compelled to believe that the work has been done according to some artificial plan. However truthful it may be in its teaching, the Book of Mormon is certainly artificial in its minor subdivisions. The remarkable thing about this fault is that it so closely resembles a similar one in the King James version. Unwarranted as are the subdivisions adopted in our Bible, there is no great difference between them and those of the Book of Mormon. The compiler of the records himself wrote: "And whoso receiveth this record, and shall not condemn it because of the imperfections which are in it, the same shall know of greater things than these" (Mormon 8. 12); "And if there be faults, they be the faults of a man. But behold, we know no fault" (Mormon 8. 17). If inerrancy was not claimed for the original plates, it may be taken for granted that the English translation was not verbally inspired, yet one would not expect to find so many manifest mistakes as appear in the work. It is a shock to one reading a book that purports to be the message of God's truth to find the following: "they done all these things" (Ether 9. 29); "our first parents could have went forth" (Alma 12.

26); "I should have wore these bands" (Mosiah 7. 13); "he has fell" (Alma 47. 26); "he . . . had gave them power" (Alma 55. 20); "Moroni, . . . had began his march" (Alma 52. 15); "the church had began to dwindle" (Helaman 4. 23); "there was still great contentions in the land" (Helaman 3. 19); "there never was greater things made manifest" (Ether 4. 4); "blessed be him that shall bring" (Mormon 8. 16); "if my days could have been in them days" (Helaman 7. 8); "Moroni, . . . he resolved" (Alma 52. 21); "Moroni seeing their confusion, he said" (Alma 52. 37); "Ammoron, when he had received this epistle, he was angry" (Alma 54. 15); "the Lamanites, . . . they began" (Alma 56. 29); "Pacumeni, . . . he did unite" (Helaman 1. 6); "his brother did raise up in rebellion" (Ether 10. 14).

The writer evidently had but an indefinite idea of the significance of capitals and marks of punctuation. In one case we have a direct quotation begun as it should be with a capital: "Then Jared said unto his brother, Cry again unto the Lord" (Ether 1. 36). In exactly the same construction, two verses before, the capital is not used: "for Jared his brother said unto him, cry unto the Lord" (Ether 1. 34). In other places he seems to mistake indirect for direct quotation, and uses capitals where they should not be: "Behold I say unto you, That this thing shall ye teach" (Moroni 8. 10); "And he that saith, That little children need baptism" (Moroni 8. 20). Out of the many passages that might be cited, three are given as examples of illogical punctuation: "And when the armies of the Lamanites saw that the people of Nephi, or that Moroni had prepared his people with breastplates, and with armshields; yea, and also shields to defend their heads; and also they were dressed with thick clothing. Now the army of Zerahemnah was not prepared with any such thing" (Alma 43. 19-20); "Behold, two thousand of the sons of those men whom Ammon brought down out of the land of Nephi. Now ye have known that these were descendants of Laman, who was the eldest son of our father Lehi (Alma 56. 3); "Or what man is there of you, whom, if his son ask bread, will give him a stone?" (3 Nephi 14. 9). Such mistakes as these in punctuation, forms, and construction, however illogical and contrary to the principles and

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usage of the language they may be, might prove nothing more than that the translator did not use good English. The Greek of our own New Testament is not classically pure, yet that fact detracts nothing from the essential truth of its contents. Suppose the verb in Matt. 8. 3 was spelled with an epsilon instead of an alpha, the leprosy was just as thoroughly healed. If the preposition did accompany the verb in Matt. 10. 32, it changed not in the least the importance of confessing Christ. If epsilons were left out of the adjectives in Luke 11. 34, the difference between light and darkness is just as great. Yet these changes might have sounded as bad to a native Greek as "had began" (Alma 52. 15) and "in them days" (Helaman 7. 8) do to us.

The mistakes that are the simple and natural results of the writer's lack of education are numerous enough in the Book of Mormon, but they are not so conspicuous as are those of another class of a much more significant character. In reading the book one constantly meets serious blunders in form, construction, and diction, the mistakes being of such a kind that it seems impossible for them to have resulted naturally from ignorance or habit. They are heavy, labored, artificial. "They had arriven to the land of Middoni" (Alma 20. 30) has a peculiar sound, and we know what meaning it was intended to convey, but there is no such word in the language as "arriven." The writer was acquainted with the form "smitten," for he uses it—"ye shall be smitten" (Mormon 8. 18). In another place he wrote: "be smote down to the earth" (Alma 51. 20). He missed the forms of one verb three times in two verses: "they did fall the tree to the earth, and did cry with a loud voice, saying, May the Lord preserve his people in righteousness and in holiness of heart, that they may cause to be fell to the earth all who shall seek to slay them because of power and secret combinations, even as this man hath been fell to the earth" (3 Nephi 4. 28, 29). "The brother of Jared, . . . did moulten out of a rock" (Ether 3. 1) sounds something like old English, but "melt" has no such form as "moulten." "Moult" means a very different thing. Birds moult; men cannot. The writer was doubtless familiar with such expressions as, "Do what seemeth thee good" (1 Sam. 1. 23); "shew us the Father, and it

sufficeth us" (John 14. 8). He himself uses the same construction: "write somewhat as seemeth me good" (Moroni 10. 1); "it seemeth me that" (Moroni 9. 5); "it sufficeth me to know" (Alma 40. 5). Not satisfied with these alone, he invents other expressions that sound like them, but are in fact very different: "it sorroweth me" (3 Nephi 27. 32); "it supposeth me that he will witness" (Words of Mormon 1. 2); "it supposeth me that I talk" (Alma 54. 11). The following are very significant because they are so strained: "unto they who are" (2 Nephi 10. 21); "of . . . they who shall go" (Ether 1. 43); "redemption cometh on all they that have" (Moroni 8. 22); "remembereth all they who" (2 Nephi 10. 22); "among those who they so dearly beloved" (Alma 27. 4); "resurrection of the dead, of which has been spoken" (Alma 12. 25); "And how be it my church, save it be called in my name?" (3 Nephi 27. 8;) "there were a great remission of sins" (3 Nephi 1. 23); "I were about to write" (3 Nephi 26. 11); "men toiling with their mights to fortify the city" (Alma 56. 15); "the army of Antipus, pursuing them, with their mights" (Alma 56. 37); "they contended in their mights" (Ether 15. 24); "And it came to pass that I began to be old; and, having no seed, and knowing king Benjamin to be a just man before the Lord, wherefore, I shall deliver up these plates" (Omni 1. 25); "notwithstanding I being young, was large in stature, therefore the people . . . appointed me" (Mormon 2. 1); "every man kept the hilt of his sword thereof, in his right hand" (Ether 14. 2); "maintaining those parts of the land, of which we had retained of our possessions" (Alma 58. 3); "they had been taught by their mothers, that if they did not doubt, that God would deliver them" (Alma 56. 47); "Gid, . . . should secrete himself in the wilderness, and also that Teomner should, with a small number of men, secrete themselves also in the wilderness" (Alma 58. 16); "and Mosiah, nor the people of Mosiah, could understand them" (Omni 1. 17); "they should not lay their hands on Ammon, or Aaron, or Omner, or Himni, nor either of their brethren" (Alma 23. 1); "that one jot nor tittle should not pass away" (3 Nephi 1. 25); "wherefore, write somewhat a few things" (Moroni 9. 24); "I write somewhat that which is greivous" (Moroni 9. 1). In 2 Tim. 4. 15, "ware" is used properly as a predicate adjective in connec-

tion with the imperative "be," "Of whom be thou ware." This book has "fraid": "they were exceeding fraid" (Alma 58. 24); "the Lamanites were exceeding fraid" (Helaman 4. 3). The adjective "brim" does not mean "full" at all, but violent. Yet we find, "my joy is full, yea, my heart is brim with joy" (Alma 26. 11).

The peculiar nature of the mistakes which have been noticed is strong proof of the artificiality of the work. The writer evidently has tried to follow a certain literary style, of which he had but a superficial knowledge. In using what he imagined was appropriate to this style he has made egregious blunders. A careful study of the book inclines one to the belief that the style of composition was the writer's first care and consideration. He does not seem specially concerned about the thought, nor how to express it most accurately and clearly. If he were, he would not be so fond of such unusual expressions as "the more part." This occurs twice in Acts: "and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together" (19. 32); "the more part advised to depart thence" (27. 12). This is one of the commonest expressions in the Book of Mormon, appearing constantly: "a man who had been with Moroni in the more part of all his battles" (Alma 53. 2); "the Lamanites had become, the more part of them, a righteous people" (Helaman 6. 1); "And it came to pass that all these iniquities did come unto them, in the space of not many years, insomuch that a more part of it had come unto them in the sixty and seventh year of the reign of the Judges over the people of Nephi" (Helaman 6. 32); "had seduced the more part of the righteous" (Helaman 6. 38). The writer is fond of using "much" as an attributive adjective in connection with a possessive, apparently not knowing that his construction is not the same as, "they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking" (Matt. 6. 7): "a man . . . noted for his much strength" (Alma 1. 2); "boast . . . of your much strength" (Alma 38. 11); "overpowered them, because of their much fatigue" (Alma 51. 33.); "because of their much provision which they had" (3 Nephi 4. 18). Tediousness of the repetition does not prevent the frequent appearance of whatever may seem to conform to the requirements of style: "On this wise

shall ye baptize" (3 Nephi 11. 22); "on this wise shall ye baptize" (3 Nephi 11. 23); "after this manner shall ye baptize" (3 Nephi 11. 27); "thus shall ye baptize" (3 Nephi 11. 28). "It came to pass" is used seventeen times in fifteen verses (Ether 9. 23 to 10. 5), and in another place, thirteen times in fifteen verses (Ether 15. 4-18). The author seems to have believed that involved and illogical forms of expression were desirable in a work of this kind, and he inserted such regardless of meaning:

15. And it came to pass that after there had been false Christs, and their mouths had been shut, and they punished according to their crimes;

16. And after there had been false prophets, and false teachers and preachers among the people, and all these having been punished according to their crimes; and after there having been much contentions and many dissensions, away unto the Lamanites, behold, it came to pass that king Benjamin, with the assistance of the holy prophets who were among his people;

17. For behold, king Benjamin was a holy man, and he did reign over his people in righteousness. And there were many holy men in the land; and they did speak the word of God, with power and with authority; and they did use much sharpness because of the stiffneckedness of the people;

18. Wherefore with the help of these, king Benjamin, by laboring with all the might of his body and the faculty of his whole soul, and also the prophets, did once more establish peace in the land. (Words of Mormon, 1. 15-18.)

16. Now the leader of the Nephites, or the man who had been appointed to be the chief captain over the Nephites; now the chief captain took the command of all the armies of the Nephites, and his name was Moroni;

17. And Moroni took all the command, and the government of their wars. (Alma 43. 16, 17.)

7. And they did cause a great contention in the land, insomuch that the more righteous part of the people, although they had nearly all become wicked; yea, there were but few righteous men among them.

8. And thus six years had not passed away, since the more part of the people had turned from their righteousness, like the dog to his vomit, or like the sow to her wallowing in the mire. (3 Nephi 7. 7, 8.)

Certain strange words are retained in the book as if they were in the original plates and could not be translated into English. It would not be remarkable to find in a dead language a word whose meaning is absolutely unknown. The plates are said to have been written in reformed Egyptian (Mormon 9. 32); but the claim is made that they were translated, "by the gift and power of God through the means of Urim and Thummim." Since these could not fail in their task, or at least would not be expected to fail, there appears to be no necessity for meaningless words being

used in this book. Consequently they give one the impression that they have been intentionally inserted for a purpose, that they might seem to be evidences of the antiquity of the work. As examples of this kind of words see "ziff," mentioned in lists of metals in Mosiah 11. 3 and 8; "cureloms" and "cummoms" spoken of as animals in Ether 9. 19. When one considers that the English of the Book of Mormon was written in the first part of this century, he cannot but notice how much it differs in form, construction, and diction from the English of that time, and how much it resembles in the same points the King James version of the Bible. There is no need of citing examples to prove this. Let the reader take any passage from the first chapter of 1 Nephi to the last chapter of Moroni and he will see how much the two books are alike in arrangement and general style. But the resemblance goes farther. There is a close similarity of thought. Here are a few illustrations: "Yea, every knee shall bow, and every tongue confess before him" (Mosiah 27. 31); "I say unto you, that I know that Jesus Christ shall come; yea, the son, the only begotten of the Father, full of grace, and mercy, and truth" (Alma 5. 48); "Behold, the axe is laid at the root of the tree; therefore every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, shall be hewn down and cast into the fire; yea, a fire which cannot be consumed; even an unquenchable fire" (Alma 5. 52); "there shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth; and this because of their own iniquity" (Alma 40. 13); "My soul standeth fast in that liberty, in the which God hath made us free" (Alma 61. 9); "whatsoever ye shall seal on earth, shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven; and thus shall ye have power among this people" (Helaman 10. 7.); "O ye people . . . how oft have I gathered you as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and have nourished you" (3 Nephi 10. 4); "And I soon go to the place of my rest, which is with my Redeemer; for I know that in him I shall rest: and I rejoice in the day when my mortal shall put on immortality, and shall stand before him: then shall I see his face with pleasure, and he will say unto me, come unto me, ye blessed, there is a place prepared for you in the mansions of my Father. Amen" (Enos 1. 27); "Wherefore, my be-

loved brethren, if ye have not charity, ye are nothing, for charity never faileth. Wherefore, cleave unto charity, which is the greatest of all, for all things must fail" (Moroni 7. 46); "that when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is, that we may have this hope, that we may be purified, even as he is pure" (Moroni 7. 48). The scenes in the Book of Mormon are familiar to one acquainted with the Bible. Even the details of the pictures are often the same:

10. And now it came to pass, that while he was going about to destroy the church of God; for he did go about secretly with the sons of Mosiah, seeking to destroy the church, and to lead astray the people of the Lord, contrary to the commandments of God, or even the king;

11. And as I said unto you, as they were going about rebelling against God, behold, the angel of the Lord appeared unto them; and he descended as it were in a cloud; and he spake as it were with the voice of thunder, which caused the earth to shake upon which they stood;

12. And so great was their astonishment, that they fell to the earth, and understood not the words which he spake unto them.

13. Nevertheless he cried again, saying, Alma, arise and stand forth, for why persecuteth thou the church of God? For the Lord hath said, This is my church, and I will establish it; and nothing shall overthrow it, save it is the transgression of my people.

19. And now the astonishment of Alma was so great, that he became dumb, that he could not open his mouth; yea, and he became weak, even that he could not move his hands; therefore he was taken by those that were with him, and carried helpless, even until he was laid before his father.

23. And it came to pass after they had fasted and prayed for the space of two days and two nights, the limbs of Alma received their strength, and he stood up and began to speak unto them, bidding them to be of good comfort;

32. And now it came to pass that Alma began from this time forward, to teach the people, and those who were with Alma at the time the angel appeared unto them: travelling round about through all the land, publishing to all the people the things which they had heard and seen, and preaching the word of God in much tribulation, being greatly persecuted by those who were unbelievers, being smitten by many of them. (Mosiah 27. 10-13, 19, 23, 32.)

Noah's story is repeated in that of Jared (Ether 2. 1, ff.). Jared's daughter was exceeding fair, and she danced before Akish, and her demand, made for her father's sake, was the head of her grandfather, the king (Ether 8. 8, ff.). The agreement between the two books includes more than mere similarity of ideas and scenes. Five per cent of the Book of Mormon is almost exactly the same as corresponding passages of the Bible, chapter for chapter, verse

for verse. Compare 2 Nephi 7, 8 and Isa. 50, 51; 2 Nephi 12–24 and Isa. 2–14; 3 Nephi 12–14 and Matt. 5–7; 3 Nephi 22 and Isa. 54; 3 Nephi 24, 25 and Mal. 3, 4. There are some slight differences. For instance, 2 Nephi 8, instead of closing with the twenty-third verse, as the fifty-first chapter of Isaiah does, adds a twenty-fourth and a twenty-fifth, corresponding to the first and second verses of the fifty-second chapter of Isaiah. The Lord's Prayer is given as follows: "Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen" (3 Nephi 13. 9–13). On the whole, the correspondence is very close. Even the untranslated word "Raca," in Matt. 5. 22, is found in 3 Nephi 12. 22. Passages in the King James version that are now believed with a great degree of certainty to be incorrect have their exact counterpart in the Book of Mormon. "Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake" (Matt. 5. 10) ought to read, "have been persecuted," but the Book of Mormon uses the present tense (3 Nephi 12. 10). It is well established that the Gloria with which the Lord's Prayer closes in Matt. 6. 13 in the King James version does not belong there; but in the Book of Mormon this old mistake is found and Jesus is there made to close his prayer with, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever. Amen" (3 Nephi 13. 13). Nearly all the teachings of the book are the ordinary doctrines of Christianity, variously elaborated. It strongly emphasizes the doctrine of the resurrection (Alma 40. 1, ff.). It insists on baptism (3 Nephi 11. 33, ff.), requiring immersion (3 Nephi 11. 23, ff.), and declaring that the rite should not be administered to children (Moroni 8. 5, ff.). It rebukes polygamy repeatedly:

> There shall not any man among you have save it be one wife; and concubines he shall have none;
>
> 28. For I, the Lord God, delighteth in the chastity of women. And whoredoms are an abomination before me; thus saith the Lord of Hosts.
>
> 32. And I will not suffer, saith the Lord of Hosts, that the cries of the fair daughters of this people, which I have led out of the land of Jerusalem, shall come up unto me, against the men of my people, saith the Lord of Hosts;

33. For they shall not be led away captive the daughters of my people, because of their tenderness, save I shall visit them with a sore curse, even unto destruction: for they shall not commit whoredoms, like unto them of old, saith the Lord of Hosts.

35. Behold, ye have done greater iniquities than the Lamanites, our brethren. Ye have broken the hearts of your tender wives, and lost the confidence of your children, because of your bad examples before them; and the sobbings of their hearts ascend up to God against you. (Jacob 2. 27, 28, 32, 33, 35.)

Behold, the Lamanites your brethren, whom ye hate, because of their filthiness and the cursings which hath come upon their skins, are more righteous than you; for they have not forgotten the commandment of the Lord, which was given unto our fathers, that they should have, save it were one wife; and concubines they should have none; and there should not be whoredoms committed among them. (Jacob 3. 5.)

And it came to pass that Riplakish did not do that which was right in the sight of the Lord, for he did have many wives and concubines. (Ether 10. 5.)

The book also censures priestcraft: "He commandeth that there shall be no priestcrafts; for, behold, priestcrafts are that men preach and set themselves up for a light unto the world, that they may get gain, and praise of the world; but they seek not the welfare of Zion" (2 Nephi 26. 29). The Book of Mormon not only contains very, very much that is the same as what is found in the Bible, but there is hardly a thing in it that is distinctive or peculiar to the religion which claims this work as its foundation. Only a very few of the doctrines specially characteristic of Mormonism are found in this work. We are told that God has or had a physical body: "and the vail was taken from off the eyes of the brother of Jared, and he saw the finger of the Lord; and it was as the finger of a man, like unto flesh and blood" (Ether 3. 6); "And the Lord said unto him, Because of thy faith thou hast seen that I shall take upon me flesh and blood" (Ether 3. 9). The American Indians are said to be the descendants of Joseph. It was the record of their more righteous brethren, the Nephites, which was hidden in a secret place to be revealed in these latter times (Mormon 8. 14, ff.). We are told that men still have the power of working miracles (Mormon 9. 15, 21), and may have the gift of tongues (Mormon 9. 24).

These are some of the notes taken while making a careful and, I trust, an honest examination of the Book of Mormon. And what have we found? There are countless mistakes of a simple

kind that would be made naturally and inevitably by an uneducated person. These prove nothing more than what is freely admitted by his followers, that Joseph Smith had but little education. In addition to the natural and consequently insignificant mistakes, we have found the book filled with others that are most unnatural, labored, and artificial. They could not possibly be the simple result of ignorance or carelessness. They can be accounted for only by supposing that the writer was trying to produce what would sound like the Bible. We have found that the general style of the composition is unlike the English of the period in which it was written, and that it is as nearly like that of the King James version as a comparatively ignorant man would be able to make it. There is hardly a trace of originality in the entire work. Scene and thought and teaching are almost identical with those of the Bible. Not only is the truth of the Bible copied, but even its peculiarities and the mistakes appearing in its translation. We can scarcely imagine how mortal men could be so bold as to testify that they had "seen the plates which contain this record," and "the engravings which are upon the plates"; and knew that "they have been translated by the gift and power of God" (The Testimony of Three Witnesses). But we can understand why these men should fear to enter the more immediate presence of their God with such a blighting lie upon their lips, and why Oliver Cowdery, David Whitner, and Martin Harris should wish to free themselves as far as they could from the guilt of their sin by confessing their wrong.

Edward B. T. Spencer

Art. IV.—THE NEW WRITING OF HISTORY

The use of the word "new" in connection with so much of the life and learning of our time is justified by the remarkable transformation which has taken place in the arts, the sciences, and the common life of the period. The "new education," the "new era of arts and inventions," the "new social conscience," the "new theology," are not meaningless and boastful terms, but imperfect symbols of an evolution and revolution in the education, the arts and industries, and the social conditions of the modern world. They are evidences of another renaissance, in science, art, philosophy, education, and industry, and through these life itself is being transformed and enlarged. History, as well as science and the arts and industries, has been largely re-created by modern discoveries and new methods of study and investigation. The historian Freeman has said of this process of transformation at its keenest period: "We in the nineteenth century are called on to do a work of the same kind as that which was wrought by the scholars of the sixteenth century. They brought to light a new learning which seemed like the discovery of an elder world. We have to put all worlds and all learning, old and new, past and present, in their due relation toward one another."

It is difficult not to feel that our own time is remarkable above all others in its great achievements and its marvelous progress, yet it is well to remember that other centuries have had their marvels of change and progress. Fourteenth and fifteenth century folk doubtless gloried in the amazing progress of their civilization, and we can hardly claim events more far-reaching in our time than in theirs with its invention of printing with type, its renaissance of learning and art, and its discovery of a "new world." The end of the eighteenth century was not less noteworthy, when new political ideals brought about a French revolution overturning the civilization of one continent and an American revolution laid the foundations of a great empire of freedom in another, while marvelous inventions wrought a complete industrial revolution. No hard and fast line can be drawn between the new writing of history and

the history writing of an earlier time. We can point to no sudden change in the method or manner of its writing. The old and the new blend into one another, but it is true that the past quarter century evidences a change in the method and manner of history writing which justifies the use of the phrase "the new writing of history," and goes far toward establishing a new science of history. The vastly increased accumulation of the materials of history, their accessibility, and the use of scientific method in research have had the greatest influence upon the writing of history in our day. "To the law, to the charter, to the chronicle, to the abiding records of each succeeding age the modern writer of history must go more than ever before and lay the foundations of his narrative in the rock of original research." Professor Henry Adams has said, "Like other branches of science, history is encumbered and hampered by its own mass." In compiling the official records of the Rebellion it is said that the papers examined were almost beyond computation, being counted not by documents and boxes, but by tons and roomfuls or the contents of buildings. The endless mass of evidence, old and new, which the modern historian must examine and sift upon any period or series of events necessitates, from the limitations of human life and capacity for work, the treatment of only brief periods by one writer, and that he must live his life largely in libraries and among dusty archives in endless search for facts and for interpretations and illuminations of these. The historian finds his materials also in the monuments, coins, inscriptions, art remains, and implements of past civilizations. "Only since we have begun to recognize monuments and remains as included in historical materials," says Droysen, the German historian, "and to avail ourselves of them methodically, has the investigation of past events gone deeper and planted itself on a firmer foundation."

The archives of each government are great storehouses from which the facts of history are authenticated or drawn directly. "Our own venerable nation," as President Eliot has called it, has perhaps the most complete records. An immense amount of this material is still in manuscript, but of this the more valuable portions will eventually be published and made more accessible for reference in the great libraries. The past quarter century has

witnessed an awakening of interest in our national history. "Those who have the literary interests of the country at heart," says Mr. Hamilton Mabie, "may find good cause for encouragement in the extraordinary growth of the historical feeling in this country during the past twenty years, and in the increasing activity of students and writers in the field of American history." This is the point of view of the literary man, but the revival of interest in history and the development of the science of history mean far more to sound statesmanship, to practical politics, to the solution of social problems and the inspiration of social ideals than to literature. The organization of minor historical associations in the United States to the number of some two hundred and fifty evidences the wide interest in historical research and writing. The organization and rapid development of the American Historical Association has also been a notable factor in promoting and concentrating a keener and more scientific study and appreciation of the national history and institutions. The patriotic societies have had no little influence in awakening interest in historical studies and stimulating the movement for the preservation of historic buildings and remains. The United States government has spent large sums in the acquisition and preservation of records pertaining to the country's history, and in the erection of historical memorials. Perhaps no nation ever undertook a more remarkable effort to preserve and make available the records of its past than the work of our government in the publication of The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. It is in one hundred and twenty-eight volumes, besides an atlas containing some one thousand maps and sketches, and its cost was about three million dollars. The records of service of the soldiers of the American Revolution and the War of 1812 are now being compiled with the same precision which applied to the Civil War. Another great mass of material, covering the colonial period of our history, has been collected by the government and a small portion of it published, while the original colonies preserve in their archives still greater collections, and the official papers of Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Hamilton, Franklin, and other eminent Americans have been secured by the government at great cost.

Similar effort, more or less thorough, to preserve the materials of its history is being made by every modern nation, and the chief burden of the student and writer is the embarrassment of riches. The materials for the history of vanished nations and peoples and for the early history of the older nations have vastly increased through modern discoveries, and through all the marvelous advance in archæology, anthropology, philology, and kindred sciences, until the historian is able to reconstruct for us with rare accuracy the story of the forgotten past. A recent reviewer has aptly said: "Everyone who attempts to write an important work upon a period or a movement of modern times is sore beset by the bulk of his materials. He has one hard problem in choosing what he shall read, but it is less critical than the other problem of choosing what he shall present after his twenty years of research are ended." This increase of material and the consequent amazing toil have led in recent times to what is called the cooperative writing of history. Various writers selected for their scholarship in special lines contribute more or less valuable monographs on the social, political, economic, or literary history of a period, or each writer deals with all the aspects of a brief period. The Critical and Narrative History of the United States, edited by the late Justin Winsor, in the writing of which a number of clever historians were associated, is an excellent example of this method. Similar works preceded and followed this, and so many others are announced for the near future that the reviewer of a projected work of this kind is led to exclaim, "Of making histories on the cooperatve plan there is apparently no end." Yet, however brilliantly or adequately this is done, it is generally conceded that no historical work, whatever the circumstances of its composition, can win the highest success unless it is the product of a single mind. That first essential, unity in conception and presentation, no historical work so constructed has yet attained.

In his interesting book, Literary Industries, Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft describes the less usual methods he employed, with a corps of literary workers under his personal direction, in ransacking libraries and archives to furnish forth his exhaustive works on the archæology, history, and ethnology of the Pacific Coast. He felici-

tates himself that an enterprise far beyond any one man's power of execution was brought to completion by his organized efforts within the compass of some thirty years. The success of this method would seem to depend almost wholly on the genius of the one directing mind, on his power to grasp all the vast detail gathered by many minds and weld it into an historical whole; to place in true perspective and proportion and interpret clearly from the various groups of facts the complex life of a period. For the writing of annals and chronicles some such literary bureau method would no doubt be invaluable, but it seems alien to the genius of real historical writing. Charles Francis Adams says, regarding the limitations of the modern historian and the way in which the best results can be obtained, that the scholar should explore the inner recesses of his subject, publishing from time to time critical essays or monographs on special topics. Then, after he has finished his preparation, let him offer to the public in concise form the fruit of his diligence. His mature opinion, his summing up, after he has mastered a certain portion of history, will be his profitable addition to existing literature. And Dr. Woodrow Wilson says graphically: "The investigator must display his materials, but the historian must convey his impressions. He must stand in the presence of life and reproduce it in his narrative; must recover a past age, make dead generations live again and breathe their own air. To do this his own impression must be as fresh as an unlearned reader's. . . . He must take care to push forward the actual writing of his narrative at an equal pace with his reading, painting thus always direct from the image itself. His knowledge of the great outlines and bulk of the picture will be his sufficient guide and restraint the while." How ill this agrees with Mr. Bancroft's literary bureau method is evident. But only in this way, President Wilson believes, shall we have real and great history writing: "By art, by the most difficult of all arts; by fresh study and first-hand vision."

Our age runs strongly to vast executive projects. Organization and combination are the dominant notes in the workaday world, but history and literature and the higher learning may well keep tolerably clear of this phase of modern progress. We need

to beware of sacrificing high individual endeavor and mental creativeness to feats of technique and organized mastery. The new writing of history demands a more complete intellectual equipment than ever before. The broadened field of research and the necessity of applying scientific principles in the use of the materials of history requires a wide general culture and the severest special training for the work. Some one has said that "every science of man is an auxiliary to the making of history." This is literally true. The historian must know something of every science and all of certain sciences. He must have a good linguistic training, especially on the side of philology; for without a knowledge of languages no historic study can be more than elementary. He must know much of Economics, Social Science, Jurisprudence, Philosophy, and Theology, and be familiar in some measure with the physical sciences. It is more than ever necessary that he know certain subjects which have been called "satellites of history"; as Numismatics, Genealogies, Chronology, Mythology, and Archæology. He must have literary training to make his story readable; the art that will give a vivid impression to the reader and create a real picture of the time of which he writes. He must possess a power of selection, an artist's sense of perspective, and something of a prophet's insight into character if his history shall not be the mere piecing together of bits of original research or of documents. The historian of our time must, in fact, be an artist and a profound scholar, and—beyond this—be dowered with the spark of genius which shall fuse his work into a live whole. With the development of history into a science dependent upon many auxiliary sciences, and the systematizing of the technique of research into various branches known under learned names, the new writing of history has come to be the work of specialists trained for it and devoting their lives to it, the work of professors in the universities almost exclusively, and their writing is marked less by finished literary style than by accuracy and clear interpretation of social phenomena. A recent thoughtful critic of the work of Irving, Prescott, Hildreth, Bancroft, Motley, and others of the earlier time, claims that their aims were distinctly literary, and their writings genuine contributions to polite literature, but that as historians they had little

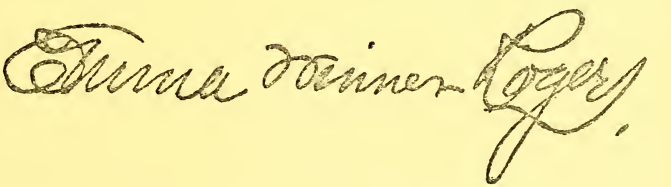
insight into popular movements, and their political philosophy and interpretation of social and economic phenomena were extremely crude. This criticism applies equally to certain English historians of the same period, and incidental to it is the interesting controversy between the advocates of history as literature and of history as science.

The scholar's accuracy, the scholar's devotedness, are in the new writing of history. With prodigious labor, in toiling days and weary nights of ceaseless industry, the accurate and vivid pictures of the near and remote past are painted for the delight and instruction of the student of other times and peoples and as a guide and warning for the statesman and the empire builder. In a large measure the patient writer reaps the high reward of having contributed sensibly to the sound progress of society. The state and the individual reap the benefit of the scholar's toil and renunciation. There is something uplifting and admirable in the attitude of the true scholar toward his time and toward life, and university walls cannot shut in its lesson and influence even in an era when material ideals are dominant. The historian Freeman, in his inaugural address at the University of Oxford, bade to his fellowship "any who feel a call to learning as an object to be sought for its own sake." "But remember," he adds, "that it is to the pursuit of learning for its own sake that I would call you; to the pursuit of knowledge, the pursuit of truth, to that learning which is said to be better than house and land, but which perhaps is not the path best adapted to the winning of house and land; or if there is any object beyond, higher than the search after truth for its own sake, it will be the hope that our studies of the past may be found to have, after all, their use in the living present." No other branch of knowledge has so close a connection with mere literature as history, and this has led to the controversy between those who think everything should be sacrificed to historical accuracy, to scientific method and detail, and another group who insist on the preëminent claims of history as literature. "The champions of history as science and history as literature mutually yearn to exterminate one another," says a clever critic. Even those holding a middle ground, that would combine accuracy with fact and

interpretation with excellence in literary style, admit that the unavoidable connection of history and literature gives rise to certain difficulties. There is the constant and almost unconscious temptation to sacrifice accuracy to effect. Professor Freeman admits that "the historian if he is to get beyond annals must have some kind of style, good or bad, and it would better be a good one," but he thinks the danger is great of preferring a way of writing history which tickles the popular fancy. "We may be tempted," he says, "to envy the lot of the geometer or the chemist, in whose way are no such pitfalls. The most winning style, the choicest metaphors, would be thrown away if they were devoted to proving that any two sides of a triangle are not always greater than a third side. When they are devoted to prove that a man cut off his wife's head one day and married her maid the next morning out of sheer love for his country, they win believers for the paradox." So serious is the revolt in some quarters against a mischievous use of literary graces in perverting facts and conveying false impressions that we find certain scholars turning to the ideals of the mediæval chronicler who "set down in order what he heard or saw, and left the rest to God." On the other hand, we have Mr. Froude declaring that, for the mere hard purposes of history, the Iliad and the Odyssey are the most effective books ever written, and "the most perfect English history which exists is to be found in the historical plays of Shakespeare"; that "no such directness of insight, no such breadth of sympathy, has since been applied to the writing of English history." We have President Woodrow Wilson declaring, "The historian needs an imagination quite as much as he needs scholarship, and consummate literary art as much as candor and common honesty. It is as bad to bungle the telling of the story as to lie, as fatal to lack a vocabulary as to lack knowledge." The new writing of history would seem to maintain the conclusion of Mr. Lecky that "the supreme virtue of the historian is truthfulness." It stands first of all for accuracy of fact and soundness of interpretation. A forceful and finished literary style is an essential requirement, but not of equal necessity. To know the truth about the past is the great end and aim, and better in the rough than that it be made secondary to the

artistic telling of the tale. "A narrative that is true and dull is better than one that is false and lively," if we must make the sad choice. But the ideal, needless to say, is the narrative which combines accuracy of matter with vigor and excellence of style. Another significant fact is its fuller recognition of the ethical ends of history. History is no mere story of the past to satisfy our curiosity: it is "humanity becoming and being conscious of itself." Its main value is what Froude so nobly sets forth: "That of a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. That justice and truth alone endure and live. Injustice and falsehood may be long-lived, but doomsday comes at last to them in French revolutions and other terrible ways." The world is coming to see with Carlyle that, "of all Bibles, the frightfullest to disbelieve in is this Bible of Universal History."

The new writing of history deals with the story of the people; their toils, their oppressions, their struggles into a measure of liberty and opportunity. It shows the world's problem to be the moralization of the common man and how to extend the area of the common good. It teaches lessons of patience to the social reformer with his hope of speedy cure for the ills of humanity, as he learns that "revolutions, reformations—those vast movements into which heroes and saints have flung themselves in the belief that they were the dawn of the millennium—have not borne the fruit that they looked for," but were only slow steps toward the final goal. The millennium is still remote, but impatience ceases in the light of the steady upward progress of the race through universal history.



Art. V.—THE STATE IN ITS RELATION TO ETHICAL PROGRESS

When Socrates, the Athenian, peremptorily refused to make his escape from the prison in which he was spending his last days, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of his friends, his conduct was in direct antagonism to much of his former teaching, in fact to a fundamental postulate of his system of morals. He strenuously asserted that right and wrong, justice and injustice, truth and error, are matters over which the state has no control, and that men have no more power to change the relations of virtue and vice to each other than they have to give life to the dead. If, then, as he maintained, fundamental principles are unchangeable and unvarying; if they can neither be modified nor annulled by circumstances of time or place; if morality is a matter that concerns the individual directly and the state only indirectly as a congeries of individuals, then what more natural or more consistent than, if the individual feels himself aggrieved, he should take his vindication into his own hands? If the conduct of the upright man traverses the law of the state the fault lies with the state and not with the individual. It is true, Socrates did decide this question for himself, and in a way that will redound to his credit as long as he is remembered. But this fact does not acquit him of a certain inconsistency in his conduct.

Socrates, with all his independence, was a thorough Greek. In spite of his untiring quest for absolute truth and of his defense of the right of private judgment, he was, to some extent unconsciously no doubt, still in bondage to the current opinions of his time. The state occupied a larger place in his mind than he was aware of. Though probably the first man that ever gave himself to systematic introspection, he was still dominated by the inherited conviction that he was a part of the community amid which he dwelt and under obligations to it of which he could not rid himself. After all, the state represented to him a moral force, and he only was the complete man who recognized his duties in that direction as coextensive with others, or at least as sup-

plementary to others. And this was a point of view from which the ancient Greeks never emancipated themselves. So conspicuous a place did it occupy in their system of morals that, when they no longer had a country, the great majority lost all respect for themselves and sank into hopeless degradation from which the efforts of the later philosophers to raise them were fruitless. Greece had not long been a part of the Roman empire before the *Graeculus esuriens*, the fawning Greek whose stomach was always empty and whose appetite was insatiable, becomes a representative character among the Romans. In him we have, to a certain extent, the prototype of the modern tramp; for, while he had more culture and less aversion to the bath, his morals were often no better, and he was, equally with his modern representative, a disciple of the philosophy the fundamental tenet of which may be expressed in the formula, "*Ubi bene, ibi patria.*" The Asiatic Greeks were always notorious for their luxurious and effeminate habits. No doubt this was partly due to their situation and to other physical causes. But political influences were not without weight. They dwelt in a country where their political activities were circumscribed and there was no place they could properly call home. For them the strongest motive to a certain kind of political training was lacking, and consequently the training also. We are sometimes inclined to wonder at the bravery displayed by the Greeks at Marathon, at Thermopylæ, and at Salamis, when we consider what dissensions rent their ranks. But when a majority or any other circumstance of a like character had once decided that a thing should be done it became a sort of divine decree that must needs be executed. To them more than to any other the *vox populi* was a *vox dei*. Very properly, then, the inscription over the remains of Leonidas and his three hundred heroes informed the passing traveler that they had met death in obedience to the unwritten law of the state.

In modern states where the laws are in the main the form in which the collective will of the nation finds tangible expression they interfere as little as possible with the right of private judgment, even when translated into acts. Where the laws lag behind public opinion, as is almost always the case, or are the decrees of

a coterie, no man is the less esteemed by the great mass of intelligent men for having committed a political crime. We have here a case where the moral sentiment outstrips the feeling of solidarity; that is, the rights of a man, as an individual, claim precedence over those accorded him as a citizen. Persecutions for conscience' sake, where the law with its penalties is brought to bear on men in order to interfere with the relations which they assume to exist between them and their Creator, fall under the same category of condemnation. The very large minority voting for the acquittal of Socrates on the triple charge on which he was tried is plain evidence that, in spite of the somewhat supercilious tone of the accused, many persons in Athens saw no reason for condemning him on any of the charges upon which he had been cited before the tribunal of justice.

It is clear from an examination of the growth of ethical feeling that it was sometimes aided by public opinion—that is, by the state or the social force that antedated the state—sometimes impeded. When the latter was the case, private judgment was in the van. In other words, great men, or at least prominent men, especially under exceptional circumstances, have a potent influence upon the development of public morals and have at times greatly accelerated it. The individual and society, private judgment and public opinion, may be compared to two men clambering up a rough and craggy mountain where they are only able to advance by alternately pushing and pulling each other forward. Within the historical period it is comparatively easy to trace the relation of these two forces to each other, and to define pretty clearly in what parts of the domain of ethics they exerted the strongest influence both progressive and retrogressive.

A careful study of the radical meaning of many of the terms now current in the realm of morals in all modern languages makes it plain that the relations of kinship and comradeship exercised a powerful influence on the conduct of men as members of the tribe long before such a thing as abstract virtue was thought of. This is not denying that there was among primitive men an intuitive recognition of certain distinctions between virtue and vice, and that conduct might be either good or bad according to circumstances.

The child has certain notions of right and wrong that it would be utterly unable to express in words, except perhaps in the vaguest manner. As we cannot conceive of men existing otherwise than as a community, it is not surprising that it is impossible to penetrate farther than this stage in all matters that bear upon anthropological psychology. The paleontologist may find, in the remains of the individual anthropoid, some data that will carry him beyond this point; but such evidence can have no bearing on the question we are concerned with here. It is an accepted hypothesis among comparative philologists that the radical elements of all languages are based upon phenomena cognizable by one or more of the five senses. For, while the physical act underlying these elements is in many cases obscure or ambiguous, there is no difference of opinion among competent judges as to the substantial correctness of the theory. What light do we get from this source upon the terms used in ethics? I am not assuming that there is anything novel in this mode of investigation. I take for granted a great deal, and at most hope to throw a little additional light on one of the most interesting phases of morals in relation to the development hypothesis in the social domain.

Let us begin with the Germanic language. *Tugend*, the most abstract term in German for virtue, is clearly related to *taugen*, a verb still in common use. It was applied primarily to persons with reference to the vigor that is characteristic of the prime of life. But its application is far wider; it is used of horses, of wine, of a sword, etc. Goethe in his time could still speak of "*die Tugenden natuerlicher Edelsteine*," and English writers until shortly before his time used "virtues" in this sense, though this usage in both languages is now practically obsolete. Singularly enough, the English has lost its etymological equivalent and put in its stead a word of Romance origin; namely, virtue. Its meaning is closely akin to the German *Tugend*, though perhaps slightly more extended. The Romance words, however, throw no light on the primitive signification of the term, as the Latin *virtus* had shifted somewhat long before the rise of its modern descendants. Still *virtus* was plainly the quality or trait that distinguishes a man from other men; it is mental and corporal excellence. Whatever

traits or characteristics of a person or a thing gave to it the highest value in the eyes of men was *virtus*. What was most esteemed by primitive man we learn not so much from a study of the words that constituted his vocabulary as from a careful examination of primitive society. It was not moral worth, but those powers of mind and body that contributed most to the conservation of the tribe as understood by its members. These were before everything else strength, cunning, fortitude, and fidelity. When Horace wrote

> "Virtus, repulsae nescia sordidae,
> Intaminatis fulget honoribus,
> Nec sumit aut ponit secures
> Arbitrio, popularis aurae.
>
> "Virtus, recludens immeritus mori
> Coelum, negata tentat iter via,
> Coetusque vulgares et udam
> Spernit humum fugiente penna,"

he had in mind a comparatively modern conception of virtue. But when he expressed himself thus:

> "Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
> Enisus arces attigit igneas,
> Quos inter Augustus recumbens
> Purpureo bibit ore nectar.
>
> "Hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
> Vexere tigres, indocili jugum
> Collo trahentes; hac Quirinus
> Martis equis Acheronta fugit,"

his thoughts recurred to that virtue which is almost entirely of the old material type. Strangely enough, virtue, once the manly quality *par excellence*, has for some time been shifting its ground until in a very different sense it has come to designate the most highly prized of all womanly traits. In common speech the virtuous woman is the chaste woman, and the epithet would be regarded as rightly applied to one who had no other recommendation than chastity.

There is some doubt as to the etymological relationship of the Greek ἀρετή, but none as to its primitive signification. In Homer the word has only a faintly discernible moral content; it

has regard solely to the value a thing possesses in the eyes of men. It means not *Tugend* but *Tuechtigkeit*, worth, efficiency. In the earlier Greek it is not of frequent occurrence. In the Iliad it is met with about a dozen times and somewhat oftener in the Odyssey. Ἀγαθός, which may be regarded as the adjective embodying the same idea, is used very often, perhaps for the reason that the noun had already become colored with a tinge of abstraction. A thousand years after Homer ἀρετή still bears traces of its former objective character, for not only does Plutarch speak of δόξα καὶ ἀρετή as synonymous terms, but even the New Testament coördinates ἀρετὴ καὶ ἔπαινος. We have already spoken of the many different shades of meaning attaching to virtue, and we may in this connection call attention to the distinction made by Dryden between the virtues of a private Christian and a magistrate. Those of the former are chiefly subjective; those of the latter, objective. Among the Greeks the notion that the state was the chief promoter of morality had taken such deep root that most of their philosophers concerned themselves with the problem. The conviction had taken so firm a hold on the mind of Plato that he gave a great deal of attention to its elaboration into what he conceives to be a workable system. He seems to have believed it possible to call into existence some lawmaking power so potent that it could compel obedience on the part of all the citizens. His state was to be a sort of theocratic commonwealth, the supreme ruler of which was to be, not a god, but a man or a set of men endowed with attributes far above ordinary men. The predilection for the Spartan constitution that crops out so often in the writings of Athenians was founded on the deep-rooted faith in the power of government to make men such as they ought to be. That the results in practice were so generally disappointing was not the fault of the system, but of those intrusted with its management. At a much later time the Platonic idea was again taken up and elaborated from a different standpoint by Saint Augustine, who believed that the reign of righteousness could be established upon the earth by means of a commonwealth founded on the fundamental tenets of the Christian religion. In fact, Utopias have been the dream of a certain class of thinkers from

the days of Moses to those of Edward Bellamy, so thoroughly are men's ideas of right and justice in this world bound up with the activity of men as represented by the state.

Another word that in its earliest use bears a strongly materialistic color is *bonus;* and its direct descendants as well as its equivalents in other languages are by no means free from it. *Bona* means the good things of this life, earthly possessions, a signification that is almost exactly covered by the French *biens.* In the *homme de bien* we still have the word, but its meaning is shifted from *bonus homo* to *homo probus,* where the adjective designates what is probably the highest degree for moral excellence, though of a negative rather than a positive type. The German *Gut* is a familiar designation of landed property, a farm, an estate, while the plural, like our "goods" has a more amplified signification. *Der Gueter Zug* and "the goods train" are familiar equivalents of our freight train. So, too, the shopkeeper who wants to sell you "good goods" is a ubiquitous character in commercial circles. A careful examination of *honestus* makes it evident that, if it ever means honorable or honest in their subjective sense, the instances are rare and late compared with those in which it means honorable, that is, honored with public office. Its Latin congeners have all more or less regard to outward appearances; and, as in a state of society where the good of the tribe or of the community was of prime importance, to be entrusted with an office where its interests could be most effectually guarded or promoted was the highest mark of esteem that could be bestowed. Closely akin in meaning is the German *Ehre,* rank, dignity, magnificence, respect, though its Anglo-Saxon related root has not passed into English. *Der Ehrwuerdige* is covered by our "honorable" when applied purely as an official title; but it does not mean *der Ehrliche* any more than our honorable means honest or upright. There is, therefore, little occasion for the frequent criticisms of "honorable" on the ground that it is often borne by dishonorable men. This mistake arises from the failure to distinguish between the adjective as an official title and its later signification. The gentleman is not necessarily a gentle man, nor a nobleman a noble man, and the goodman of the house may be the worst man in it. In the popular

conception, "honorable" as a mere titular designation has been largely absorbed by the moral attributes commonly associated with the term, so that its original meaning is usually lost sight of. This is due to a very natural and frequent process of psychological evolution, and there is little doubt that the process will continue until the ethical significance of the word makes up its entire content. In the German a distinction has arisen between *das Recht* and *das Rechte*, just as in English we make a difference between the right and rights. Again, *rechtschaffen* means made or created according to what is right and proper. It is *rechtgeschaffen*. *Der rechtschaffene Mann* was primarily the man who lived according to the right as established by the community of which he formed a part. We are here dealing with a legal, though not with a statutory phrase. We come again upon the "straight man," a being created by the human imagination—where he still dwells—to designate an ideal toward which the hopes and aspirations and strivings of man are advancing by imperceptible graduations. The upright man, the righteous man, is the highest type of the human species as pictured in speech by the consensus of the community.

It has long been the fashion to talk glibly about "rights" as if it were a term in regard to which there was no room for dispute. Men in general think, if they do not say, that they hold these truths to be self-evident: All men are endowed with certain inalienable rights. In practice, however, these so-called self-evident rights are constantly alienated and circumscribed by the state. They must be defined before they can be adequately defended; and definition is limitation. Most rights are creations of the body politic and differ more or less with different countries and periods. In practice, it is often found necessary to define and restrict what one man regards as his self-evident rights in order that his neighbor may also get his equally self-evident rights. A man may sit down and, in the solitude of his own bosom, convince himself that he has certain "inalienable rights"; but as soon as he attempts to put them in practice he finds himself in conflict with other rights that are equally self-evident to their champions. Thus, neither can be admitted as general rules of action. No settlement is possible except through the interference of the community, which must cur-

tail, restrict, and define, in order to make a status possible. We are thus confronted with the question, Can the state or its antecessor, the tribe, make that right which is not intrinsically so? We shall not here answer this question, which is no easy one; but in practice this has been largely the case. It has gone considerable lengths to do so, not only in what are termed political rights but in what are now generally regarded as purely moral or personal rights. Every state is continually called upon to legislate on this question, and there is no prospect of a final solution in sight that shall be satisfactory to all parties.

It may be assumed that no law that had not an avowedly beneficial object in view ever received the sanction of a considerable body of men. Every law is enacted with the express purpose of benefiting a very considerable body of those who come under its operation. The ideal of the state is clearly the straight man. The underlying physical act still faintly discernible in the word seems to be that of stretching a cord between two points, this being the simplest concept of straightness in the mind of primitive man. We still speak of a right line to designate a straight line, a stretched line. I do not deny the place occupied by the individual in the process. We can scarcely conceive of an initiative taken by a whole community. This is always the act of an individual; yet the individual is the occasion rather than the cause; and when he undertakes that which is contrary to the spirit of the times he can at best achieve but temporary success. No experience is more common than that a law unsupported by public opinion is a dead letter. It is the defunct and soon forgotten rubbish of which our statute books are only too full. The influence exercised by their environment on even the strongest minds is amply attested by history. They have gone counter to their better judgment because public opinion was against it. They yielded to the pressure of public opinion in spite of the opposing dictates of reason and prudence. No one will deny the potent influence of that indefinable sentiment called patriotism, nor yet its essential unreasonableness in many cases. Its boundaries are gradually enlarging; yet there are few people who do not think a fellow countryman better than a foreigner, in spite of weighty adverse

moral reasons that may exist. This feeling is not dictated by motives of self-interest, but by the unconscious tribal instinct that still survives within the breast of every man, and is strongest with those who are least accustomed to analyze their feelings. An interesting survival of this selective gregarious instinct is found in the modern party spirit within the state or nation. On political questions the great majority wait until they learn the position the party takes, and then rush to its defense with a zeal that is too often worthy of a better cause. I do not deny the influence of great, greater, and the greatest men in the progress of morals. The world needs leaders and can accomplish little without them. But no man becomes a leader unless he puts himself in harmony and sympathy with those he proposes to lead. The masses are terribly afraid of innovations. They look to the past a hundred times for once they look to the future. Those whom the world calls reformers have all been men who placed themselves in the van of movements that were already in the incipient stages of progress all around them. Under the spur of great abilities masses of men may be aroused to momentary action in enterprises that are, in a sense, against their sober conviction; but these sporadic efforts rarely produce any permanent results. The traditional veneration accorded to real or supposed lawgivers is evidence that people cannot get hold of the idea that their institutions are the creations of their ancestors *en masse*. The Hebrews had their Moses, the Spartans their Lycurgus, the Athenians their Solon, but to these heroic figures was attributed a wisdom far in advance of that possessed by any mortal of later ages. And we are still in the dark as to the amount of truth there is in such popular traditions.

It is not contended here, in the spirit of the old sophists of the more revolutionary type, that man is the measure of all things, but certainly it would be hard to maintain that in the domain of ethics he is chiefly or even largely influenced by innate ideas. As in his general development he owes so much to the relations he sustains to society, so in morals he is indebted to the same influences for the strengthening of his moral ideas, whatever be their ultimate source. We cannot ascertain what is one man's due without taking into careful consideration what is due to every

other man about us. We can no more form a conception of virtues in the abstract than we can form a conception of the properties of matter apart from the substances in which they inhere. A thorough investigation of the radical elements of human speech would throw much light on this entire problem. It has been done to some extent by writers who have discussed the subject, but I am not aware that it has been exhaustively treated by anyone. The line judiciously pursued, and extended into the uncivilized languages, would throw much light on one of the most difficult problems that has ever engaged the attention of thinking men.

It is historically demonstrable that public opinion has from very early times oscillated between the two extremes of collectivism and individualism. In spite of some evidence to the contrary, the movement has in the main been from the former toward the latter. At no time in the past have educators—and I use the term in its widest significance—laid so much stress upon the importance of developing and stimulating the self-activity of the young as at present; yet they do not ignore the influence of the state, the church, the school, and the family—in short, of institutional life. There will always be men who cannot be allowed to be a law unto themselves and who must be kept within bounds by some sort of external pressure. The chief problem to be solved by the modern state is how to harmonize as nearly as may be the largest measure of individual liberty, on the part of those who will not abuse it, with the restraint necessary for those who do not hesitate to trespass on the rights of others when opportunity offers. It is a common saying that laws are made to protect honest men but rascals take advantage of them. The maladministration of law is the fruitful source of injustice, though human law is full of imperfections. It is easy to point out the mischievous consequences to morality of individualism carried to extremes, but it is much easier to show that grievous injustice has often been done to citizens by governments that have taken less account of the rights of individuals than of results produced by the state as a whole.

Chas. W. Super.

Art. VI.—PRESENT-DAY METHODIST PREACHING

The publication during the past year, by the Book Concern at Cincinnati, of twelve volumes containing very nearly one hundred (ninety-eight) sermons, all of which had been recently delivered in the leading pulpits of the denomination, furnishes a unique opportunity to test the trend and scope and quality of present-day Methodist preaching. It is with no little curiosity—indeed, with intense interest—that we have scanned the contents of these books as from month to month they have dropped from the press. There were many questions that arose in advance and begged for answer: How far, in these prominent churches, are the old doctrines fearlessly proclaimed? Are the severer notes of the ancient message being left out? Are some of the things once considered essential and fundamental omitted now? Are sensational and fanciful topics given large room? Is the drift toward metaphysical and philosophical subjects? How far have socialism and politics come in? What modifications, if any, show themselves in the way of handling the Bible? What is the prevalent attitude toward the highest developments of Christian experience? These and a dozen other queries were no doubt in the minds of many as they statedly sat down to this sermonic and homiletic feast. There was much also which they might fairly expect to learn in regard to the best style of treating pulpit themes, the proper analysis and illustration of topics, the most effective method of demonstration or appeal. For here were, presumably, the best preachers, or those holding rank with the foremost, in the largest Protestant church of the land, taken from different parts of the country, and presenting, of course, those specimen discourses by which they were most willing to be judged. A rare opportunity, surely, for forming some important conclusions. Of the preachers three were from the Rock River (Chicago) Conference—Drs. C. J. Little, P. H. Swift, and C. M. Cobern; two from the New York Conference—Drs. W. F. Anderson and Wallace MacMullen; two from the Saint Louis Conference—Drs. M. S. Hughes and W. A. Quayle; one each from the Newark, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Nebraska Conferences

—Drs. A. H. Tuttle, F. M. Bristol, J. B. Young, George Elliott, and D. W. C. Huntington. Five of these eight Conferences are in the West and three in the East. Of the twelve men ten are pastors, one is a university chancellor, and one the president of a theological school. It would hardly be held by any that there are not just as good preachers and just as excellent discourses outside the number selected as inside. But the dozen chosen are doubtless fairly typical, to be classed, let us say, among the first fifty in the church, and some of them could scarcely be excluded from the first ten. It is clear, however, that by no means all these hundred sermons would come out victorious if there were a set competition before competent judges, charged with picking that number from such as might be submitted to them in sealed envelopes with no names attached. It is quite conceivable that some of the volumes might not be able to furnish a single specimen of supreme excellence under such severe conditions. We would much like to see a book made up in some such way, a book that would contain twenty or twenty-five of the very best and strongest sermons preached during the last twenty-five years in the Methodist pulpits of the land. But the hundred here given us, though by no means beyond criticism from several points of view, and certainly not of uniform excellence, are all good and well deserve careful study. It is our purpose to set down briefly a few of the conclusions reached after careful examination.

One interesting, although, of course, somewhat subordinate, line of investigation concerns the books of the Bible whence the hundred or more (one hundred and three) texts are taken. We find that all the books of the New Testament are drawn upon except seven, namely, Galatians, Philemon, Second Thessalonians, Second Peter, Second and Third John, and Jude. The following six furnish one text apiece: Philippians, First Thessalonians, First Timothy, First John, Titus, Revelation. The following five give us two apiece: First Peter, Second Timothy, Colossians, Ephesians, James. First and Second Corinthians supply three each; Luke has five, Hebrews five, Acts six, Romans six, Mark six, Matthew eight, John ten. Only fifteen books of the Old Testament are employed, in the following proportions: Psalms nine, Isaiah

seven, Exodus three; Job, Proverbs, Ezekiel, and Ecclesiastes two each; and the following one each: Genesis, Deuteronomy, Judges, Malachi, Esther, Second Samuel, First Kings, Second Kings. Much more important is the classification by topics. Some few do not lend themselves readily to arrangement under any special head, and some others might be variously set down according to the taste or idea of the reader. But it will at least serve a useful purpose to attempt to collocate them in certain general groups roughly indicative of the leading themes discussed. Much the largest department, as might naturally be expected, is that which takes up the Privileges and Perils of Christian Experience or the Joys and Duties of the Christian Life. Here are found such titles as, "The Sin of Fretfulness," "The Inward Real," "The Correlation of Spiritual Forces," "The True Type of Religion," "The Temptations of Christ and of Ourselves," "The Fellowship of Christ's Sufferings," "Marching to Music," "Eagles' Wings and Patient Feet," "The Inner Life," "The Ministry of Affliction," "Consecration," "Self-care," "Unbelief," "Strength for the Day," "Warring Nature." Eight of the preachers have sermons in this list. Their teaching is, as the subjects would indicate, to the effect that the law of heaven is the music of earth, that the various animals which a man finds within himself making a discord can be so tamed that there shall be entire harmony, that sorrow is disciplinary and blessed, that love is the essential force in the Christian life; that there is such a thing as idolizing Christian experience, and a self-centered life is to be guarded against, all attainments being for service, not for mere enjoyment; that fearfulness is useless, harmful, and dishonoring to God; that the heart life is the real life, and that only by a constant sight of Christ can we get the true ideal on which to form ourselves. Nothing startling or strikingly novel in all this, it may be said, and said truly. But the congregations to which such discourses are preached are not a collection of philosophers and scholars looking for profound originality or recondite reflections. They are hungering for help in bearing the burdens of existence, and the old-simple gospel, presented warmly, freshly, with immediate application to present needs, satisfies them fully. Quite a group of discourses center in the person and life of the

Saviour. "The Beauty of Jesus," "The Joy of Jesus," "The Compelling Power of His Love for Us," "The Magnetism of the Cross," "Jesus as a Conversationalist," "Light and Life in Him," "The Healing Touch," "A Man as a Hiding Place," "The Captain of Our Faith," "The Love of Christ as a Fact and an Experience"—in each one of these there is much that might be quoted and that must have thrilled the hearers. It was shown that Jesus is altogether lovely to those who love and follow him, although without beauty to the spirit of this world; that his table-talk and conversation, for brilliancy, consistency, sobriety, simplicity, spontaneity, is nowhere equaled; that in discipleship, art, and music he is drawing the world to his ideals of greatness, of the value of human life, of the brotherhood of man, and of the union of morality and religion; and that his joy, which may very largely be ours, a joy not incompatible with sorrow and grief but stronger than either, consists mainly in five elements: his consciousness of manifest destiny, his consciousness of strength adequate to any emergency, the joy of an unstained memory, of anticipated beneficence, and of widest ownership.

Treating more or less fully and closely the burning question of the inspiration of the Bible we find four sermons by as many different authors. One of them, however, "The Living Word," does not touch the modern discussion, but simply enlarges on the unchangeable preservation of God's word and the power there is in it for helping men. Another, taking for its title "Higher Criticism and Human Documents," emphasizes the point that the epistles of Christ, written "not in tables of stone but in tables that are hearts of flesh," are the main thing, that "the primary revealing of spiritual truth has never been given to man on paper," that "the characteristic method of God is to make himself known in life and history," and that "each newborn man rejoicing in God's mercy and walking in white is a living manuscript of revelation carrying in his heart and life a gospel that may never know a written or printed form." But this preacher, Dr. Hughes, also speaks some words in grateful recognition of the heavy debt of obligation which Bible students owe to the critics, both "lower" and "higher." "Critical inquiry has full rights in applying the same tests of

authenticity and credibility to the Scriptures that are used in dealing with other literatures." "The final deposit will be wholesome." Two other sermons, entitled "Our Bible" and "The Stars and the Book," discuss the subject very completely and conclusively, with breadth of view and vigor of statement. In the former, by Dr. Huntington, we find these sentences: "This theory of mechanical inspiration needlessly exposes our Bible to criticism, and gives to its enemies their most favorable grounds of attack. Bishop R. S. Foster has stated the case admirably when he says, 'While there is abundant evidence that the Bible is characteristically a divinely inspired book, it would be the height of absurdity to suppose it inspired in every word. Nor does this affect the truth of any word; the uninspired parts may be as true as the inspired parts.'" "Many who are included among higher critics are able and devout men, as well as scholars of eminence in their chosen lines. The Christian faith is dear to them, and they have reached their conclusions in painstaking and prayer." "Higher criticism is no new or strange thing. It has arisen at every period of marked intellectual advancement. Every commentator works in higher criticism. Every student of the Bible is a higher critic." "And what is the harm in raising these questions? What has the result to do with the Bible as a revelation of God?" "Let us welcome all searchers after truth as our fellow workers. On every man who finds out a truth which we have not before found let the church of God pronounce a blessing." Still more pronounced is the sermon by Dr. Cobern on "The Stars and the Book," whose secondary title is "A Plea for the Critical Study of the Scripture." He says: "I look with favor on the higher criticism and every other criticism which applies historic and literary tests to this great revelation. Some people are scared at criticism, but not those who believe that the word of the Lord endureth forever." "We Protestants, most of us, believe that the revelation was infallible, but that it was recorded, transmitted, and translated by fallible human agents." "It is not the ink marks (the letters and words of the book) that are inspired, but the thought and spirit of it. It would not seem to matter fatally if these inspired men themselves had made a slip of the pen in putting down a number,

or a slip of the memory in quoting an ancient historian, or even a slip of knowledge in the use of the many documents which they themselves tell us they consulted in their writings. That is not an important thing if the spiritual argument can be trusted. We are injuring our cause to act and talk as if the Bible would be destroyed if any such incidental human infirmity could be detected in the Scripture." "The style is human: the knowledge of current events and current science is human, but the message—that for which the book was written, that which makes it the Bible—is divine." "It was not given to teach history or philosophy or science, but to teach religion.' We find but two sermons that specifically take up the subject of the Atonement. One, by Dr. A. H. Tuttle, is entitled, "He Died for Me." The preacher states his thesis as follows: "Christ's death is the God-appointed method by which we who are under the curse of death come into the joy and victory of life." Having found this fact written on every page of Scripture, on every page of nature, on every page of history, and on the face of the cross itself, and having thus established "the fact of Christ's vicarious death without making any attempt to explain its contents," he proceeds to note briefly the principal bearings of this fact on our personal divine life, as awakening the conscience to a sense of the infinite horror of sin, assuring us of the absolute certainty of our salvation, and furnishing the secret and source of our participation with him in his life. The other sermon is by Dr. Cobern, entitled "The Cross," from the text, "Having made peace through the blood of his cross." The following statements are made: "The atonement was not necessary for God (except as his own heart compelled it), but it was necessary for man because nothing short of this divine love offering could break down the barrier of man's guilt and lack of feeling and growing brutishness which separated him from the vision and likeness of God." "The atonement was not an arbitrary scheme to meet an emergency, but the natural outpouring of God's eternal nature which meets a response in human nature since humanity is kin to God. The necessity of the atonement was not artificial, or perhaps even judicial; but it was a necessity of love, since only thus can a man such as I am be won to the new manhood revealed in

Jesus." "The cross was the divine heartbreak over human sin." "I think of the atonement as a fact so great and far-reaching that no human thought can compass it, and no human language symbolize it, a fact eternal as the being of God, a thought vast as the orbit of divine love."

One rather remarkable fact about these twelve books is that in all their eighteen hundred pages there is no one sermon that takes up definitely and specifically the subject of entire sanctification or Christian perfection, which used to be a prominent topic in Methodist pulpits. Many indications show that it is not prominent now. The trouble seems to be that there is no longer any generally accepted theory, at once philosophical, scriptural, and experimental, which commends itself to the best minds and justifies itself by proved results. Careful attention to definitions (an attention scarcely ever given) shows that the old terminology can no longer be approved; and yet there is so much pride of denominational consistency and unwillingness to break with the fathers that few of those in authoritative positions are willing to incur the stigma of heterodoxy so easily flung upon all who venture to do a little independent thinking. It is far from creditable to us as a church that this state of things should continue. While it does continue, however, it is not surprising that our pulpits in the main are silent upon the subject and our people suffer, being largely left to the instruction of those least capable of wise leadership and much given to fanatical extravagances. The Book Concern would seem to be now barred, by the strange action of the last General Conference, from publishing anything on this matter that diverges at all from the standards. The inevitable consequence of such an endeavor to paralyze inquiry and stifle light is to make people ignore the whole theme or touch upon it so vaguely and gingerly that it amounts to about the same thing. We do not believe this to be the best policy for the church either mentally, morally, or spiritually. What do these sermons say as to the burning questions in eschatology? Very little, practically nothing. There are two discourses on immortality, taking the usual view; there is one on the joy of heaven, and one raises the question, "Are we all going to heaven?" The preacher says we

can all go, we are all invited and all needed, but he thinks there are some facts which cast a very dark shadow over the probability that all will get there. From which it is seen that no very straight answer is given to the important inquiry, and the reader, or hearer, is left in the main to form his own conclusion, although the preacher does venture to say at one point, "This looks as though many were not going to heaven." The doctrine of the witness of the Spirit does not seem to be mentioned at all; nor is there any discourse devoted to the third person in the Trinity, save one on "The Holy Spirit as a Remembrancer." The other main doctrines, such as regeneration, justification, repentance, and faith, are scarcely touched. Nor are the church and the sacraments and the means of grace, save that there is one sermon on fasting, almost wholly devoted to combating the Roman Catholic idea that fasting is a prescription of our religion. There are only three sermons that can in any way be called expository: one on Eph. 3. 14–21, one on Rev. 2. 1–5, and one on the incident at the gate of the temple described in Acts 3. There is no sermon upon a Bible book. There are six sermons more or less biographical, taking up "Paul and Nero," "Moses at the Burning Bush," "Elijah Under the Juniper Tree," "Simon Peter and Judas Iscariot," "Peter, Paul, John," and "Trophimus as an Example of Unachieved Ideals." Four sermons are evangelistic, that is, addressed directly or mainly to sinners—"Modern Jehus," "Wild Grapes," "Will a Man Rob God?" and "The Soul Damaged by Sin." Four are on Missions, four are apologetic, three on Theism, three on Providence, three on Easter, two on Christmas, one on the Ascension, and one on the Responsibility of Methodism. A dozen or two would not come strictly under any of these classes, being national, or ministerial, or domestic, or ethical, or literary, or quite miscellaneous. But all are dignified and wholesome and helpful, in harmony with a reasonable gospel, and suited to a worshiping congregation.

As to the form in which the truth is presented, we have two distinct types in these twelve volumes. In six of them there is not a single trace of a plainly articulated skeleton or outline, there are no numbered divisions, no first, secondly, thirdly. The matter flows right out, with a more or less close concatenation of

thought, and few specific points stand out. The aim evidently is to give a strong unified impression of some single idea, illustrated and presented in different phases, rather than to hold the attention by a chain of argument or carry the citadel of the will by a regular approach. Six, however, do this latter to a greater or less degree, and furnish convenient pegs to hang the truth upon. One has always three or four main divisions struck out, and then under each head three or four subdivisions. Another has an extended series of numbered "remarks" with which to close each discourse. The other four make the outline quite prominent, though not extremely so. The fact that the twelve are just evenly divided on this question of the best method of constructing a sermon would appear to leave the young minister quite at liberty to follow his own individuality, sure of good company whichever plan he adopts. Of the four preachers from the East two have divisions and two have not; so with the eight from the West. There are only two, Drs. Huntington and Quayle, that have no poetical quotations whatever, although one or two others have very few. In one case, Dr. Elliott's, there are no less than sixty extracts from the poets, and in another case thirty-five. Browning and Tennyson are the ones most constantly referred to. Other poets drawn upon are Shakespeare, Milton, Burns, Pope, Faber, Luther, Whittier, Lowell, Emerson, Dante, Ibsen, Omar Khayyam, Stedman, Uhland, Musset, Holland, Addison, Young, Longfellow, Arnold, Thomson, Mrs. Browning. Several entire poems are given, among them, "Haste, traveler, haste, the night comes on," "Thine arm, O Lord, in days of old," "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," "God holds the key of all unknown," and "O for a heart to praise my God!" Literary allusions and quotations from great numbers of prose authors attest wide reading on the part of the preachers. Among those quoted are Carlyle, Goethe, Bjornsen, Romanes, Lecky, Drummond, Fiske, William James, Mill, Neander, Pascal, Coleridge, Hawthorne, Huxley, Novalis. The compulsion of brevity has evidently been felt in many of the discourses, preventing or hindering elaborate introductions, ornate conclusions, and bursts of oratory. The sermons average about four thousand words, whereas those of

Bushnell and Phillips Brooks average six thousand three hundred. There are a few fine descriptive passages, but not much can be said as to special beauties of style or remarkable analysis of texts and themes, such as the masters of pulpit oratory favor us with. There is very little epigrammatic writing, such as one finds so constantly, for example, in the productions of Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, of New York. There are not many instances of great thoughts strikingly expressed, not many passages that could be included in any collection of gems of literature. As a rule, we have a series of strong and noteworthy sermons that must have made a deep impression on their hearers, sermons throbbing with life, in close touch with the practical affairs of men, animated by a true purpose to benefit the people and uphold Christ. There is very large variety of treatment. Some discourses are pretty strictly academic, smacking of the lamp and the study, with very little glow in them, little imagination or illustration, but abounding in dissection of motive and portraiture of character and insight into truth. Others are as distinctly built for popular effect, bordering at times on the colloquial, full of rhetorical and oratorical artifice, with brilliant declamation and exclamation, with abundant interrogation and exhortation, much ringing of changes on favorite phrases, pictorial, biographic, evidently requiring no little of gesture and posture effectually to set them forth in the process of delivery. Nearly all bear marks of thorough study, and must have been either read from the manuscript or committed to memory.

That the Methodist pulpit of to-day makes, on the whole, a very creditable and satisfactory showing in these pages may be positively affirmed, as was, of course, to be expected from the class of men chosen to prepare them, those occupying some of our foremost pulpits East and West. There is nothing crude or raw, or obsolete or objectionable. All, without exception, are friendly to liberal thought, so far as they touch upon it at all, yet all are clear in statement and sound in doctrine upon every essential point. No one declaims against the modern views of the Bible, or warns people of the danger of departing from the faith, or runs amuck against evolution and higher criticism. No one bewails the

degeneracy of the times or insists on the backslidden condition of the church. Some silences on certain points are to be regretted; and the nondoctrinal character of the discourses, on the whole, is rather marked. Yet it is evident that too much may be made of this. It should certainly be remembered that the contents of these volumes are not the product of one man, nor were they selected after mutual consultation with any eye to preserve a balance of doctrine. They are necessarily somewhat adapted to the tastes of the purchasing public, as they were doubtless adapted in their preparation to the wants of a miscellaneous congregation not much interested in the creed. They are not designed to furnish a system of theology, nor a series of oratorical masterpieces for declamation, nor authoritative deliverances on political and social questions. These they are not. But they are, in the main, excellent specimens of earnest endeavor by cultured spiritually-minded men to press important scriptural truth upon the hearts and minds of intelligent hearers. Not a little can be learned by our young ministers from a study of these volumes. And very many laymen in the large congregations that have listened to them will be glad to purchase them for the frequent perusal which they deserve. They will stand as good specimens of current Methodist preaching in the first decade of the twentieth century.

Art. VII.—DANTE'S MESSAGE TO THE PREACHER

There is a growing interest manifested in the writings of Dante. This interest shows itself in the number of interpretative books recently written and in the growing number of students who are studying Dante with pleasure and profit. One cause of this revival may be found in this new age refusing to bow to the dictum of the masters of the eighteenth century. That century characterized Dante as harsh, obscure, and extravagant. Walpole described the great Florentine's writings as "absurd, disgusting—in short, a Methodist parson in Bedlam." Chesterfield said, "I never could understand Dante, for which reason I had done with him." We no longer agree with these men. The great writers of the nineteenth century who devoted themselves to the study of Dante found as they penetrated the gloom of the Inferno and mounted "the Eternal Palace Stairs" of the Paradise new horizons of truth; and they also found in the Divine Comedy the autobiography of the greatest soul that ever recorded his struggle from gloom into light. A second cause for this revival may be found in the interest Dante took in the affairs of the state, city, and church. He was an ideal citizen in so far as his love for them is concerned, and in the passion he had for the purity of all; the revival to-day in civic and municipal righteousness finds a herald in Dante. His love for Florence and Italy made him a reformer; his passion for a purified church made him a prophet. The third cause for this revival may be found in the interest we take in things deeply spiritual. We are tired of this age of negation and doubt. This scientific age, while it has startled and delighted us, has not fed us. We hunger for the deeper things of the Spirit. "No man," says Mr. Carroll, "ever had a greater conception of the range and scope of the moral and spiritual life," and no man ever emerged from the suffering which sin causes with a faith so purified and serene. Mr. Carroll, in his recent book, Exiles of Eternity, devotes the last chapter to the "Conversion of Dante." I read it with profound interest and emotion. Dante's

struggle is my own. His passion for purity also is mine. If he arrived at God I too may; I will! Like Paracelsus,

> "If I stoop
> Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud,
> It is but for a time; I press God's lamp
> Close to my breast; its splendor, soon or late,
> Will pierce the gloom; I shall emerge one day."

Mr. Dinsmore is right when he says: "Dante is the greatest prophet of the Christian centuries, because he has given utterance to the largest aggregation of truth in terms of universal experience, and in a form permanent through exceeding beauty. That so many minds are turning to him for light and vigor is most significant and hopeful." I have no concern in this article with the biography of Dante, his astronomy, or the many interesting features of his great poem. I have but one aim: to tell what Dante has done for me, and this is after the manner of Methodists. In the first place, Dante has made a new student of me. When the noble tyranny of college life was released I felt the freedom of the hour, and suffered what many a young clergyman suffers—the temptation to become a tramp on the highways of literature; working if in the mood, but most of the time shambling and browsing. Dante halted me; he held me under the spell of his genius, and holds me still. His power over one is intense, but gentle and good. Mr. Dinsmore quotes Mr. Lowell as saying that in the study of a great piece of literature "you will be gradually and pleasantly persuaded to studies and explorations of which you little dreamed when you began, and will find yourselves scholars before you are aware." The Divine Comedy is surely a great piece of literature, and to master it, even in English, demands a scholar's habits. Dante cannot be read. He must be studied, thought, and mused upon. His great poem, like the poetry of Browning, is not for the man with a cigar and his afternoon siesta, but for the student. In the second place, Dante has fired my imagination as no poet has ever done. His power over the imagination is almost creative. In these dull times when there is no sky, no vision; in these times when "the sluggard intellect of this continent looks from under its iron lids"; in these

times when the illustrations for our sermons are taken from ships, wars, mines, money, Dante comes with an irresistible appeal to the imagination. He lifts it up, he chastens it, and on the sky of that rare world he puts his leagues of pictures which memory holds undimmed. When one closes Dante he is ready to give to his exalted work a faculty heightened and intensified. Hallam says: "An English mind that has drunk deep at the sources of southern inspiration, and especially that is imbued with the spirit of the mighty Florentine, will be conscious of a perpetual freshness and quiet beauty resting on his imagination and spreading gently over his affections, until, by the blessing of heaven, it may be absorbed without loss in the pure inner light of which that voice has spoken as no other voice can." Again, Dante has taught me a new lesson in patriotism. He has enlarged and yet intensified its meaning. Dante loved Italy with a passion. The glory of her past, the hopes for her future, created in his mind an ideal state for which he wrote and suffered. His idea of the state was that it was to be perfect. The emperor was to guide the affairs of the state and be the protector of the church. Italy was torn by internal strife. There was a constant warfare between the pope and the emperor:

> "Ah! slavish Italy! thou inn of grief!
> Vessel without a pilot in loud storm!
> Lady no longer of fair provinces,
> But brothel-house impure."

The condition of Italy brought him intense grief; but he looks for a deliverer who would destroy the "She-Wolf"—her worst enemy —"with sharp pain." Dante loved Florence no less than Italy. Municipal righteousness was as essential to his ideal condition of society as a righteous state. Florence was rich, but corrupt, and before his dream could be realized Florence must be pure. His attacks on those who corrupted the city and made it "one universal burst of unmitigated anarchy" sounds modern. Dante never divorced his religion from his politics. With him religion and politics were one. To be a patriot in times of political corruption is to be a reformer. Dante was that. "He became a resolute foe of the corruptions of his time." Unfettered by fear or favor,

he sits supremely as the judge of the good and evil of his day. No office or personage is too great or exalted to escape his condemnation or the scourge of his relentless attack. He incarnated the betrayers of the empire in the personages of Brutus and Cassius, whom he hangs in the "murky jaws of Lucifer, champed and bruised as with ponderous engine" in the nethermost hell, transfixed in ice. In paradise Dante meets with Cacciaguida, an ancestor of the family Alighieri. In discoursing about the purity of the former days and lamenting the corruptions of Florence Cacciaguida enjoins Dante to return and tell the truth:

> "Conscience dimmed, or by its own
> Or others' shame, will feel thy saying sharp.
> And let them wince who have their withers wrung.
> What though, when tasted first, thy voice shall prove
> Unwelcome, on digestion it will turn
> To vital nourishment."

If Dante's patriotism developed in him the spirit of a reformer, his religion made him a prophet. The church was as corrupt as the state. During the Middle Ages the fierce battle was between the popes and kings over the rights of temporal power and the rights of investiture. The emperor fought stubbornly for the power, as necessary for the existence of the state; but the popes claimed the same power for the church. Dante held that they should be separate. Each had its place. The state was to care for the welfare of the citizen, the church for his soul; and both "were to bring those who are living in this life out of a state of misery and to guide them to a state of happiness." He laments the assumption of the temporal power by the popes:

> "Rome was wont to boast two suns, whose several beams
> Cast light on either way, the world's [the king] and God's [the pope].
> One since hath quenched the other; and the sword
> Is grafted on the crook; and, so conjoined,
> Each must perforce decline to worse.
> The Church of Rome
> Mixing two governments that ill assort
> Hath fallen into mire."

The mantle of the prophet falls on him. We stand almost amazed at his fierce attacks on the popes. He seems savage. His words bite and sting; but his wrath came from a heart that was torn

and bruised and hurt by the sins of the men who stood in Peter's shoes. Dante was a layman in a church which to him was divinely sanctioned, and to see the shepherds false and profligate aroused his deepest hatred. He is not resentful, not vindictive; his cry is the cry of pain. To be a prophet requires courage no less than to be a reformer. In his prophetic role he never hesitates; he is sad, and often asks God for help, but he never excuses, palliates, or extenuates. Dante's critics condemn him because he assumed to sit in the seat of the Almighty and hurl his thunderbolts. We have no apology to make, but it is well for us to remember that a true prophet holds the prerogatives of Heaven. If we use the interdict of Jesus against judging, as far as it concerned Dante he was ready to be judged. In the eighth circle of the Inferno Dante puts three popes all accused of the guilt of simony. In canto xix he contrasts the simple life of Saint Peter and the apostles with the fat leaders of the church whose hands were full of guilty gold, and says:

> "Abide thou there;
> Thy punishment of right is merited;
> And look thou well to that ill-gotten coin."

The very last words of Beatrice to Dante in paradise are a condemnation of Clement V:

> "Whom God will not endure
> I' the holy office long; but thrust him down
> To Simon Magus, where Anagna's priest
> Will sink beneath him; such will be his meed."

The clergy no less than the popes met Dante's withering condemnation. He lamented the corruption of the orders:

> "The walls for Abbey reared turned into dens,
> The cowls to sacks choked up with musty meal.
> Foul usury doth not more lift itself
> Against God's pleasure than the fruit which makes
> The hearts of monks so wanton."

His wrath is kindled against the clergy who preach error for truth, and teach what they have long ceased to practice. Heaven's anger is kindled against those who take the "Book of God"—the Bible—and make it yield to man's authority: "The sheep,

meanwhile, poor, witless ones, return from pastures fed on wind." The climax to Dante's denunciation of sin in high places is found in canto xxvii of the Paradise, where all heaven flushes with red anger and shame as Peter describes the wickedness of those who turned the place he occupied into a "sewer of blood and stench." To understand the matchless beauty of this scene it is necessary to consider, in a few words, Dante's conception and construction of his paradise. He built this spiritual edifice out of light. Paradise was light, growing in intensity and crystalline beauty as he ascends from one star to another until he reaches the Empyrean. The Empyrean he finds

> "Embodied light;
> Whose goodly shine
> Makes the Creator visible to all
> Created. All is one beam
> Reflected from the summit to the first."

Heaven's multitudes are embodied light. He calls Beatrice "the day-star of mine eyes," and when he sees her she is all light, white, radiant, glorious. As they ascend from one star to another it is not by any conscious motion, but by an increased radiance on her face. This glow of light increases until she no longer smiles, for—

> "Did I smile thou wouldst become
> Like Semele when to ashes turned:
> For mounting these Eternal Palace Stairs
> My beauty so shines that,
> Were no tempering interposed,
> Thy mortal puissance would from its rays
> Shrink, as the leaf doth from a thunderbolt."

When Dante sees the hosts in heaven,

> "Faces they had of flame, and wings of gold:
> The rest was whiter than the driven snow.
> The fountain at whose source these drink their beams
> With light supplies them in as many modes
> As there are splendors that it shines on."

"Behold," says Beatrice, "this fair assemblage; stoles of snowy white." When Dante sees Saint John it is "with dazzled eyes." His sight of Christ drew from him this poetic eulogy:

"O Eternal Light!
Sole in thyself that dwell'st; and of thyself
Sole understood, past, present, or to come.
Thou smiledst on that circling which in thee
Seemed as reflected splendor, while I mused;
For I therein, methought, in its own hue
Behold our image painted."

In such a place of light is this scene laid. Heaven rings with the Gloria, and as the song dies away this whole vast realm of white light changes into a deep, angry red:

"Such color as the sun
At eve or morning paints an adverse cloud.
Beatrice in her semblance changed:
And such eclipse in heaven, methinks, was seen
When the Most Holy suffered."

Peter rises and speaks:

"Wonder not if my hue
Be changed; my place
He who usurps on earth (my place, ay, mine,
Which in the presence of the Son of God
Is void), the same hath made my cemetery
A common sewer of puddle and of blood.
In shepherd's clothing, greedy wolves below
Range wide over all of the pastures."

I know of no scene in the whole realm of literature so striking as this. Tennyson has something like it in his last lines of The Vision of Sin:

"And on the glimmering limit far withdrawn
God made himself an awful rose of dawn."

If those who betray the state find their merited punishment in the lowest hell, no less those who betray the church. Judas, along with Brutus and Cassius, hangs in the jaws of Lucifer.

But to be a reformer one must be content to suffer. Dante suffered. It is needless to enter here into the various fortunes of the factions that wasted Florence. The city became the battle ground of two parties. The pope concluded to send Charles of Valois, brother of Philip of France, to pacify Florence. Dante resisted this measure. He went to Rome to enter his protest. During his absence Charles entered Florence, and for five days

pillaged the city. Dante, being one of the most resolute foes of Charles and the pope, was one of their first victims. On January 27, 1302, he was banished from the city, and if ever caught on Florentine soil was to be put to death by burning. It was a blow from which he never recovered. He says, "Through almost all parts where this language is spoken, a wanderer, almost a beggar, I have gone, showing against my will the wounds of fortune." In 1316 Florence bade him return on conditions unworthy of a patriot. He spurned the offer. He could be a wanderer on the earth, a martyr even, but not a coward. Dante, as a reformer, inspires my message. He has taught me that a righteous city and a pure state are both essential to the coming of the kingdom of God. But how can the kingdom come when our cities are ruled and controlled by men who seek office, not to serve, but to plunder? If the next great awakening is to come by preaching the social laws of Jesus this preaching will find great stimulus in this great poem. In his De Monarchia Dante speaks of man as having two ultimate ends: "The one the beatitude of this life," under the direction of rulers whose office is as much sanctioned by the Almighty as the rulers who guide the soul in its attainment of "the beatitude of eternal life." Dante's views may seem ideal, but another great soul has taught us that this world is a subject for redemption.

If to be a reformer one must be content to suffer, much more to be a prophet. Dante's exile for the sake of truth gnawed constantly at his heart. His first pain was the anguish of disappointment because his ideals for his country and church were so little understood. His very face seemed to reflect the darkness of his fortunes. Boccaccio, after describing Dante's features, tells us that one day in Verona, as he was walking along the street, he passed a doorway where sat a group of women. One of them said softly to the others: "Do you see the man who goes down into hell and returns when he pleases, and brings back tidings of them that are below? Do you not see how his beard is crisped and his color darkened by the heat and smoke down there?"

But Dante's keenest suffering was from the pain of his personal purification. If he was to be a prophet of God he must be

pure. Like his great predecessor, this Florentine Isaiah needed the seraph with the live coal to purge away his iniquity. Within he also had heard the "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of hosts," and he confessed that he was a man of unclean lips. This great poem, whatever else it is, is the experience of a soul smitten with a deep sense of sin, that soul's conversion, purification, and its beatitude. The opening lines of the Inferno unlock the door of those caverns of sin in his own soul:

> "In the midway of this our mortal life,
> I found me in a gloomy wood astray."

Put emphasis on the words "gloomy wood" and "astray," and the personal aspect of the Inferno will be clear. Dante had sinned. His fall was in middle life. No sudden gust of youthful passion, but some dreadful wrong he had committed after the death of Beatrice. He does not tell us what it was, but the words of Beatrice reveal the fact. She prayed for him:

> "Nor availed me aught
> To sue for inspiration, with the which
> I, both in dreams of night and otherwise,
> Did call him back; of them so little recked him,
> Such depth he fell, that all device was short
> Of his preserving save that he should view
> The children of perdition."

These words of Beatrice sound modern. If we will sin we must see and feel its pain. Dante enters hell with Virgil; and as they come to the great gate of this lazar-house of woe they read the words written thereon:

> "Through me you pass into the city of woe.
> To rear me was the task of power divine,
> Supremest wisdom, and primal love."

The suffering sin causes is not resentment. The critics of Dante who look on the Inferno as "the utterance of personal resentment" have missed its great truth. Whatever be the mystery of pain, in its presence Dante is moved only to pity and to tears. In the second circle of hell he meets Francesca, tossed about in the gloom by a furious wind. He hears her story of illicit love and intrigue with her brother-in-law. Her suffering leads him to say:

"Francesca! your sad fate
Even to tears my grief and pity moves."

At the end of the story he says:

"I through compassion fainting
Seemed not far from death,
And like a corpse fell to the ground."

There is no resentment here. It is pity for sin and its consequential suffering. Dante does not even spare his friends. He weeps over them, but never excuses. Brunetto Latini, one of his teachers, who so "lately didst teach me the way for man to win eternity," Dante finds a hot, withered soul, pelted with storms of falling fire drops; but neither Brunetto nor Dante cries out against justice. Dante, from the tales he had read, knew of the sin of Francesca and his friend; he knew too well that sin here is hell, and the Inferno is but its continuation. All the great poets have been true to this great moral law. None have dared to do it violence. Shakespeare's tragedies, Jean Valjean's dream, Ottima and Sebald in Browning's Pippa Passes, Tennyson's Guinevere and Lancelot, hold true to the moral order of the universe, and do but teach, in a mild way, what Dante has put here in this horror of darkness, namely, that sin brings suffering here and hereafter.

Reader, Dante has a stern message here for our day. We have lost the sense of sin. This ugly ghost that haunts the vision of the great poets is hid beneath the gayety of our shallow life. Certain of our evolutionists have been teaching us that sin is but the vestige of our lower life, to be worked off and fall into disuse as physical organs do. We half believe them and are silent, hoping for the day. Dante comes to this new age with the message that sin creates its own hell. Let theology face about as it will. Let us hunt out the truth in the Bible suited to our new day, but at our peril do we neglect to teach the terrible realities of sin and its certain doom to the man who holds it until death. Dante's philosophy of hell is that the soul, by sinning, narrows itself down to its master sin, and in the presence of that one master sin the soul remains. There is no thought of the soul's escape. Hell is fixed, not as a place, but as a condition of the soul's life. There can be no escape, for in that condition there is not so much as

remorse, much less repentance. There is no hint, either, in the Inferno that its fires and darkness lead to either ultimate death or extinction.

In canto xxxiv, the last of the Inferno, Dante relates his escape. Having reached the very center of gravity, the "teacher, panting like a man forespent, departs from evil so extreme." Mr. Carroll makes this canto the climax of the whole Inferno, as in it Dante relates his conversion. In the Purgatory Dante seeks to answer the question as to the soul's purification. How is a willing soul to regain paradise? By what process is the soul cleansed of all taint of sin? This part of the Commedia is the most human because it reflects more clearly Dante's own struggle to be free from his own sense of sin. His theology taught him that purgatory was a place where the soul, by suffering, paid its own penalties for sin in order to satisfy divine justice. The suffering of a repentant soul was for its cure. Dante was also taught that the length of suffering could be shortened by the pious deeds and prayers of those on earth, because God loves deeds of mercy and worship much more than he loves justice. If Dante would call the Purgatory the story of his penance we would change the word to repentance, for here, in this halfway house of paradise, the soul is held until the stain of sin is purged away. We are not concerned so much here with his theology as we are with the poetic beauty of this part of the Commedia, and yet it has many helpful lessons for us. When they reach the isle of Purgatory Dante stretches out his face to Virgil, and he washes it with the dew still lingering on the grass. The dew restores the color to his face, which the smoke of hell had concealed. This beautiful act of the guide tells Dante that the sins of the soul must be washed away before the soul can begin its climb to paradise. After traveling the ante-purgatory Dante is carried by one Luca up to the gate of purgatory proper. There he sees three steps under a portal. The portal represents the sacrament of confession; the white marble step, sincerity; the sable represents contrition; and the red, the love of God. God's angel sat on a rock of diamond, with a blunt sword in his hand. Dante approached the angel and prostrated himself:

"Seven times
The letter that denotes the inward stain
He, on my forehead, with the blunt point
Of his drawn sword inscribed. And 'Look,' he cried,
'When entered, that thou wash these scars away.'"

The greater part of the Purgatory is taken up with Dante's ascent up the seven terraces, where one by one these seven sins are purged away. At last he arrives at the earthly paradise with a white brow. In roaming through the earthly Eden he comes upon two streams whose source is God. The lady he meets tells him that the one stream, Lethe, brings forgetfulness of sin; the other, Eunoe, brings remembrance of all good deeds. But before Dante is to plunge through the one and drink of the other he is to meet Beatrice, who will recall to him his wayward life. The whole scene here is indescribably beautiful. The deep human problem Dante grapples with is a problem which perplexes us all. If salvation saves from sin, does it also spread the mantle of oblivion over the memory of our sin? The question is not only to be free from the power and stain of sin, but to have the memory cleansed. Dante's brow is white of actual sin, but how white the memory? This question Dante solves in his own way. Beatrice descends from heaven, "in white veil with olive wreathed, beneath green mantle, robed in hue of living flame." From across the stream she begins her long speech of reproach. The whole discourse, full of gentle, stern rebuke, is intended to recall to Dante's mind his past sins, to revive the memory of his errors. He is overwhelmed in her presence:

"Remorseful goads
Shot sudden through me.
On my heart so keenly smote
The bitter consciousness that on the ground
O'erpowered I fell."

When he awoke he was being drawn through the river Lethe; and, having reached the opposite shore, the dame immersed him while the choir sang, "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean: wash me and I shall be whiter than snow." The memory of the bitter past was gone, and Beatrice revealed to him her second beauty. This may be but a poet's dream, but it is the desire of every soul

that has felt the agony of sin, then God's forgiveness, but whose memory nags the present with bitter regret and the sense of the loss of power. The soul craves a Lethe into whose waves it can plunge and say with Dante, "I do not remember that I was ever estranged from thee."

Of the Paradise it is impossible to speak much within the limits of a single article. It is the most difficult part of the Commedia. The only attitude of mind that will bring the student any value is that of reverence and sympathy. This attitude will give one the historic sense which is so needful to help us to understand the difficulties in constructing this part of the poem. Dante was compelled to use the material at hand. The crude astronomy of the day, the heavy theology of Aquinas, motion as expressive of joy, his conceptions of truth, all seem crude to us and sometimes grotesque; but suppose we regard all these as the rounds of a ladder to climb to a view of God. Suppose we regard the Paradise as the efforts of a pure life to record its visions of the soul when thrown into the highest religious rapture; then there will dawn upon us something of the greatness of this part of the poem. According to Dante, religion consists in a view and a knowledge of God. When this is attained the soul reaches its beatitude. Having attained his view of God, he is not to rest in heaven a cowled monk or a mystic. His prayer is that memory may hold his visions until he can record them; and, having seen God, to return and give his message to a waiting and sinful world. To my mind there can be no commentaries on the Paradise. It must find its explanation in each reader's own heart's experiences and passions for holiness and God. If Dante's efforts for a view of God and his passion for truth find no sympathy in our own life the Paradise will ever remain what Leigh called it: "A heaven libeling itself with invective against earth, and terminating in a great presumption."

Rufus J. Wyckoff.

Art. VIII.—THE PROTEST OF IMMORTALITY

(A Study of the Sixteenth Psalm)

The Old Testament has nowhere lifted immortality into a stated doctrine, but it is implied, assumed, insisted upon in many of its noblest utterances. The ancient Hebrew seemed in the finest sense a practical man; he was not given to speculative thought, but was bent on living. He solved his problems not by logic, but by experience. Job's logic served him little, but his eager, groping, growing life of faith finally settled all doubts and illumined theology for all time. These men had already grasped the great truth of our modern singer, that

> "'Tis life whereof our nerves are scant,
> Oh life, not death, for which we pant:
> More life, and fuller;"

and it was the pressure of this "fuller" life upon them that now and then lifted the nobler souls into expressions of immortality. One of the finest in all the book is this sixteenth psalm. It runs the way of man's fuller life; it climbs from aspiration to experience, from experience to assurance. Its superb genius is couched in the first two and last two words of the psalm, "Preserve me . . . for evermore."

The longing to be preserved is as old as the race; this song in itself is a token of it. Every picture and every book is a testimony that one does not want to utterly perish from the earth, and every monument to the great and good is a testimony that we do not want men to die out of our midst. The longing runs deeper; it takes hold on being itself. The Egyptian wraps his mummy to preserve him, the savage equips his warrior for the journey, and the Athenian bathes his imagination twice a year in the refreshing thought of the Eleusinian mysteries. But it is not simply to be preserved in song, to be cherished in grateful memory, nor to be preserved in body that we long. There is another, deeper, trend to life, a larger, nobler, prayer for preservation. Note it in the child who comes into a world that is too much for him. Through

the senses he is overwhelmed, through authority almost obliterated, through desire led astray from his own central being. Then the incipient "me" within begins its effort for existence, its prayer for preservation, its struggle to hold together, to be, to be *some one:* "Preserve me lest I sink beneath the waves of sense; preserve me lest through authority I drop into an automaton; preserve me lest I stray from the scripture of my own being." Or note it in man who slowly struggles from savagery up into himself. Here is the goal of civilization, the strain and stress of the world movement: that man may be preserved; the individual man come to himself. This is the aim of democracy; for this we turn upon nature, join our fortunes with our fellows, and set our life constantly toward higher ideals. But our psalm grasps the idea of preservation in a still larger sense. The word itself here means simply an appeal to the guardianship of God. The man casts his fortunes into the hands of the Almighty. The real scope of these fortunes is brought out in the words that play through the prayer. We get a man's idea of life in his prayer. One man prays and he talks of nothing but something to eat, something to wear, something to put into his pockets; another man prays, and it is one great cry for God, the appeal of the thirsty garden for water, the groping of a flower for the sun. The second verse is a little difficult to translate, but doubtless has this significance: "I have no good beyond Thee." It is the cry for the ideal, the quest for the chief good, the bruised reed making its appeal to the sanitation of the universe, the prayer to be perfect as our Father in heaven is perfect. Link to this that other sentence in the third verse, that his "delight is in the saints"; not in a material golden age to come, but in a purified and glorified humanity. Here is man's noblest dream for the future, the harmony of the world. Now add to this that other thought in the fourth verse, that "sorrows shall be multiplied to them that seek another than God"; that all the fortunes of man are bound up in the purpose of the one God.

"That God who ever lives and loves,
One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

We have, then, the man's ideal for progress, sainthood for the world's destiny, and the one immortal purpose of God for the goal. Progress, harmony, unity—these, they tell us, are the great discoveries of science during the last century; these, they say, are the vital principles that live at the heart of the universe, the essential and immortal constitution of worlds. And this old Hebrew poet lifts them into prayer. He is alive with the genius of worlds. Yea, already new worlds are forming on the horizon; eventually new heavens and new earths must roll into view.

But let us pass still deeper into the shrine of our poet's soul. One who prays so well must needs have a great experience, for prayer is born of experience. The great thought the man has cherished about life has found a response in the great cherishing thought of God. The gist of his experience seems to circle about this sentence: "Thou hast maintained my lot."

When God makes a seed and puts it in the world then he weaves about it a universe full of seed-ministries; he maintains its lot. When he fashions a bird, so minutely and frailly, then about it he shapes a universe full of bird-ministries; he maintains its lot. And when he brings in man, so "fearfully and wonderfully made," then he overarches him with a universe, seen and unseen, full of man-ministries. Ah, such ministries: the care of Providence, the redeeming work of the Cross, and the regenerating power of the Spirit! He maintains his lot. This lot of man has differentiated itself from the lower world. What the dividing line is and where it is drawn we know not. The gazelle outstrips us in speed, the lion in strength, the eagle in vision. Yet look again into that child's eye. There is another kind of vision; something we cannot read, cannot guess, cannot even talk about; something that differentiates the child for higher destinies; and we take him away to the church and say, "Baptize this child in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We have set him apart for destinies not outlined in these earthly tracings. We have set him apart for communions that are not of this world, for experiences that overrun all earth boundaries. And this is the thought of the psalmist; he tells us how his life is completely involved in the life of God; "the lines have fallen" to him out of

God's hands. The measuring lines of life are not of man, but of God. Our life is "broader than the measure of man's mind," our estates too vast for the little human surveyors. The plan is with God. He is the architect of our fortunes.

But he touches another thought: the ministering "cup," the higher communion in the way, and this is of God. Along the mountain road you have come upon a little spring, and some benevolent soul has chained a cup to it for the thirsty traveler. Along that great and difficult mountain road of man that leads ever to higher things you will find by every springside the cup of God—those fountains of truth, beauty, and goodness that take their rise beneath the throne of God and the Lamb. The measuring lines are in his hands; we share his cup; "his counsels instruct us night and day." Every delver for truth is seeking the counsels of God, searching out the constitution of things.

But the psalmist is now ready for his conclusion, for his "therefore." His argument has not been built on analogy nor logic, but life. There is blood in his "therefore." It throbs with vitality. He has climbed from aspiration to experience, from experience to God, and from this new height flings forth the nobler song of assurance. And it is wonderful how truly in line with the best modern thought is this old Hebrew singer. Evolution has come at last to take its place as a process that can no more do without God than the old mechanical theory. The seed does not of itself evolve into a flower. If, as Professor Drummond suggests, it be placed "in vacuo" it will never evolve. The fact is the seed evolves through a ministry that environs it, in which it lives, moves, and has its being; and at last the scientist tells us that the universe itself is evolved through a larger ministry: One in whom it lives, moves, and has its being. And the process is ever from the lower to the higher; each new petal is touched to higher spiritualities. All this mighty moving, grinding, unfolding that is going on about us is just the spiritualization of the universe.

"Eternal process moving on,
From state to state the spirit walks;
And these are but the shattered stalks
Or ruined chrysalis of one."

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> "Eternal process moving on,
> From state to state the spirit walks;
> And these are but the shattered stalks
> Or ruined chrysalis of one."

"These things shall wax old like a garment, and they shall be changed, but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail." O thou eternal Creator, Redeemer, Evolver, thy years shall not fail; worlds may be outworn, but thou continuest. And this is the assurance of the old Hebrew bard; it rests on the being of God—through aspirations to experience, through experience to God, through God to the great protest of immortality: "Therefore thou wilt not leave my soul in Sheol; thou wilt not suffer thine holy one to see corruption;" thou wilt not cast away my immortal being with the mortal garment. It is an absolute impossibility unless God turn back the whole course of the universe. In the aspiration of man, in the experience of the soul, in the purpose of God, my destiny lies beyond.

Then the protest rises into prospect: "Thou wilt show me the path of life." God is not only the great poet who sings the real, as Mrs. Browning suggests; he is also the great artist who unveils "the path of life." With that prospect on before it is good to live; every emotion is on fire, every thought kindled to expectation, every purpose girt with power. It is not a dream path of the human imagination running its ideal way above the cloud line. Nor is it that low, sordid path of transient realism that runs zigzag among the things of time, never daring to assert its immortal meaning. It is the great highway of God shaped for the progress of man, the spiritualization of life and the destiny of being.

"Thou wilt show me the path of life." It is the way of the divine revealing; he leads and interprets. "In thy presence is fullness of joy, in thy right hand are pleasures for evermore." In our hands life withers and dies; in his hands it is touched to immortality, to tasks of infinite scope.

"So many worlds, so much to do,
So little done, such things to be."

Gardner S. Eldridge

Art. IX.—A NEW POET: FREDERIC LAWRENCE KNOWLES

Some three years ago appeared a little volume of verse, On Life's Stairway, which evinced originality and genuine gift of phrase. It was the work of Mr. Frederic Lawrence Knowles, a graduate of the oldest Methodist college, Wesleyan, in the class of 1894. As Wesleyan men or as Methodists many of us took pride in the volume; but that pride was not due to mere loyalty for one of our own alumni or sect; it was pride arising out of recognition of really excellent poetry, poetry which noted critics did not hesitate to commend in unusual terms. Good as was this volume, it revealed certain slight extravagances, immaturities, need of development; and into Mr. Knowles's second volume, Love Triumphant, three years of rich development have been poured. It is in all respects a better product, a more contained, more serious, more significant product. The former faults have greatly decreased: the insistent alliteration, the slight tendency to what is merely declamatory, the occasionally ill-based sentiment, the adherence to conventionality. Especially is there growth in robustness—less of the lily and more of the oak. The bold and unequivocal religious criticism of The Larger View, particularly of the concluding stanzas, is indicative of this change; but the poem A Challenge best reflects it. A few lines follow:

> "O rather, when the mad Hands through the dark,
> Unseen and self-provoked, shall lash my will,
> Let me the stancher bare me to the blow,
> Rise, hide my hurt, suppress the groan, fold arms,
> Erect and scornful, though my back may bleed,
> Though flesh, nerve, sensibilities, cry out!"

Mr. Knowles has closed his Swinburne and opened his Browning. Equally noticeable is a growth in emotional power. One may select at least twenty poems in this second volume which are none of your mere pretty pieces that leave the heart beating at precisely the same rate at which they found it. And this ability to stir emotion is often combined with noble seriousness, dignity,

really valuable criticism of life. Sincerity reinforced by individuality stamps such verses as Love Immortal, Credo, and The Twofold Prayer. The poet is commenting upon life for himself, as a poet should; he is sanely and strongly original. There is thought touched with imagination throughout the volume. No mere versifier's imagination this, moreover; rather the imagination of those few now living poets who are unmistakably dowered with the inward vision. Where among our present-day "sweet singers" of America will you point us a half dozen who can write like this:

> "Those forest-conquering heroes, dauntless, free,
> By the long, treacherous cape which, then as now,
> With gaunt, crook'd finger beckoned to the sea"?

or like this:

> "When June flees down her laughing lanes
> As fast as foot can fall"?

or this:

> "Now am I grown Death's slave
> Whom he lets live for pastime"?

Here is imagination of the true sort, impossible to mistake; and imagination couched in that magic of phrase which denies itself to the mere versifier of attractive mediocrity. One who in reading this little book makes his first acquaintance with Mr. Knowles's work must feel something of that joy of discovery which Keats has forever expressed in a famous sonnet. I say merely something; for I should be doing the author a disservice were I to indulge in that fulsome adulation which now characterizes so much of our American criticisms in newspaper and periodicals. Yet this magic phrase is occasionally so striking that one risks little in an assertion that it reveals a possible successor to our famous group of New England poets. In no American poet since Lowell and Longfellow have any of us heard melody more sounding and noble, sentiment more simple in the mastery of simplicity—in brief, style and content of truer ring—than in such of Mr. Knowles's poems as Laus Mortis, Directions to a Traveler, and the Ode to New England. Here is not merely art, but art fired with "inspiration and the poet's dream." The sublime simplicity in the close of Directions to a Traveler abides with the reader as only true poetry can. Says Leslie Stephen, "I believe in poetry which

learns itself by heart;" and seldom was keener judgment uttered. This whole poem, which I quote below, discloses that lack of adornment, that true simplicity, which Matthew Arnold so admired in Wordsworth—"bald," he said, "as the bare mountain tops are bald, with a baldness which is full of grandeur":

"'How far must I follow this dusky way?'
Till the hills grow faint in the twilight gray.

"'Must I keep to the road till it drops from sight?'
At the line of the sky is a path to the right.

"'And what is the name of the crossroads there?'
The name on the finger post is *Care*.

"'And must I travel that new path far?'
Till the West is bright with the Evening Star.

"'And how many miles must I journey then?'
Till you reach the Tavern of All Good Men.

"'And how many roofs shall I have to pass?'
But one: that Hostelry, thatched with grass.

"'And whither thence at the dawn of day?'
The Host, when He wakes you, will point the way."

Laus Mortis has almost the same simplicity, a noble melody, and in addition an Hellenic quality which makes it in every sense classic. Its greater length prevents complete quotation, but no one who takes up the volume should fail to peruse this notable performance. It has that scarcely describable dignity which is not the dignity of coldness but of justly restrained and polished workmanship. The eleventh and twelfth couplets are particularly felicitous:

"Where Life, the Sower, stands,
Scattering the ages from his swinging hands,

"Thou waitest, Reaper lone,
Until the multitudinous grain hath grown."

Still more significant, on account of its much greater length, considerably over a hundred lines, is the Ode to New England. This I venture to pronounce not unworthy of comparison with some of Lowell's work. It possesses uniformity of quality, flashes of imag-

ination and of felicitous phrase, nobility of style and substance, and lofty appeal to lofty emotions. I can quote only one stanza:

"Thou art the rough nurse of a hero-brood,
New England, and their mighty limbs by thee
Were fashioned—they, the bards, the warriors rude,
Whom Time hath dowered with fame imperishably.
But not alone for this I love thee; I
On thy bare mother-breast have laid my head,
And drunk the cool, deep silence, while the sky,
Confederate of my joy, laughed o'er my bed.
Thus have I lain till half I seemed a part—
In my clairvoyant mood—of Nature's plan;
The very landscape crept into my heart,
And they were one—the sense, the soul, of man;
My kinship with life's myriad forms I knew:
Worms in the world of green, wings in the world of blue!"

The sustained length of this poem gives promise of future power for which the comment of my preceding pages may prove inadequate. Yet it is preferable, in judgment of contemporary product, to exercise too much caution rather than too little. "Deliver me from my friends" may well have been the wish of many a literary man; for no deeper disservice can be proffered than the "foolish face of praise," the unrestrained plaudits of that false friendship which, in a mistaken loyalty, forgets its duty of serene discrimination.

Art. X.—SAINT PAUL AS A POET

In the narrower sense of a maker of verses Saint Paul was not a poet; he was too busy. But in the broader sense "one who by his powers of insight and expression presents ideas in new, harmonious, and beautiful forms" is also a poet, and sometimes a poet of the highest order. Such was Saint Paul. Not that Paul was ignorant of poetic form. He could on occasion embellish his page with the rolling hexameter. Thus in his great address to the Athenian literati on Mars' Hill he aptly quotes certain of their own poets, so aptly, indeed, that we cannot doubt that his mind was well stored with their poetry. His quotation is from Cleanthes's Hymn to Zeus, of which Lightfoot says, "Heathen devotion seldom or never soars higher than in this sublime hymn."

> "Thine offspring are we;
> Therefore will I hymn thy praises,
> And sing thy might forever:
> Thee all this universe,
> Which rolls about the earth,
> Obeys, wheresoever thou dost guide it,
> And gladly owns thy sway."

Paul's quotation is thus given; he is setting forth "the God that made the world, and all things that are therein," and says: "He is not far from each one of us, for in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your poets have said, For we also are his offspring." Paul's exact words, Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, which have the swing of the hexameter, are found in a poem of Aratus, a Cilician like Paul himself, so famous in his day that Ovid declares that his fame shall live as long as the sun and moon endure —"*Cum sole et luna semper Aratus erit.*" "How little," says Conybeare, "did the Athenian audience imagine that the poet's immortality would really be owing to the quotation made by the despised provincial!" Note, too, how far Paul soars above the poet whom he immortalizes as he hymns the praise of the same God: "God, . . . which is the blessed and only Potentate, who only hath immortality, dwelling in light unapproachable, whom

no man hath seen nor can see; to whom be honor and power eternal. Amen." Or when he cries: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counselor? or who hath first given unto him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to him be glory forever. Amen." If Aratus's immortality be as the sun and moon, Paul's shall be measured by the years of God. Paul's knowledge of Greek poetry was not confined to the lofty and religious. He puts into the hand of his friend Titus, bishop of Crete, a slingshot taken from the armory of Epimenides, whom Paul characterizes as "one of themselves, a prophet of their own," hard and heavy enough to crack even a Cretan skull: "Always liars and beasts are the Cretans, and inwardly sluggish." In this fine translation by Conybeare we get the very swing of the hexameter. Again to the Corinthians he gives a line from the Thais of Menander, the Athenian dramatist, so full of shrewd common sense—the wisdom of many packed into a single line by the wit of one—that it has passed into proverbial use in many tongues, including our own: "Evil communications corrupt good manners."

But we fail to realize Paul's poetic training until we note how he revels in Hebrew poetry. Turn the leaves of the Revised Version, and find Paul's great epistles full of the best thoughts of the Hebrew poets, the psalmists and the prophets of Israel—seventeen distinct quotations in the Epistle to the Romans alone, in one of which the apostle probably restores several stanzas lost to us in the original and the ancient verses. In such an abundance selection is difficult. A single illustration may suffice. Paul is engaged with that most inspiring theme, the salvation of the Gentiles, and affirms that they, as well as the Jews, have cause to glorify God for his mercy: "As it is written, Therefore will I give praise unto thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name. And again he saith, Rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people. And again, Praise the Lord, all ye Gentiles; and let all the peoples praise him. And again, Isaiah saith, There shall be the root of Jesse, and he

that ariseth to rule over the Gentiles; on him shall the Gentiles hope." The fitness as well as the abundance of such citations in the writings of Paul show how profoundly he was versed in the best poetry of his people.

Nor is he unfamiliar with the Christian hymnology of his day. There is that beautiful stanza in the Epistle to the Ephesians, which we may render:

> "Awake, thou that sleepest,
> And from the dead arise,
> And Christ shall shine upon thee;"

and the hymn to Christ in the First Epistle to Timothy:

> "He who was manifest in the flesh,
> Justified in the spirit,
> Seen of angels,
> Preached among the Gentiles,
> Believed on in the world,
> Received up in glory."

In moments of glowing fervor, as, for instance, when from the summit of laboriously constructed argument he gazes out upon some broad expanse of truth, Paul equals, if he does not excel, his best models in those powers of insight and expression which mark the poet of the highest order. Here again we must content ourselves with a few of the many possible illustrations. We have already cited his glorious hymns of praise to God; but not less striking are his ascriptions of praise to Christ. Take this for example: "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, existing in the form of God, counted not the being on an equality with God a thing to be grasped, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, becoming obedient even unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Prose this may be, but it is prose on fire.

Turn we now to Saint Paul's Hymn of Love. Time forbids,

and, indeed, familiarity renders unnecessary, extended citation; but let us taste the flavor of a few lines: "Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." Take another taste: "Now we see in a mirror, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know fully even as also I was fully known. But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love." Try a few lines now from the great Resurrection Hymn: "This corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. But when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall come to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

But perhaps the most striking prose poem that ever fell from the apostle's gifted pen is the anthem with which he closes his greatest chapter, the eighth of Romans. With this we rest our contention that this man, who perhaps never imagined it of himself, was a poet of the very first order. It is now many years since the poetic quality of this psalm of praise so impressed me that I attempted to turn it into English verse, calling it Saint Paul's Hymn. That you may perceive how thoroughly poetic it is I venture to give a few lines in that form:

"What foes have we to fear
If God be on our side?
With his protection near,
What evil can betide?
Who gave his Son for us to bleed
Will surely give us all we need.

"Who shall the saints accuse
Whom God hath justified?
Or grace to those refuse
For whom the Saviour died?
Who now before the throne of grace
Stands pleading for our fallen race?

"What power shall separate
Us from the Father's love?
Not storms of hellish hate
The steadfast soul can move;
Nor tribulation, nor distress,
Nor hunger, cold, and nakedness.

"Nay, more than conquerors,
Through him who loves us well,
Although the battle roars,
Sheer from the mouth of hell;
For he who all our strength supplies
Is greater than our enemies!

"Shall neither life nor death,
Present nor future ill,
Nor powers above, beneath,
Nor man's nor demon's will,
Nor any other creature, move
The soul that rests in Jesus' love."

But such a poet needs no help from rhyme or meter. Take his words as they glow on the sacred page, and say, Is not this man a poet? "For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

David Steppel.

Art. XI.—EDMUND BURKE—AN APOSTLE OF CONSERVATISM

Macaulay, reading the works of Burke over again, said, "How admirable! The greatest man since Milton." Edmund Burke was born in Ireland, either in 1728 or 1729. His mother was a Catholic, his father a Protestant, and, while Edmund adhered to Protestantism, he ever had a high esteem for the creed in which his mother was reared and lived. It is said that his father was a man of irritable temper, and that father and son often fell into violent altercation. During the year 1741 Schackleton, a Quaker, became Edmund's teacher in Ballitore, and continued such for a period of two years. For five years he was a student at Trinity College, and took the degree of B.A. in 1748. The time here he employed largely in reading in the public library. "All my studies," he said while at college, "have rather proceeded from sallies of passion than from the preference of sound reason; and like all other natural appetites, have been very violent for a season, and very soon cooled, and quite absorbed in the succeeding. I often have thought it a humorous consideration to observe and, sum up all the madness of this kind I have fallen into this two years past. First, I was greatly taken with natural philosophy, which, while I should have given my mind to logic, employed me incessantly. This I call my furor mathematicus. But this worked off as soon as I began to read it in the college, as men by repletion cast off their stomachs all they have eaten. Then I turned back to logic and metaphysics. Here I remained a good while and with much pleasure, and this was my furor logicus, a disease very common in the days of ignorance, and very uncommon in these enlightened times. Next succeeded the furor historicus, which also had its day, but is now no more, being entirely absorbed in the furor poeticus." He gave, however, much attention to the study of history. History is the ark that rides triumphant on the ocean tide of humanity and preserves all that is vital in human progress. It is opulent and opens all doors, and is a disclosure of science, art, literature, philosophy, and religion. Burke saw the worth of

knowing history, and especially the story of his own island. He pathetically spoke of Ireland in these words: "I am endeavoring to get a little into the accounts of this our poor country."

In 1750 Burke found his home in London, where for nine years he abode in obscurity. But these years were of sowing seed to leap into a golden harvest, and the obscurity of this period gave root to his character. At first he gave some attention to the survey of law, mastering its principles and methods; and for the law, though aware of its drawbacks, he ever had a lofty regard. He once said: "The law is, in my opinion, one of the first and noblest of human sciences; a science which does more to quicken and invigorate the understanding than all the other kinds of learning put together. But it is not apt, except in persons very happily born, to open and liberalize the mind in the same proportion." But the study of literature became a passion with Burke, and he wisely abandoned the bar. He attended debating clubs and theaters and traveled summers, but kept up his reading habit now fully formed. "Reading," he said, "and much reading, is good." Who objects to this? Who does not know that reading has expanded shrunken realms? The old saying is, "Beware of the man of one book." Yes, "Beware." The originality that cannot read libraries and intermeddle with all knowledge is worth our pity. It pays at times to read poor books for the suggestions they bring to us. An infirm performance in print, as well as in speech, may set us to thinking, and in all reading the vital worth is not in what we receive from what we read, but what we impart to it. But hear Burke once more: "The power, however, of diversifying the matter infinitely in your mind, and of applying it to every occasion that arises, is far better; so do not suppress the *invida vis*." Burke not only became a great reader, but also a great talker, and is known as one of the noted conversers of the eighteenth century, along with Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, and others. Talking with others reveals to us our gaps in knowledge. During the year 1756 Burke's essay on Natural Society was published. The aim of the essay was to counteract the rationalism of England. He looked with great dislike upon skepticism, its icy throne surrounded by inky darkness, and saw that it is always popular through the mar-

gin it grants to behavior, and all the truths and facts of Christianity, instead of a single plank, made a landing to which to tie his vessel. In the same year Burke published his essay on The Sublime and Beautiful. This treatise abounds in crude and imperfect notions, such as "Variety is out of place in architecture;" "Sad colors make the sublime." According to the latter maxim, a dooryard full of evergreen trees is not funereal, but sublime. The law announced in this famous treatise is: The principles of art are not to be found in the artistic achievements of men, but in human nature itself. He said: "But art can never give the rules that make an art. This is, I believe, the reason why artists in general, and poets principally, have been confined in so narrow a circle: they have been rather imitators of one another than of nature, and this with so faithful a uniformity, and so remote an antiquity, that it is hard to say who gave the first model. I can judge but poorly of anything whilst I measure it by no other standard than itself. The true standard of the arts is in every man's power; and an easy observation of the most common, sometimes the meanest, things in nature will give the truest lights, where the greatest sagacity and industry that slights such observation must leave us in the dark, or, what is worse, amuse and mislead us by false lights. In an inquiry it is almost everything to be once on a right road." This principle announced by Burke has shed a wholesome influence upon the world of art.

Burke was appointed secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, prime minister of England, and, sent to Parliament, identified himself with the Whig party. All Americans know he spoke thrilling words in our behalf in our struggle for independence. He, however, did not deny the right of taxing the colonies in America, but he would not divorce an abstract right from expediency. He said: "The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy. It is not what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do. When you drive him hard the boar will surely turn upon the hunters. Nobody will be argued into slavery." When told that America was worth fighting for he said, "Certainly it is, if fighting a people be

the best way of gaining them." Burke could not stop the conflict in England as well as in America, which contest resulted in our separation from England, a victory to the mother country as well as to us, and the contest at the accession of William and Mary triumphed in constitutional liberty on English soil, and England has become a great democracy. In 1782 Burke became privy councilor and paymaster of the troops, and when Pitt took hold of the reins of the government in company with Fox he led the opposition. Afterward he acted as one of the managers of the trial of Warren Hastings, which trial lasted for ten years. Burke spoke nine days at this trial, and the closing portion of his speech for the impeachment of Hastings was elaborated sixteen times before delivery. Hastings, listening to the peroration, felt himself to be the most guilty man in the world. We give a single sentence of the peroration: "We have never said he was a tiger and a lion: no, we have said he was a weasel and a rat." If Burke did not prevent the acquittal of Hastings he secured the overthrow of a corrupt system of rule in India. The great trial was the theme of one of Macaulay's finest essays.

When the fires of the French Revolution began to flame into the sky Burke opposed the aims of the revolutionists, and his Reflections on the Revolution of France within the period of a single year reached nineteen thousand copies in England and thirteen thousand in France in the sales to the people. This remarkable essay, a superb contribution for the old order of things of royalty, killed the Revolution of France among English people, and was a breakwater against the disintegrating forces let loose in Europe. Still there was a principle under the French Revolution which Burke would have seen had he been true to his own maxims. God sometimes becomes weary of the monotonous run of affairs oppressive and depressive, and breaks it up with earthquake power. Great truths often live in the hearts of fanatics. A force down in the earth where the sun does not shine comes up to the surface with volcanic power.

Burke died July 17, 1797. As an orator, voice, gesture, manner, and Irish brogue were against Burke. His discursiveness, by which he did not make his orations reach unity of effect, was not

calculated to win popular applause. He was unable to substitute philosophical disquisition for impressive appeal, and his tax upon the mental energy of his hearers was such that he usually spoke to empty seats; they who left him by himself, however, would read with delight his speech in print. It was as a thinker that Burke excelled, and although he lost hearers he has won a multitude of readers. The hat he wore covered more brains and ideas than are found, as a rule, in the heads of others. His works therefore are studded with profound ideas, and on any page can be found a maxim that would do credit to Bacon. He had great wealth of imagination and was profuse in the use of striking metaphors. He drew generously from all departments of knowledge in the making of orations, which, though uttered for his day, have entered into the permanent possession of all days to come. Such a man would be guilty of exaggeration and excessive ornamentation, but, flinging these aside, what a remainder! His works are heavy, but it is always so with wheat. Garfield was a political student of Burke, and it has been said that Garfield in Congress was Burke transferred from the British Parliament. The jurisprudence of modern England has been shaped by the words of Burke. He said in a speech at Bristol that he was more indebted to his convictions than his constituents. Burke's quarrel with Fox is evidence that clay entered into his composition. Burke and Fox had been fond friends, but because Fox was the friend of the French Revolution, and though he cried with tears, "There is no loss of friendship," Burke sternly said, "Our friendship is at an end." Green in his Short History of England has vividly told the story of the unfortunate affair. Burke was practical as well as scientific—practical, he was able to discern differences, and, scientific, he could catch in his vision resemblances.

The great overpowering passion in the soul of Edmund Burke was love of what has been, and although an Irishman he is England's great conservative. In closing this study of Burke it may be truthfully said that every age needs something of that passion Burke constantly fed. He who cuts loose from the experiences and achievements of the past is enfeebling the present. The notion that we are the children of yesterday needs emphasis. The

century takes root in the preceding one—indeed, in all centuries whose events have fallen into the lap of history, and thus history becomes the record of an unbroken line of heroisms, failures, and happy realizations. Certainly we are not to ride in the car of time with our faces looking backward, but we may remember the starting places and the stations passed. The creeds of the past are the high-water marks of earnest inquiry and patient thought; they may be in need of restatement, revision, perhaps abandonment, but they stand for movement. Cain, who lifted his club of destruction to fall upon Abel, who adhered to what little there was in the past, was not a conservative. Abraham was the founder of a great people who kept alive through centuries the oracles of the past. Jesus was a conservative, for he fulfilled the voices of the generations behind him, and though speaking words of hope which made soft music in the ears of struggling humanity he emphasized the terrors of quaking Sinai, and his fiery indignation made men shrivel because they had left the ancient landmarks. Columbus hushing the murmurs of mutiny of angered sailors was keeping true to the traditions of other days. An army with a base of operations from which to draw welcome supplies captures cities and territories. In the mountain, white-headed because covered with eternal snows, is the nourishing breast from which flow rivers to gladden many valleys with fruits, flowers, and grains. Let Edmund Burke wear the crown of conservatism.

B. J. Hendley.

Art. XII.—SCIENCE, AND SCIENCE FALSELY SO CALLED

In matters involving scientific investigation it is well for the average man to be neither too credulous nor too skeptical. It is well known that a company of famous men who were well versed in such matters mistook a stone donkey-shed on the Irish island of Arran, which shed had been built only two years, for a building erected in gray antiquity by a race of men long since extinct. That does not prove, however, that such men are generally mistaken in their conclusions concerning ancient life, art, institutions, or civilizations; but only that they are not inspired or infallible. Schiaparelli observing that the surface of the planet Mars was marked with lines running in different directions concluded they were rivers, water channels, and being an Italian he called them correctly in his own language *canali*, and this word came over into the English as canals; canals are the channels men dig for water—and so the inference that there must be men, diggers, on the planet Mars; and hence we have been hearing discussions as to the best method of signaling to these new-found kinsmen across a space of thirty millions of miles. Must we charge up to science the inaccuracies of translators? Because great mischief was done through ignorance, some fifty years ago, in Italy, when some fragments of statuary were being restored, it is not quite justifiable for men to allow the splendid finds of shattered fragments of the glorious statuary of early and middle Greek art to remain without an attempt to restore them. A reasonable reaction against the former ought not to be violent enough to drive into the latter error. Because Dr. Schliemann, on finding finely attired and bejeweled corpses, with masks and breastplates of gold, in tombs at Mycenæ, announced them to the world as the bodies of Agamemnon and his companions in arms, who were murdered after their return from the Trojan war, and was believed until it was shown that these were not buried at all like the burials described by Homer and that Æschylus located the Mycenæan king's tomb at Argos, the public mind was not justified in its swing to the opposite extreme, casting the discovery under suspicion as

something mediæval if not altogether apocryphal. Now, these same tombs are known to be older than the supposed date of Homer's poems; older, even, than Agamemnon himself! To some minds the Trojan war and the blind old poet who sang it mean simply a reference, more or less clumsy or clever, to the Northern myth of the ill treatment of the Sun Maiden. Jacob with his twelve sons is a personification of the year, the details not being completely worked out—which really is a very wise way to leave the matter, as there might be some difficulty experienced by anyone sense-bound enough not to accept such brilliant generalizations. The forty-ninth psalm is a love song composed for Ptolemy Philadelphus by some ardent admirer. There never was such a man as Homer, anyway, the Greek word Homeros being simply a modification of the Celtic Omar. But all this would have been so much more satisfactory to some minds if that matter-of-fact man, Schliemann, had not gone to work one morning with his pick-ax and shovel, under the influence of the idiotic hallucination that he really had a mission to excavate, and found—Troy! In the field of literary criticism by the scientific method, under some hands, we have seen William Tell and his apple, and Moses and his Pentateuch, relegated to the limbo of the myth; the story of King Alfred the Great's negligence in the hut of the goatherd discredited; the story of Androcles and the Lion, and the love of Pocahontas, as well as the virginity of Washington's hatchet, attacked; and Paul Revere's heroism we have seen given over to another man. On the other hand, there have issued from the same sources attempts to excuse Ivan the Terrible, to give a clean bill of health to Major André, to show that Nero has been a much-abused man, and to justify Judas Iscariot!

It is not fair to us when we turn to what claim to be scientific tomes to be treated to poetic fancies of highly wrought imaginations. There surely, if anywhere, reason is due us. It is far from a happy effect which is produced on our minds when we find a self-proclaimed devotee at the altar of science dealing us out dogma. Many states in the Union have through their respective Legislatures enacted laws prohibiting anyone from palming off on the unsuspecting housewife oleomargarine for butter; but just

how to reach and to punish him who foists his crude intellectual product on a long-suffering public, having it labeled "science," has not yet, it would seem, been considered by our Solons. Yet who has not indulged a secret wish that some noble Draco might come to give similar security to seekers after truth? Science has given us many beneficial results which are indisputable, and for them we are thankful. It is a great deal easier to believe now that God sees everywhere, hears everything, and is constantly speaking to his children than it was before science gave us the Roentgen ray, the telephone, and wireless telegraphy; or that God is everywhere and eternal than before the demonstration of the indestructibility of matter and the conservation of energy. Blue jays, crows, and magpies, while callow in their nests, will swallow pebbles, bits of shoe-strings, or almost anything a cruel schoolboy may drop within their mouths; the English sparrow, on the contrary, will not accept any morsel offered, no matter how exquisitely choice. Neither kind is worthy our imitation; the one kind is too gullible and the other is too skeptical; yet when it comes to "science so called" there seem to be bipeds without feathers who are simply jays, crows, and magpies. A few years ago a noted character whom the South Dakota law had doomed to death was taken up by his friends for reinterment and found to be petrified. "Science so called" referred him back to a prehistoric age, and astonished the natives by the number of crows, jays, and magpies who accepted the conclusions. When Galileo saw things through his lenses there were those who disputed him and refused to look themselves; and when an Englishman put a drop of the sacred water of the Ganges under a microscope and showed a Brahman priest that it swarmed with unclean life the Brahman bought the glass and broke it: these represent the English sparrows.

Recently scientific writers put forth the theory that religion was adventitious to human nature; it was not even allowed to be an excrescence, but only a barnacle, the fraud of a priestly caste imposed upon ignorant and superstitious minds. This led to careful investigation and disproof, then, lo! as if all had forgotten their former position, these same writers tell us with an air of in-

nocence that all men are naturally religious. Last evening they assured us there were no religious teachers but fakirs; this morning that there are myriad great men, teachers, prophets, seers, sages, saints, and saviours of the race, sons of God, and that Jesus the Christ is one of them! Only one out of many! Yesterday they accused God of absenteeism from his world, like an Irish landlord whom his tenants ought to boycott for his indifference to their needs; to-day, when we have come to a knowledge of the immanence of God, these accuse him of being in suffering and in sin. This can be accounted for by the double aspect of the cross. The cross reveals at once the wickedness of men and furnishes an occasion for God, as Love, to participate in human suffering. We are not interested in making out a case, but only in ringing in a warning. Science is the handmaiden of the Most High God!

"While timid sailors reef and tack,
And hug the sheltering lee,
The boats that bring a wide world back
Put bravely out to sea."

William Love

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

THE certainty of final victory is one of the items in the Christian's assurance. Merivale says of the Christians of the first three centuries, "The active and growing strength of the Roman world was truly theirs—and theirs was the future of all civilized society." Not only was this true, but they *felt* it to be so. This feeling in them is remarked upon even by Ferdinand Christian Baur, when speaking of that gifted group of Christian scholars who wrote the Apologies of the early centuries: Aristides, the Athenian philosopher; Athenagoras, also a philosopher of Athens; Quadratus, author of the oldest of the Apologies; Justin Martyr; Tatian, author of the Diatessaron; Theophilus of Antioch; Melito of Sardis; Apolinarius of Hierapolis; Minucius Felix, the Roman advocate; Tertullian, and the rest. Of this great galaxy of scholars Baur says: "They seem always conscious that they are the soul of the world, the center holding everything together, the pivot on which history revolves, and assured that the world's future belongs to them. This feeling in such men is a sign that the reins of the government of the world will inevitably fall into their hands." This confidence explains and sustains the missionaries and martyrs of all centuries. In the partitioning of the world Christianity expects to take the whole for its share.

MORE OF BRIERLEY[1]

THE peculiar value of Brierley's writings, as we have before said, is in their freshness, suggestiveness, and illustrative contents. These we can appreciate and profit by without adopting all his views and implications. He does not dogmatize or pose as an authority, but discusses vital themes in the essayist's free and tentative fashion. In The Common Life he seeks for verdicts, not from ecclesiastical authorities, but from the findings of man's everyday lot and experience; though, as a matter of fact, the verdicts he derives from life do for the most part lend illumination and confirmation to the substance of established ecclesiastical teachings. This

[1] *The Common Life.* By J. Brierley, B.A., Author of Ourselves and the Universe, Studies of the Soul, Problems of Living, etc. 12mo. pp. 342. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. Price, cloth, $1.40.

is what he says of the present volume: "What I have here attempted is to rehandle the religious raw material as contained in daily human experience; to pass by the accidents and to look into what is common to humanity; to catch, out of its myriad dialects, the accent of a universal speech, and to note what that speech actually signifies. . . . It is out of the facts of the common life, out of what the history and consciousness of man really contain, that the religious thought-structure of the future will rise. But any view of life which is to be of value must include life's highest levels. A singular philosophy has had vogue among us which has sought to deal with everything human in terms of its origins. Now, the human problem can never be solved by a mere looking backward. An oak cannot be adequately studied in an acorn. The best proof of man's spiritual faculty and inheritance is that they exist. Their presence and work in man form an actuality which no criticism and no inquiry into origins can invalidate. These essays are written with the conviction that the common life, impartially and comprehensively studied, will yield to our children as it did to our fathers irresistible arguments for faith and hope and love." The first essay, Life's Positives, is a fair example of the revolving and balancing method of our author's discussions. It proceeds thus:

> There are times when most of us are inclined to cry out against the positive. There seems too much of it. Our next-door neighbor carries a whole cargo of positive opinions which he is anxious to unload upon us; and we travel to the ends of the earth to find the same experience. The present writer remembers the sensation with which, on sailing up the Dardanelles, he caught sight for the first time of the Mohammedan minarets which proclaimed him a Giaour, an infidel. It was with a similar consciousness that in standing in Saint Peter's at Rome he suddenly called to mind that the church he was now in, like the Turkish mosque, disposed in the same peremptory and uncompromising manner of his future. We are all damned a half-a-dozen times by the faiths we do not accept. Pondering these facts, the feeling comes over us that this thing has been a little overdone, and we are disposed to ask whether the various sects and sections of mankind might not, to the general advantage, stay a little their lust of dogmatic affirmation and give their infallibility a rest. In such moods we fall in love with the undefined and are inclined to say with Chamfort, "Let us do more, think less, and not peer too closely into the business of living." But a nearer look shows us that this feeling is only a momentary mood, which must be put aside. While talk of this sort has a certain ground, it amounts neither to a condemnation of the positive nor to the suggestion of any substitute for it. Granted that man has here pushed matters to excess, that his affirmations have sometimes to be revised and some of his propositions withdrawn; this does not prevent us from realizing that in following this line he has not, after all, been mistaken, but that his positive is really founded at bottom upon the general scheme of things. . . . The very "nature of things" insists upon the positive. It will not put up with our undefined. It forces us to decisive declaration. Take the simplest kind of illustration: A girl has received an offer of marriage. In the

tumult of her emotions she asks herself whether what she feels is really love or only a semblance. There are doubts, and who shall resolve them? She finds there is no supernatural revelation for her on this important matter; her friends cannot inform her; she possesses no psychological code that can furnish her an authoritative answer to her doubt. What shall she do? Is it the proper thing for her to refrain from deciding and remain uncommitted? No! Our maiden cannot stay on her doubt and do nothing. The world, she discovers, has not been built so as to allow that. By the sheer force of life's fact and compulsion she is obliged to make up her mind. Sooner or later she must decide, and there must be a "Yes" or a "No" with all her fate hanging upon it. A thousand similar illustrations from practical life tell the same story. The "nature of things" forces us to be positive. It extorts from us decisions and affirmations, whether we will or no.

Further, it is observed that Nature shows her approval of the positive by the way in which she endows with extraordinary authority and prevailing force the apostles and expounders of the positive. A mysterious magnetism belongs to the man who with strong conviction positively affirms something. You may state negations in the most elegant and classic style, but they effect nothing. You go on stating them, and nothing happens. But let our prophet come, with a new mandate for the soul upon his lips, and though his word be in the dialect of a Galilean peasant, the whole world is changed. Here, indeed, is Nature's grandest positive, her man with a downright and explicit message. Men bow before Christ's religious imperative because they feel that the Infinite is behind it and in it. When he offers redemption, forgiveness, peace, joy, divine empowerment, as gifts from his own spiritual wealth, they see that these things do actually belong to the inner universe, that they are attainable in the soul's consciousness. Christianity is thus the highest possible positive of the spiritual life. For it all previous positives containing any truth were preparatory. When this new and highest positive called Christianity first appeared in the world it was sneered at by such as Tacitus and Lucian and Julian as narrow, exclusive, and hostile to everything ever held as truth before. But it is appearing more and more clearly how the Christian faith, properly viewed, justifies its position as an inevitable part of the world's order. It is the culmination of a spiritual progress and evolution as sure in its operation as that which works in a nebula or a coal bed. The early Christian writers had glimpses of this which many later ones seem not to catch. They saw how the gospel fitted into the wider revelation of which all were partakers. Justin Martyr recalls the teaching of Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato, and Socrates as illustrating the Christian eschatology; while Lactantius opens his Institutes with the argument that a belief in Divine Providence was the common property of all religions. What we now realize is that the Christian consciousness is, *with an important reservation*, part of the universal human consciousness. With a reservation, we say. For this universal is also a particular. As Sabatier has finely put it: "The Christian consciousness is not merely an accidental form or part of the general religious consciousness. It is a necessary and *dominant* part of it. . . . It is with the first term of this ideal as with the summit of a mountain. The summit is a part of the mountain, but it *dominates all the other parts* in their ascending stages from the depths of the valley up to itself, and by that fact it embraces them all and assigns to each its place and rank in them all." A grasp of this fact should help the modern man through many perplexities.

The essay On Being Spiritual asks what it is to be spiritual, and answers thus:

In brief, spirituality is two things—a *perception* and a *performance*. It is, for one thing, to realize God as everywhere in his world; to accept with reverent glad-

ness every variety of its phenomena and every phase of its experience as a new manifestation of himself. The spiritual man is he who in a sunset on the Alps, or in a sonata of Beethoven, or in a mathematical problem, or in the age-long drama of history, in the laughter of little children, in the events of his own life, in his aspirations and compunctions, sees everywhere, now the hiding and now the manifestation of that supreme and ultimate Reality which his soul tells him is Holiness and Love, and to be in harmony with Which is the one final craving and cry of his heart. And with this *perceiving* of God in all things comes *a performance*. Knowing the universe as spiritual and its law as holy, the spiritual man seeks as his dearest aim to conform his action and character to that law. Now, the law is exceeding broad. All knowledge, all science, all skill are included in it. And so the spiritual man is the broadest and not the narrowest of mankind. He seeks the best in everything. Perfection is his aim in all things. A Mozart's perfection in music has affinity with the perfection that is spiritual.

Despite many adverse appearances, there is no ground to fear that spiritual-mindedness will cease out of our world. It cannot, because this spiritual is always here. Go far enough in any honest pursuit, and you inevitably run up against it. Gregory Thaumaturgus speaks somewhere of "the sacred mathematics." He spoke out of a true perception, for all knowledge opens the way to the one shrine—the Divine. He is most spiritual whose nature thrills most deeply with the sense of the universal Presence, and who sees God at the end of every road. The finest thing Mr. Bryce finds to say in his appreciation of Gladstone is that "he led a third life also, the secret life of the soul. Religion was, above all things, that which had the strongest hold upon his thoughts and feelings." That is the hall-mark of Manhood. As we rise out of the slough of the animal, and become really human, the more clearly does the world appear to us as spiritual, and the more do we "feel through all our fleshy dress bright shoots of everlastingness."

Writing of rest and unrest, our author says that it is the idler, not the worker, who is shut out from rest. "A man who is truly himself is like a great wheel in motion; on the circumference is the sweep of a mighty movement; at the center of it is peace. The Methodist village carpenter in Adam Bede, with his feet in dry shavings, his face turned to the fair country visible through the open window, his strong arm plying the plane, while his voice rang out in hearty song, is an image of full activity, and also one of as perfect peace as is to be had in this world. It is always when a man begins to act that his boding anxieties and fears, the enemies to his peace, take flight." In one of the essays is this statement: "The strength of the Evangelical communions has lain not so much in this or that variety of doctrine or institution as in the development of strong individualities. And they secured this by driving it into men that, side by side with their weakness, lay sources of immeasurable power, which they could draw upon and appropriate by an act of faith and will. The great religious leaders by a sure instinct have fixed always upon this point. The Luthers and the Wesleys despised all other objects in preaching as compared with this central

one. And if the Christianity of to-day is to renew its strength it must regain that mood, and return to that emphasis. It is nothing less than tragical to note how, with so magnificent a work on their hands, and with human souls sick and perishing for want of this power, men in pulpits will talk on any other subject than this. The force available for moral recovery and renewing is within everybody's reach. The next great spiritual revival will begin when the church in all its sections has once more opened its eyes to this elementary fact, that side by side with human weakness are sources of illimitable power."

An essay by Auguste Sabatier on the Atonement shows how the element of the vicarious, of which the Cross is the special manifestation, founds itself in the very nature of man as a moral being; that vicarious suffering is a law of the universe and keeps the world alive. Brierley, after referring to this essay, proceeds to carry the argument a step further, and points out how the vicarious, the "for others," idea belongs essentially not only to the higher sufferings and endurances, but also to the higher strivings, to all true and sane endeavors after perfectness. That saying of Christ, "For their sakes I sanctify myself," is a great text; it goes to the very roots of things. It is a statement of the altruism of holiness, a doctrine which, when fairly grasped, exerts on every honest mind a constant and irresistible upward pressure. Heine called Goethe "the great Pagan." Perhaps Goethe never showed that side of his character more clearly than in his statement that "the man who has life in him feels himself to be here for his own sake, not for the public." That is a heathen sentiment, and not Christian.

The man who partakes of the highest life may begin for himself, but he can never end there. In religion he will, at the earlier stage, and very legitimately, want to find his own soul saved; in business he will have to look after himself, if only to save other people the worry of looking after him. But as his horizon expands he finds these personal issues swallowed up in a sense of something greater. The same thing happens in his pursuit of mental and moral culture. The first enthusiasms here center largely upon one's self. The delight of knowing, being, and doing the best is experienced as the highest of all sensations. But in any true progress there emerges in time another feeling with a flavor all its own. It is this overpowering sense of moral indebtedness. This consciousness is quite unique. The debt which presses is different from any of those known to the business or the legal world. It is not anything that our fellow men have done for us or paid to us which creates the obligation. It is something rooted in the vaster relations of being. It is the feeling that a contribution is asked of us to the invisible interests of the universe, and that a part of our business is to add something to the world's spiritual assets. As our inward development goes on we find ourselves laid hold of by a secret imperious summons to aspire to this larger, higher helpfulness. "For their sakes" we, too, are

to "sanctify ourselves." Humanity has a claim upon us to be and do our very best. We must not only follow the higher things, but follow them from more than a personal motive.

And this vicarious perfecting must have the widest range. Few things have done more harm to religion than the narrow ideas of holiness that have sometimes obtained. They are ideas descended from the dark ages, when religious professors counted it a virtue not to wash themselves, and when, as Erasmus has it, a man reckoned himself superior in holiness on the strength of not being able to read. In our own day the type of character bred upon these narrow views is vividly set forth in a description given by Phillips Brooks of some of his companions at the theological seminary. He attended a prayer meeting which they conducted, and wrote thus: "Never shall I lose the impression of the devoutness with which these men prayed and exhorted each other. Their whole souls seemed exalted and their natures were on fire. The next day I met some of these men at a Greek recitation. It would be little to say of some of the devoutest of them that they had not learned their lessons. Their whole manner and spirit showed that they *never* learned their lessons, that they had not got hold of the first principles of conscientious study, that they had no sense of responsibility or duty in the matter." . . . When religious men have come to full recognition of the fact that holiness means conscientiousness in doing one's duty of every sort; that not only the cultivation of religious emotion, but the acquirement of necessary knowledge, the training of the whole nature toward perfection—not only the consecration of one's heart to God, but the consecration of all one's powers to the service of men—are parts of sanctification, then the long-lagging church will begin to march; and it will march to the music of that great refrain, "For their sakes I sanctify myself." Our work will then be done in recognition of the fact that in every department of life we are apprenticed to the Best, for the service of All. Under the guidance and guardianship of this ideal of vicarious consecration a man can aspire and attain without pride; his successes leave him humble. When we dare not do other than our best because our brother needs that we be at our best, our attainment is a sheer good all round. This vicarious consecration, this living "for their sakes," kills hypocrisy and all the miserable pretenses of religious subterfuge. The sanctity which is to be of any use to others must be a reality, a fact of character. When holiness comes to be understood in its comprehensive sense of wholeness and sanity, as the science of noble living, and related rightly to all the great laws of the moral world, then the reign of cant will be over.

This volume on The Common Life, the latest from a fertile essayist's pen, published now by our Methodist Book Concern, treats a variety of serious subjects in an unconventional, but a morally as well as intellectually quickening, way. No intelligent reader, of an age to be trusted among books, will swallow it whole. But many will gather from its earnest and genuinely spiritual pages some information, along with much inspiration, incitement, hint-giving, and enkindling.

A LAY SERMON

In September, 1879, a raw-looking farm-boy, in rudest rustic raiment, walked eleven miles from the little village of Roca to register

as a student at the University of Nebraska. This plowboy of Roca did not dream that he was on his way to the highest academic honors; but in the next twenty years he made for himself a career of unique distinction, teaching and lecturing at Johns Hopkins and Leland Stanford Universities and at the University of Nebraska. He grappled skillfully with the hard social problems of great cities. His book on American Charities is an authority and a classic. His lectures on Industrial Corporations opened a new branch of scientific study. And always his pure heart and lofty mind radiated an influence for righteousness. In a supplement to one of the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science the story of Amos Griswold Warner is briefly told; and four lay sermons delivered by him in 1897 before the Chapel Union of Stanford University are printed. His hearers were mostly students interested in scientific studies, and were of various faiths, and some of no avowed faith. In order that he might reach all of them where they were, he limited the view of these addresses to this world and to forces which are apprehensible without any special revelation. The message is therefore limited. The purpose of the addresses was to derive a religious impulse from the subject-matter of scientific study, and, preaching from facts, to deduce a plea for the lifted heart and the ennobled life from the dusty things of daily experience, which it was the week-day business of his hearers to sort and study.

Naturally he finds one of the religious doctrines most easily approachable and supportable from the side of natural facts to be that of Vicarious Sacrifice. This doctrine has been sorely ridiculed and railed at by the enemies of Christianity. A certain lecturer so hated the doctrine that one man could suffer for the sins of another that he vowed never to speak upon any subject whatever without contriving to denounce that abominated doctrine. Another skeptic liked to tell of the proceedings in Chinese courts of justice, where the criminal is allowed to hire another man to take his place and to receive the lashes to which he was sentenced. When the substitute has borne the prescribed whipping, justice is held to be satisfied. And the skeptic then remarks that this seems to him a reasonable method of administering justice compared with the plan of putting the son of a ruler to death as an atonement for the disobedience of the subjects.

It must be confessed that the doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice is sometimes so baldly stated as to seem hideous. The real transgressor

escapes retribution and the punishment falls upon an innocent party, who may or may not be willing to make the expiatory offering. These innocent sufferers for the sins of others appear constantly in the pages of myth and legend as well as of religious history, from the Greek Iphigenia to the Jewish scapegoat driven into the desert with the sins of the people upon its back. Sometimes the innocent person is offered to appease the wrath of a mythological god who delights in sacrificial suffering and must be given just so much of it in return for disobedience; and sometimes, as in the Greek legends, the sacrifice is demanded by a destiny or fate too impersonal to feel anger or delight, but as unswerving as what our modern time calls Laws of Nature. But, whether it be an impersonal fate or some malign little deity that requires the suffering of the innocent, it is a well-known fact that many of the religions of the world contain in some form the idea of Vicarious Sacrifice—the sufferings of the innocent atoning for the sins of the guilty. Now, is this doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice, so widely prevalent and so deeply rooted in the human mind, a needless nightmare of belief? Are the religions of the world perverted and astray in this idea?

It seems not too much to say that anything which is common to so many and so varied religious systems presumably contains some central and essential truth. And the fact is that this despised and ridiculed doctrine, that the innocent must suffer for the guilty and that the guilty are sometimes relieved of some of the consequences of their wrongdoing through the sufferings of the innocent, is *not* based wholly on religious dogma. It is based upon observed *facts* which are a part of the system of things, and which belong to the regular course of events in the natural world. The suffering of the innocent for the guilty is a phenomenon which has existed in practically all times and places. Whether men approve of it or not, it is clearly an actual, and presumably an indispensable, part of the cosmic plan. The plan of having the innocent suffer for the guilty and the guilty profit by that suffering is not at all peculiar to religion. And the skeptic who ridicules and denounces religion for this doctrine must also ridicule and denounce the entire system of things—in short, he must denounce the universe and its Creator.

Professor Warner does not try to defend the Christian doctrine of Vicarious Sacrifice, nor to explain the cosmic fact, but merely examines in a few of its bearings vicarious suffering as a fact which history records and science reports. In doing this he keeps well

within the field of easy observation and common knowledge. Following is a part of his statement:

That wrongdoing has bad effects on others than the wrongdoer is too common and too commonly observed to need much dwelling on. The murderer who has been duly hanged is not more dead than his innocent victim, and about each of them is a wide circle of relatives and associates and fellow citizens who must take more or less of the consequences of both the misdeed and its expiation. While it might be very nice if all adults could take the consequences of their own action and of nobody else's, society is not arranged that way. "He has paid the penalty," we hear it said after some noted debauchee or great defaulter has committed suicide; and then follows the reflection, "Yes, but how many others have paid it with him?" Often the one who makes a mistake or commits a crime escapes most of the consequences. The engineer or builder of a great dam is at fault, and the people of Johnstown are swept out of existence. When the tower of Siloam falls, exact justice would prescribe that only the architect and master builder should be under it; but these worthies had no doubt long since passed away. "Think ye they were sinners above all others on whom the tower of Siloam fell? I tell you, Nay." Perhaps the wife whose husband becomes a drunkard deserves to suffer for the mistake or weakness of having associated herself with a man not finally able to control his appetites; but it hardly seems just that she, as is commonly the case, should suffer far more than the brute who inflicts the suffering. The people who introduced slavery into the American colonies made a mistake and perhaps committed a sin. They were not punished for it, at least not in this world. In the Northern colonies, where slavery did not pay, their descendants were not much punished for it except during a great national convulsion. But at the South, where it proved that slavery did pay, and where it continued to pay increasingly large returns because of inventions and development that no one could have foreseen, the descendants of its introducers were most grievously punished and are being punished yet. This leaves the evils suffered by the blacks entirely out of the question. "After me the deluge," said Louis XIV, and the deluge did come long after he had passed away, and it submerged the only well-meaning king France had had for nearly two hundred years. Those that sow the wind frequently die and leave the inevitable whirlwind for some one else to reap.

Justice to individuals is not nature's specialty. Their lives are too short for her to take much account of them. Like the Greek fates, she exacts punishment for wrongdoing, but frequently exacts it from those who did not do the wrong. Instead of making special efforts to get only fit people born into the world, nature's way is to bring many into existence and then kill off those who do not suit. "If you want an omelet you must break a few eggs," said the Corsican. "If you want the fit to survive you must smash the unfit, and any others who get mixed up with them," says nature. This is effective, but looks wasteful, and it certainly is rather hard on the unfit who are pitchforked into existence without their consent, and then pitchforked out again because they did not happen to be something else than that which they have been made. Countless millions have been exterminated merely because they did not properly "adapt internal conditions to external conditions"; and yet not one of them ever understood that this was what was required of them until Herbert Spencer said so. Clearly those who indict the Grecian gods or the Hebrew God for cruelty find but a "stony stepmother" when they fly to nature. That the innocent must suffer, and often must suffer for the sins of the guilty,

is a fact so inwrought in all human affairs, so manifest in all the operations of nature, that to quarrel with it is as idle as to quarrel with the precession of the equinoxes.

Weak minds, like the friends who tried to comfort Job, have often taken the contrary view and have insisted that suffering is always and only the consequence of demerit. But anyone able to look squarely at facts, like Job himself, has seen that this is not true, and has given up trying to account for existing conditions except by falling back on faith in a higher power, and "believing where he cannot see" "that good shall somehow be the final goal of ill." It should be said, however, that as the wrongdoer stands a little nearer to the wrong than anybody else he is somewhat more likely to be hit by the consequences. In the long run and on the average this is true. Were it not true no progress would be made and nature would be convicted not only of brutality but of incompetence. This she has never been. Sermons from the text, "The wages of sin is death," can be based on facts as well as on Scripture. Because the innocent often suffer, no one need to conclude that it is a matter of indifference whether or not he is innocent. Even were the physical fortunes of the innocent and guilty the same, which, on the average, they are not, conscience and public opinion would make a difference greatly in favor of the innocent. Though the murdered man and the hanged murderer are both dead, most of us would prefer to be the former rather than the latter. Statute law is continually running correction lines through the conditions of life established by nonhuman nature, doing what it can to make the lot of the transgressor harder and harder; and the religions of the world lend their powerful aid in the same general direction.

Professor Warner then inquires whether it can be shown that any good comes out of the great mass of undeserved suffering that falls upon the relatively innocent individuals of the world, or whether all this unmerited distress is sheer waste. There it is, a fact beyond dispute. Is there any good in it? In searching with this question, as with a lighted torch in the darkness, the effort is to keep close to verifiable facts. From the great mass of undeserved suffering our preacher takes out for examination that part which the sufferers have voluntarily incurred or have joyfully borne in order to shield others from the consequences of misfortune, or weakness, or ignorance, or sin. The quantity of such suffering is not so small as cynics would have us believe. He notices this voluntary self-sacrificing suffering as prompted by love of family, love of country, and love of truth; beginning with the circle of blood-relationship where the primary affections have range and force.

1. There are the enormous sacrifices parents make for their offspring, both among lower animals and among human beings. Even among as low an order as the birds it is not true that all an individual has he will give for his life. They will give up their lives to save their young, but not their young to save their lives. Hunt the California quail when they have no nests or young, and you find that self-preservation is the first law with them and that

they know how to obey it most skillfully. But go among them when they have young, and you find that the law of self-preservation has given way before the higher law of self-sacrifice; the struggle for life has given place to "the struggle for the lives of others." This seems a trivial illustration, but perhaps for that very reason we can view it more calmly than if something nearer to ourselves were taken. The struggle to preserve offspring, to shield the immature from suffering, which their weakness and inexperience might bring upon them, has been treated at length by Drummond, under the name "the struggle for the life of others." A considerable part of each generation sacrifices itself for the next, and the higher we rise in the scale of development the greater and longer continued are such sacrifices. Drummond says that it might almost be reasoned from the facts that the whole purpose of organic life from the beginning has been the final development of mothers—the mammalia. In this order the sacrifices of parent for child are greatest and in the highest species of the order they are continued through the longest series of years. It were idle to take from literature or human experience examples of parental sacrifice. The members of a student body stand so close to the parental sacrifices by which the individuals have benefited that they see them very clearly in some ways. And yet they will quite certainly obtain a fuller and juster view of them when the perspective and experiences of years have instructed the vision and reduced the varied facts of life to more just proportions. What have been the consequences of all this sacrifice of the individuals of one generation for the individuals of the next? Is it all a waste? Is there, let us ask in reply, anything better in human affairs than the reciprocal love of parent and child which has its origin in the sacrifice of one for the protection of the other? If the tendency of evolution seems to be in the direction of greater and greater quantities of vicarious sacrifice, is it not bringing also a wealth of pure affection without which the world were poor and bleak?

As the generations of men are bound together by these heavy debts which can never be paid directly, but only by affection and gratitude and the passing on of the obligation to a succeeding generation, so, in some sort, do the sexes stand related to each other. Superficially considered, one of them seems to have committed an undue share of the sins of the world, and the other to have borne an undue share of the consequent suffering. More justly stated, one of them has served the race chiefly through action, and the other chiefly through endurance. The history of the physically weaker sex can be so written as to read like one long story of oppression and injustice. But carefully considered, much of what looked like oppression is seen to have no human origin, but to be the result of forces which neither sex could control; of those fundamental forces which have shaped our minds and bodies, and which from the beginning decreed the evolution of sex. As this fact has come to be recognized by both the life of endurance has been transmitted into the life of power. The glory of suffering gladly borne for affection's sake has transformed the woman and subdued the man. When our civil war came to an end Europe supposed that our armies could not be easily disbanded. There were many reasons that conspired to make our soldiers return gladly to the ways of peace, but perhaps the strongest was this, that so many of the soldiers knew that at home good women were waiting for them and suffering with them, and when the war was over would expect them to be men. So they were drawn back from the life of hardship and excitement and danger to the simple duties of home, and so through all the years is every manly man steadied and upheld and strengthened by the thought of those members of the race who do perhaps less than he

but endure more. What he would not do for himself or for selfish gain he is willing to do for the sake of one whose burden is different from his. Thus the overplus of endurance that falls to the lot of one sex becomes, if rightfully received and borne, a source of strength and affection and joy to all, contributing to the relation of the sexes much of that which is purest and noblest in them, and to the general endowment of the human heart an emotion fit to rank with parental and filial love.

2. Next to the affections which unite us to those near by relationship, one of the strongest human emotions is patriotism, and this also is watered by the blood and tears of self-sacrifice. It is not more true that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church than that the bodies of those who have willingly died for fatherland make the foundations of national unity and success. To atone for old wrongs or to insure peace and prosperity to their successors men of all times and many races have been willing to accept and verify in life and death the Roman adage that it is sweet to die for one's country. We can account for the survival of this sentiment by evolutionary philosophy. Races that had it survived, and those that did not have it went to pieces. But from the standpoint of the individual we can account for his action only by assuming that to him the joy of sacrificing himself for others, rendering for their sakes "the last full measure of devotion," was greater than he could realize from any course dictated by what we commonly call selfishness. The unearned suffering that came to him was transmuted by his spirit of devotion into a privilege and a glory. We have referred to the great suffering entailed upon this country by the mistake or sin of the introduction and toleration of African slavery. Here was a typical case of sin-entailed suffering, and our war President himself suggested the equation that it might be necessary that every drop of blood drawn by the lash should be paid by another drawn by the sword. Yet it was not those whose hands had wielded the lash through two hundred years from whose veins was drawn by the sword the atoning blood. In part it was from their descendants, but largely it came from the young and the strong and the brave of the land who had no measure of personal responsibility whatever for the wrong their lives were given to expiate. We who have come upon the scene since that struggle cannot appreciate it fully, but perhaps we can appreciate it more fully than other struggles because of our nearness to it, and to those who took a part in it.

To give a vivid idea of what sacrifices the War for the Union involved on the part of those engaged, Professor Warner takes from an old magazine an account of a night in the Wilderness campaign. It was written by an officer who spent the first part of the night struggling through roadless and boggy woods to rejoin his company. His horse became disabled, and he proceeded on foot.

When he found his regiment, they were resting as well as they could in the mud of a slight depression where they were partly shielded from the fire of the enemy. It was raining, and the men were sick and weak from lack of sleep and lack of food. Their work for the night was to assault at intervals the opposing breastworks of the enemy, and after each charge up the slippery hill to retire into the mudhole to rest a little, re-form, and charge again. There was absolutely no hope that they could take the fortifications that they assailed, and yet their attacks were not to be sham attacks. Their work was

to keep up a steady and real pounding that would oblige the Confederate general to leave some thousands of his men to defend these breastworks and make it wholly out of the question for him to withdraw them to reinforce some other part of his line where the Federal forces presumably planned to make a more hopeful attack. As the officer who tells the story came up an old gray-headed private was asking an officer to excuse him from further service for the night. He was manifestly sick, and said that he had been suffering from dysentery for some days. But the officer to whom he appealed said with the petulance of fatigue that they were all more or less sick and that anybody who could stand up would have to keep his place in line. Just as he had given his answer and the applicant was turning away a bullet of unusual reach sped toward them from the enemy, and the old man dropped dead in the mud—excused.

The men who thus suffered were not responsible for the wrong in consequence of which they suffered; and the American Nation, for love of which they were willing to suffer, may truthfully say of them, "They were wounded for our transgressions, and with their stripes we are healed." And not only this nation but all nations survive and prosper because of the sacrifices of their sons, sacrifices not always bloody but always real. Always and everywhere in history the individual offers himself in some form and in some degree for the healing of the Nation. Nor is there any hope of a nation whose sons do not stand ready to sacrifice themselves for it—to die, if need be, that it may live.

3. Professor Warner points out that many noble souls have made sacrifices for the promotion of truth, for the cultivation of science, and the discovery of laws and facts which bring benefits to mankind. The sum total of self-denying work performed by those who toil at ill-remunerated tasks is very great and vastly valuable to mankind. And the spirit of self-sacrifice is in many of the world's workers. Of this there are some modern forms differing from the old. The old self-sacrifice walked the pestilential streets to aid the sick and bury the dead; the new does the slow work of the laboratory which shall discover how to prevent the plague or stamp it out forever. The Red Cross still has its heroes and heroines, mitigating by their tender ministries the horrors of battlefields; but not less heroic and useful are they who labor unselfishly against many discouragements to advance the cause of International Arbitration. Dr. O. W. Holmes was always insisting on the superior value of preventive over curative medicine. After the doctor is called there is commonly nothing to be done but to make the best of a bad business. If the spirit of the worker is right, the laboratory and the library and the school give opportunities for pure self-sacrifice in lofty service, as well as do the

battlefield and the hospital. Whoever devotes himself to service, in long, unselfish labor, adds to the well-being and diminishes the woe of the world, as surely as does he who in sudden sacrifice pours out his soul unto death upon a battlefield. In all spheres of life men and women are living to bless the world, to scatter its darkness, dry its tears, and heal its wounds—are causing their lives to "be to other souls the cup of strength in some great agony."

Vicarious Sacrifice, suffering for the good of others, is an omnipresent fact, obviously necessary to the cosmic plan, part of the universal system of things. Does the skeptic ask, Why were the sufferings of Christ necessary to atone for, and able to remedy, the sins of the world? Ask him, Why is there in the world so much suffering of the innocent for the sake of the guilty, and so many benefits which could never have come to us except by somebody else's sacrifice and suffering? One thing is sure—wherever any part of the world's burden and woe is taken up and borne for love's sake, there a new portion of moral health, nobleness, and hopefulness comes in to strengthen and purify and sweeten the world. The Atonement of Christ—His vicarious sacrifice for the sins of the world, His suffering in our stead —is not a strange, improbable, incredible thing, but is all of a piece with the whole construction and custom of human life, and in harmony with God's way of working in all things. Whittier was not, as has been claimed by some, a Unitarian, but by his own declaration a Quaker of the Old School, who saw no reason why the Quakers and the Methodists might not unite. That he was well aware of the reasonableness of the Atonement, and of its harmony with universal laws and principles, is indicated in the lines:

> Wherever through the ages rise
> The altars of self-sacrifice,
> Where love its arms hath opened wide,
> Or man for man hath calmly died,
> I see the same white wings outspread
> That hovered o'er the Master's head.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Good cause it is for thankfulness
> That the world blessing of His life
> With the long past is not at strife;
> *That the great marvel of His death*
> *To the one order witnesseth:*
> No doubt of changeless goodness wakes,
> No link of cause and sequence breaks,
> But, *one with nature, rooted is*
> *In the eternal verities.*

THE ARENA

THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY

HALF a century ago a prominent educator observed: "There is something remarkable in the actual condition of the study of church history. While it seems to be receiving more and more cultivation from a few among us, it fails to command the attention of the educated public in the same proportion. We are strongly of the opinion that beyond the requisitions of academical and professional examination there is very little reading of church history in any way."[1] Only twenty years ago Professor Emerton, upon taking the chair of ecclesiastical history in Harvard University, could say with truth: "There are to-day not more than half a dozen colleges in the country where any adequate provision for an independent department of history has been made."[2] At the present time, happily, the condition so much deplored in the last quotation has been remedied to a very large degree. Every large university in America has a well-organized faculty of history and allied subjects, while a big majority of the smaller institutions of higher education have regularly organized departments of history with instructors, well-trained at home or abroad, who devote all their time to the subject. But, notwithstanding this, the statement made about church history still remains essentially true. The political, industrial, educational, and social sides of history have been emphasized by the creation of new departments with new courses of study, and by the writing of many text-books, monographs, and general treatises. Professorships of sociology, political economy, political science, constitutional law, education, and literature have been created in unprecedented numbers. Ecclesiastical history, on the contrary, has been all but ignored, even in Germany, where the greatest strides have been taken in the subject; it is still relegated to the theological faculty, though the number of philosophical students selecting it often exceeds that of theological; a very significant fact. In America it would be difficult to point out more than a very few universities or colleges where a chair in church history is put on an equality with chairs of other branches of history or of correlated subjects. Its proper place, in both scholastic and popular estimation, is in the theological seminary, and there it has always remained as a "professional" study. Even in this restricted sense, however, its intrinsic worth has placed it among the most important courses in the curriculum and given it a standing beyond "professional" circles. Some of America's greatest scholars have contributed powerfully, through the class-room, lectures, and books, to give church history its rightful place both as a "professional" and as a "liberal" branch of learning.

Until Luther led the great reformatory schism in the sixteenth century all historians, crude and unscientific though much of their work was,

[1] Bib. Rep., vol. xxvi. [2] Unit. Rev., vol. xix.

recognized the necessary union of political and ecclesiastical history. The venerable Bede began his celebrated history not with the coming of Saint Augustine and his monks, but with the landing of Cæsar and his Roman cohorts. As modern civilization crept over western Europe and crossed the mighty deep to Columbia's shores, carrying with it the revolutionizing Teutonic conception of the national state with its new duties and relationships, the tendency was to magnify the political and social sides of history at the expense of the religious. The hatreds and misunderstandings of the Reformation, though doing something to rectify the "orthodox" history of the old church, really put members of the old organization wholly on the defensive and checked for centuries anything like a genuinely sympathetic and scientific study of the old church by Protestant historians. With Neander a new era opened. The growing doctrine of the separation of church and state accentuated the breach between political and religious history. The early crude conception of specialization also separated sacred from profane history and turned the former over wholly to the theologian. Secular historians took the position of Napoleon when invited to enter the holy city: "Jerusalem does not enter into the line of my operations." At last the church historian and the civic historian have joined hands and look each other in the face. They see that their aim is essentially common: to know the truth about the past. This search for truth for its own sake is purely modern—almost contemporaneous. Formerly history was written to justify or disprove some theory of political or ecclesiastical polity, or to glorify some dynasty, sect, party, or hero, or to vindicate some hypothesis or set of ideas. The historian was not a searcher for truth, but a lawyer with a cause to plead. It is generally realized now that the historian, whether he deals with the state, the church, society, education, or industry, is working an important part of the field of general history. A knowledge of each one of these institutions is necessary to supplement and explain any or all of the others. This institutional interdependence seems to be generally recognized now. "The web of history," said Professor Hatch in beginning his great work at Oxford, "is woven of one piece; it reflects the unity of human life, of which it is the record. We cannot isolate any group of facts and consider that no links of causation connect them with their predecessors or their contemporaries. Just as Professor Freeman insists on the continuity of history, so I wish to insist on its solidarity."[1] The mutual labors of scholars in correlated fields have revolutionized our historical knowledge of the early and later Middle Ages. A multitude of controverted points have vanished like ghosts. We see the old church now as we never saw it before. The Catholic Church and the mediæval papacy were the greatest of the creations of the first fifteen centuries of the Christian era. The mediæval church was not exclusively a religious organization. It was more of an ecclesiastical state. It had laws, lawyers, courts, and prisons. If not born into it, all

[1] Hatch, An Introductory Lecture on the Study of Ecclesiastical History (London, 1885). Comp. Gwatkin, The Meaning of Ecclesiastical History (Cambridge, 1891).

the people of western Europe were at least baptized into it. It levied taxes on its subjects. Standards of patriotism and treason were more sharply defined than in the modern state.[1] The evolution of this great organization is the central fact of the first thirteen centuries after Christ. It aimed to control the whole life of its subjects here and to determine their destiny hereafter. Well may our greatest American church historian, Henry C. Lea, ask: "What would have been the condition of the world if that organization had not succeeded in bearing the ark of Christianity through the wilderness of the first fifteen centuries?"[2]

The history of Europe, then, after the Roman period must be looked at through the eyes of the church. The character and works of that great institution must first be studied, not pathologically but sympathetically. The historian, if honest, dare not show a "lack of appreciation of the service rendered to humanity by the organization which in all ages has assumed for itself the monopoly of the heritage of Christ."[3] He must recognize the fact that "ecclesiastical history is simply the spiritual side of universal history."[4] "The value of a science depends on its own intrinsic merits," says Alzog.[5] When the great Teacher commanded from the Mount of Olives, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel," that mount became the pivot on which the whole world's history has turned. "If the Christian religion be a matter, not of mint, anise, and cummin, but of justice, mercy, and truth; if the Christian Church be not a priestly caste, or a monastic order, or a little sect, or a handful of opinions, but the whole congregation of faithful men dispersed throughout the world; if the very word which of old represented the chosen 'people' is now to be found in the 'laity'; if the biblical usage of the phrase 'ecclesia' literally justifies Tertullian's definition: *Ubi tres sunt laici, ibi est ecclesia;* then the range of the history of the church is as wide as the range of the world which it was designed to penetrate."[6] The great difficulty with the study of church history in the past has been that teachers treated it wholly from a theological standpoint. That may have been proper when the subject was viewed as a narrow "professional" study only. A new and better conception of the subject as a part of the pregnant history of humanity has brought with it a higher estimation of its value as a cultural study. All that can be claimed for historical studies in general can be claimed for it: mental discipline, broad culture, a view of practical life, enlarged sympathies and lessened prejudices, a truer conception of duty, and a saner estimate of the significance of current events. In addition it may be ventured that no subject can be of greater vital importance to the student for the very reason that it deals with the most important of all subjects. In order to do the most good as a liberal branch of learning, church history must be taught not as theology or dogma, but as a

[1] Maitland, Canon Law in the Church of England (London, 1898), pp. 100, 101.
[2] Lea, Studies in Church History, p. iii. [3] Ibid.
[4] Gwatkin, The Meaning of Ecclesiastical History, p. 8.
[5] Alzog, Universal Church History, i, 12.
[6] Stanley, Eastern Church, Introduction, 25.

powerful civilizing institution like the state or the school. Then it will be true that "neither can the profane historian, the jurist, the statesman, the man of letters, the artist, nor the philosopher safely neglect the study of church history."[1] Each one of these persons, as well as the minister, needs that "pragmatic view"[2] of all the changes and developments of the Christian Church and the influence it has exerted on all other human relations. Within the last few years, however, there has been a noticeable awakening of interest in church history both within and without college walls. The indefatigable labors of a few men like Henry C. Lea, who has given us a series of invaluable monographs on the history of the old church, have had much to do with the new status of church history. Universities are already recognizing courses in church history offered by divinity schools as "liberal arts" electives for undergraduate and postgraduate study. The writers of recent textbooks on general history, as well as in particular fields, recognize the revolution and try to make amends for the sin of omission by giving the church a prominence never recognized before by secular historians.[3] Publishers have felt the popular pulse and, consequently, "Studies" and "Epochs" covering the whole range of church history have appeared in cheap and popular form from the pen of scholar and compiler. Foreign works have been translated. Journals devoted to the study of church history have been established. Lectureships have been created and endowed. Societies have been organized to further the work. Convenient editions of the "sources" are appearing. Everywhere there seems to be a reaction in favor of this misunderstood and neglected subject. An army of scholars is at work digging valuable material out of old monasteries, royal archives, private libraries, cemeteries and churches, catacombs, and every conceivable place of concealment. These labors are being rewarded by rich discoveries of valuable materials, which are immediately critically edited by competent hands and printed in translations suitable for all students. Huge collections of these sources are appearing in most of the European countries.[4] The most significant evidence of reaction, however, lies in the fact that the most recent courses offered on the Middle Ages in our leading universities are essentially courses in church history. The name matters little so long as students approach the instructive history of western Europe from the right standpoint. Thus, at length, has come to pass the prophecy of Professor Koethe (d. 1850), made many years ago: "It is reserved to future ages, and in a special sense to the institutions of learning, to give to church history its proper place in the curriculum of studies. When its nature and importance come to be fully known and appreciated it will be no longer limited to one faculty."

The best pedagogical methods must be applied to church history in

[1] Alzog, I, 23.

[2] Gieseler, Ecclesiastical History, sec. 3.

[3] Examine recently published texts like Emerton, Mediæval Europe; Robinson, History of Western Europe; Munro, A History of the Middle Ages.

[4] The Monumenta in Germany, the Rolls Series in England, etc.

order to obtain the best results. To that end these practical suggestions are offered:

1. Emphasis ought to be laid on ideas back of events rather than on the events themselves.

2. The important ought to be distinguished from the unimportant at every step. Athanasius and Augustine are worthier subjects of study than Flavian and Optatus. The invasion and conversion of the Teutons are more important than disputes over Easter or the shape of the tonsure.

3. Original sources ought to be used so far as possible. History should be studied "from the sources of friend and foe, in the spirit of truth and love, *sine ire et studio*."[1]

4. Both Protestant and Catholic secondary authorities ought to be read on every important or controverted point.

5. Origins ought to be studied with special care.

6. Transition periods rather than crises ought to be given the most time.

7. Biographies of epoch-making men like Constantine, Gregory the Great, Charlemagne, Hildebrand, Saint Francis, Innocent III, etc., ought to be carefully considered.

8. Causes and results ought to be closely worked out and classified.[2]

9. The continuity of the church as a great force in the world ought to be ever kept in mind.

10. Differentiation ought to be thoughtfully noted through the ages.

11. The unity of history—the influence of the church upon every other institution—ought to be followed from one transitional period to another.

12. The sympathetic attitude ought to be taken at all times in judging men and movements. The student ought to stand in the center of the circle so he can see all points of the circumference—all persons, all events, all parties, all creeds, all sects, all shades of opinion—and see their true historical relations.

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THE PREACHING NEEDED BY THE TIMES

Preachers cannot always be young and know how to preach on capital and labor, as summaries in cities have shown the calling of auburn locks. Hair will grow gray, and heads shrink—unless Japanese, who are said since the war with China to have been putting their hats on with effort by the aid of shoe horns. Memory gets conscientious and cries out, "Preach the Word!" Tourists return and tell about Spurgeon's and Parker's thousands held Sundays and Wednesday nights and Thursday noons for forty years by "the Word." I saw Mr. Spurgeon present,

[1] Schaff, Church History, Preface. [2] Mace, Method in History.

on Tabernacle platform, twenty-seven volumes of his sermons to the American temperance evangelist, R. T. Booth, as not more than half of his sermonic publications, advancing now to some four thousand discourses; and, laying hand on Bible, he said that he could go on forever making new sermons while he had the Book.

In contrast with the demand for philanthropies and statesmanship in the pulpit a great portion of busy, tired men and women look up to the pulpit for spiritual food; for nervine for the coming day's shocks, for febrifuge against its worldliness; for heart's ease amid its harrowing recollections; for memory of a Sabbath Sinai to make the arm strong to strike wrong; memory of a Sabbath Bethany telling who will weep with the next mourner; memory of a pentecostal Sabbath to show why it was better that he go away. The aim of preaching is to be that which will help to secure "repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ," for thus people get saved; this is salvation. Adaptation to the age, the locality, the culture, the occupations of the auditors will lead equally devoted preachers to diverse preaching.

As I sat in a Presbyterian audience in Champaign, in Sunday halt while driving through to East Lynn, I thought the youngerly new pastor was doing skillfully and faithfully, though he did not name Christ until two thirds of his half hour had gone, and, teaching as to the influence of association, he then pleaded that his people accept Jesus as associate, that in them the text might have illustration, that men would take knowledge of them too that they had been with Jesus. I think that preaching should find resources in the Bible largely, but admit that many audiences will feel themselves better treated if principles, rather than facts, are derived and discussed and made modern in presentation and application. With imitation of Jesus in seeking likes for teaching, this electric and manufacturing and scientific age may be well served with likes which lie in the daily life of the auditors.

The age with us is practical; so should our preaching be. It chooses to think that its thinking is clear cut; so should our preaching be. It handles power; our preaching should be with the highest power the universe knows, that of the Holy Spirit. The age is feverish; we should lead it to draw from the wells of salvation every time. The age cultures immediateness; we should constantly tender a present Saviour. The age is intelligent but troubled; we should offer it the love of Christ which passeth knowledge.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB

DOCTRINAL ASPECTS OF PAUL'S LETTER TO TITUS

In the previous expositions of Paul's letter to Titus in the REVIEW we have compassed the book in general outline and attempted to unfold its leading thoughts. There is, however, underlying these thoughts, as in all of Paul's writings, a deep undertone of doctrine, often merely intimated, but involving the Pauline conception of theology and of church administration.

In the study of the doctrinal aspects of the Epistle to Titus there are some things which differentiate this letter and other pastoral epistles from the other writings of Paul. We may note that the doctrinal elements are assumed, not argued. In the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans particular doctrines are set forth in bold outline and the arguments for them are presented with the utmost vigor and strength. Not only is the teaching set forth, but the arguments on which the teaching rests. Here all is assumed. The writer takes it for granted that Titus, to whom the letter is addressed, understands these doctrines and will be able to contribute whatever instruction or exposition is needed by the people. Furthermore, the purpose of the epistle is to instruct the teacher, not the taught. This is a pastoral letter addressed to Titus, to whom is committed the oversight and government of the church. Its statements, therefore, assume a knowledge on his part, not necessarily on the part of the mass of the church.

A cursory study of the epistle will show incidental references to the great doctrines of salvation. The doctrine concerning God is set forth in unmistakable terms. He is represented in chapter 1, verse 1, as the One to whom Paul renders obedience; he calls himself the "servant of God." This is in harmony with the statements of Paul's conception of his relation to God elsewhere set forth in the Scriptures. God is the One whose promises can be depended upon (verse 2); it is said of God that he "cannot lie." He is Truth. God's eternity is indicated in the same verse: "God, who cannot lie, promised before times eternal." Here we have the eternity of God stated in unmistakable terms. In verse 3, last clause, God is set forth as a Saviour—"our Saviour." He is also the author of the divine Word (chap. 2. 5): "that the Word of God be not blasphemed." This undoubtedly refers to the Holy Scriptures, especially to the Old Testament Scriptures, which are here set forth as the "Word of God." In chapter 2, verse 10, God is again called a Saviour: "that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." In verse 11 he is said to be the author of grace: "the grace of God hath appeared." In verse 13 he is designated as our "great God." God's character is defined in chapter 3, verse 4: "when the kindness of God, our Saviour." God is one in whom they believed, according to chapter 3, verse 8: "to the end that they who have believed God may be careful to maintain good works." Here God is the object of confidence. We cannot read these passages without feeling that we are on ground with which we are familiar in the other writings of the apostle. This letter also contains a clear declaration of the doctrine of Jesus Christ. He is represented as one who

has sent forth his apostles and who is the subject of their preaching. Paul is the "apostle of Jesus Christ" (chap. 1. 1). Jesus Christ is also joined with God as the source of grace and peace: "grace and peace from God the Father and Christ Jesus our Saviour" (chap. 1. 4). He is also set forth as appearing again: "looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ" (chap. 2. 13). Verse 14 of chapter 2 is a wonderful condensation of the teachings of Paul: "Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity." If we had this verse alone we would not misunderstand Paul's theological system. It is a wonderful compendium of doctrine and ethics. He redeemed mankind that he might "purify unto himself a people for his own possession, zealous of good works." In chapter 3, verse 6, there is reference to the Holy Ghost which is poured upon us richly. Jesus Christ is represented as the One through whom the Holy Ghost comes upon the people: "renewing of the Holy Ghost, which he poured out upon us richly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour." These passages illustrate the fact that the Pauline doctrines underlie this practical Epistle to Titus and afford a clear declaration of its Pauline authorship.

The doctrine of the church as set forth in this letter is a subject of interest. It is held by many that the statements concerning church order show a church organization more fully developed in every point than could have been possible during the life of Paul. Such writers have been able to give no date to it earlier than the middle of the second century. Of course if this were admitted it would place the epistle at once outside the realm of Pauline authorship. This point, however, cannot be well maintained. The epistle is addressed to Titus, whose relation to Paul was very close, and we may well argue that it was a description of the government only partially established, and which afterward was to be fully settled, rather than one already complete. If this is granted there is no difficulty in placing the epistle within the life of the apostle Paul. This view is well summarized by Gould in The Biblical Theology of the New Testament, page 149: "Another sign that we are in the first stages of the Catholic Church, and therefore in a later period than that of the Jewish controversy against Paul, a period in which the unity of the church is asserting itself against these divisions, is the doctrine of the church itself. Church officers in the early period were men who had certain gifts conferred on them by the Holy Spirit, and who occupied the positions involved in the exercise of these gifts, and not conferred by appointment or election. When we emerge into the period of elective officers they are bishops, elders, and deacons. And of these all three appear in the Pastoral Epistle by name. Not only name, but these general functions are exercised by the same officers in the later period of full organization. Administration is a chief mark of these offices in both periods, and the teaching office, which figures so largely in the work of these officers in the later organization, appears here for the first time, though in a rudimentary and subordinate form. But the differences between the later and earlier offices are quite as marked. In the first place, bishop and elder are interchangeable terms. In Titus 1. 5, 7, the argumentative 'for' of verse 7 is quite out of place unless bishops and elders are identical. Secondly, all these officers, bishops as well as deacons, are confined to the local church in their jurisdiction. The charge of a bishop is not a diocese, but a church. Thirdly, there are several bishops, or elders, in each

church. Fourthly, the functions are mostly administrative, the teaching office being subordinated and a distinction being made between teaching elders and others, implying, of course, that the teaching function is not common to them all. Timothy and Titus themselves are regarded as the responsible teachers, and probably the teaching continued to be done by men like them, who possessed the gift, instead of being officially designated, and whose office pertained to the general church, not to the local church. With the exception of this occasional teaching the offices are lay functions, not spiritual and so not clerical. It is the administration of affairs which is intrusted to them, not the cure of souls."

If these statements are granted, then we at once reach two conclusions of importance in the interpretation of the book: One is the nature of the heresies which Paul condemns in this epistle. It would follow that the Gnostic heresy had begun to permeate the church, but had not taken full possession of it. In other words, it was not a fully developed but an incipient Gnosticism which had gotten possession of the church and against which Titus is to contend. These interpretations remove the difficulty felt by many in assigning this epistle to the time of Saint Paul. It is affirmed that there is no time in Paul's life as narrated in the Acts of the Apostles within which to place the conditions reflected in this letter and the other pastoral epistles. If we assume, what is maintained by many, that Paul after the time mentioned in the Acts was released from prison and carried on his work with his accustomed vigor, and afterward was for a second time made a prisoner in Rome, we have sufficient time to meet the conditions found in this letter. This view has a steady tradition in its favor and will help to explain the peculiarities of the epistle. The other conclusion of importance is the fact that Christianity had become a settled system of truth which the church must guard: it was the duty of Titus to maintain "sound doctrine." There was ample time for a formulation of a system of overture before the close of Paul's life if we assume a second imprisonment, during which the Second Epistle to Timothy was written.

We may note (1) in this letter a series of directions to Titus concerning the administration of the church over which he had been placed; (2) a series of doctrinal statements which, while not argued, are stated with a clearness that marked their Pauline authorship; (3) a declaration of the nature of the church government immediately preceding the close of Paul's earthly career: (4) a view of the character of the heresies against which the church at that time and place was called upon to contend; (5) a view of the modes of thinking of the apostle Paul as he nears the close of his life. It is said by many that this letter has not the vigor of many of Paul's acknowledged writings, but no one can read this epistle without feeling the touch of that master mind and the practical sagacity of that marvelous organizer and theologian of the Christian faith.

THE LENGTH OF A SERMON

It is frequently a matter of discussion among young ministers of the gospel how long a church service should occupy, and especially what should be the proper length of a Christian sermon. We do not purpose at this time to consider it from the standpoint of special sermons on special occasions. There are

constantly arising occasions of great importance to which persons of special prominence or interest in the subject are invited, when the length of the time to be occupied is to be determined by the condition of things where the sermon is to be delivered; for example, Commencement addresses by a college president or anyone else. When a special topic is discussed it is often necessary, and, indeed, expected, that the preacher shall occupy longer than the usual time. Not to do so would disappoint the audience and leave his discourse incomplete.

The same is true of special addresses and sermons on the subject of missions, and, indeed, on special occasions which are recognized as crisal in regard to the interests involved. The reason why the longer sermon may be delivered is because both preacher and people recognize the importance of the occasion and the necessity for a thorough discussion of the point involved. Then, too, there are other cases when the sermon is to be determined by the circumstances of the case, such as dedications. Under present conditions it is quite common to raise money on such occasions as dedications or reopenings of churches. Often large expenditures of money have taken place, and it is expected that the gathering together of the people will inspire liberal giving, even although contributions have already been made, and a preacher is summoned to help accomplish the purpose they have in view. In these cases it is to be borne in mind when conducting the service what the purpose is. It is difficult sometimes for the preachers to abridge their discourses on such occasions, and yet it is often necessary to do so. It is not uncommon that the musical service is exceedingly long on that day, and it is very difficult for a preacher to get to his sermon until a large part of the time allotted to the service is exhausted. It would be well if this could be modified in some way without destroying the value of the musical part of the programme, but it is often exceedingly difficult to do it without some injury to the feelings of those who render such important services as the choirs in our churches, and this must be avoided. Nevertheless, the preacher should see to it that his sermon should not be so long as to make it impossible to give a full opportunity for the contribution of the people.

The writer of this has had considerable experience on occasions of this kind, and has found it always welcome on the part of the people when he abridged his sermon so as to give them such opportunity. He was called to officiate at the dedication of a large city church. It was in the downtown part of the city, and the people were accustomed to having dinner at twelve o'clock. He was informed that such was the case, and that unless the raising of the money was begun at eleven-thirty o'clock it would be impossible to have a collection with success. He promised them that he would be through his sermon by that time, and his sermon occupied just twenty-seven minutes. They raised all the money amid great gratification, so that at night there was no need for a collection whatever, and the whole congregation joined in a revival service. Had the preacher occupied an hour, using up the time to twelve o'clock, the same results would not have been reached, either financially or spiritually. On another occasion the musical part of the programme was exceedingly long, and the pastor was in great distress as to what to do. He came to the preacher and told him he did not know what was to be done because of the lateness of the hour. The preacher asked him at what time he ought to begin his collection. The pastor replied not later than twenty minutes to twelve o'clock. It was then twenty

minutes past eleven. The preacher promised to see to it that the collection was begun at that time, and at twenty minutes to twelve o'clock the collection was started, and the preacher received the thanks of the congregation, and the pastor afterward told him he had saved the day by that twenty-minute sermon. It is observed that some preachers are not invited for such occasions because, while congregations would be glad to have them, and to hear them with a full sermon on an ordinary occasion, they do not feel that they can trust them to come within the proper limits on such occasions as dedications, etc. These exceptional services are not the special topic we have in view. We have in mind the time to be occupied by the ordinary preacher in an ordinary sermon. It is very easy to say, as some preachers do, that they will preach until they are done and have finished their sermon. But, after all, the people will be the judge of the limit of sermons, and when a preacher's sermons are too long, although they be ever so excellent, the people will quietly be absent at the next service and perhaps constantly. It has been our experience to go to two churches of different denominations; one was where a sermon was announced on a very important topic, a sermon that had been delivered before in other cities and had been heard with great acceptance. The announcements were very extended, and there was a large congregation, but it was observed that the pastor, though he was preaching on a very special topic, concluded his sermon within thirty minutes and the whole service occupied little more than an hour. The writer visited on another occasion another church packed with people. It was one of the most fashionable and popular churches in the city of New York, where everything was of the finest order both in music and in the general conduct of the service. He observed that the preacher closed his sermon in just twenty-nine minutes, and the whole service lasted little more than one hour. Perhaps there has been no preacher in the Methodist denomination for the last quarter of a century who has been more popular than Dr. ——. He has occupied two or three of the largest pastorates in the denomination, and he has been recalled to them for a second and third term. He was rarely known to preach beyond thirty minutes. One of our laymen called him the greatest preacher of the city in which he preached.

This matter, however, is of special interest to ministers who are advanced in years. It is not uncommon for a minister who is growing old to believe that he preaches better than he ever preached before, and that his sermons therefore should be longer than they were in his early days. It may be that he does preach better than he did in his youth or middle life, but the people may not appreciate his style as much as they did in years gone by, and the increase in the length of his sermons is very often attributed to increasing years, and the thought of people is that if he were younger he would not preach so long. It is on this point that older ministers need to be careful. They must remember that there is a vivacity in youth which people appreciate, and which men of long years of service do not have. The older preacher must preach according to his time of life, and be entirely natural in his form of service and the expression of his sermon. It will be a help to him in maintaining his hold on congregations, especially on the younger portion, if, notwithstanding his years in the ministry, his services are moderate in length. This thought applies alike to young and old.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

NEW SAYINGS OF JESUS

Oxyrynchus, situated about one hundred and twenty miles south of Cairo, was an important city of Egypt in the early centuries of our era, and, though but little known to the modern world till 1897, it has been since that time a spot quite familiar to the students of archæology. What brought this old city to notice was the discovery by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, two distinguished Oxford scholars, of a large number of papyri written between the first and seventh centuries of our era. One fragment, discovered in 1897, proved of more interest than all the rest put together. We refer to that styled *Logia Iesou* ("Sayings of Jesus"). This ancient document was fully described and discussed in our pages at that time. The large number of papyri dug up in 1897 at Oxyrynchus, among them many fragments of the Greek classics, has justified the inference that the place must have been a center of learning, both Christian and classical. The excavations of Grenfell and Hunt in 1897 were so successful that after a lapse of six years these same gentlemen returned to the identical spot, in order to make "an exhaustive examination of what has been, on the whole, the richest site in Egypt for papyri." Their second effort was crowned with success, for they brought to light another large number of ancient documents or texts of various kinds, and among them another series of *logia*, as well as a fragment of a lost gospel. And the end is not yet, for the mounds of this old seat of learning are supposed to contain treasures of incalculable value to the student of archæology. The fragment of papyrus on which this second series of "Sayings of Jesus" are written has forty-two broken lines. We say broken, for, unfortunately, not a line is quite complete or perfect. So mutilated is the fragment as to make its decipherment exceedingly hard, and much of it, perhaps, impossible. These forty-two lines are written on the reverse side of a survey list of some public lands, which, to judge from its contents and style, is a product of the second century of our era—certainly not later than 300 A. D. From this and other data it may be inferred that these fresh sayings are of about the same date as those discovered in 1897, which, according to Drs. Grenfell and Hunt, cannot be referred to a date later than 140 A. D.

The two sets have many points of resemblance as well as some striking dissimilarities. Those who have studied the *logia* discovered in 1897 have noticed the manifest lack of unity between several of the eight sayings. Each one, like a proverb, stands alone, and by itself, whereas at least four of the five discovered in 1903 form a continuous whole, and treat of the same subject, namely, "the kingdom." The new sayings seem to be the very beginning of the collection, while those of 1897 begin abruptly, on a page marked 11 and in the very middle of a saying. The fact that there were ten pages before this goes to prove that they formed a large collection, but more of this farther on. It will also be noticed that the sayings of 1903 begin with a regular introduction, which we give below. We shall not reproduce a facsimile of the fragment, nor

even a copy to show how mutilated it is, nor yet the original text with the proposed emendations of the critics. Instead of this, we shall give these *logia* to our readers in an English garb, as emended and translated by a competent New Testament and patristic scholar, Professor Swete, of Cambridge, England, who can speak upon the subject with as much authority as any European scholar. But, before proceeding further, let us place the contents of the fragment as rendered by the Cambridge professor before our readers. There are only five *logia*, but these are preceded by a short prologue, or introduction, which was probably intended to the entire collection.

PROLOGUE

"These are the true sayings which Jesus who liveth and was dead spake to Judas Thomas. And the Lord said to him, Whosoever shall hearken to these sayings, he shall in no wise taste of death."

I

"Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks the Father cease until he find him; and having found him let him be amazed; and being amazed he shall reign, and reigning shall rest."

Grenfell and Hunt render the last part of this logion: "shall reach the kingdom, and having reached the kingdom shall rest."

II

"Jesus saith, Who are they that draw you [manuscript, us] to the kingdom? The kingdom is in heaven; but they that are on the earth and the birds of the heaven and every creature that is under the earth and in Hades and the fishes of the sea, these are they that draw you to it. And the kingdom of heaven is within you, and whosoever shall know himself shall find it; for if ye shall truly know yourselves, ye are the sons and daughters of the Father Almighty, and ye shall know yourselves to be in the city of God. And ye are the city."

III

"Jesus saith, A man will not hesitate to inquire boldly about the seasons, prating of the place of glory. But ye shall hold your peace; for many that are first shall be last, and the last first, and few shall find it."

IV

"Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face, and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed; for there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, or buried which shall not be raised."

V

"His disciples inquire of him and say, How are we to fast? and how are we to pray? and how are we to give alms? and of such duties what are we to observe? Jesus saith, See that ye lose not your reward. Do nothing save the things that belong to the truth, for if ye do these, ye shall know a hidden mystery. I say unto you, blessed is the man who . . . ."

This saying is in a very mutilated state, and the above translation is, for

the greater part, mere conjecture. Not quite two lines are anything like perfect; the other nine are broken both at the beginning and at the close. Thus only the words in the middle of the line are left. It is to be remarked that this logion differs from the other four in having a brief introduction, explanatory of the occasion on which it was spoken. It is apparently an answer by our Lord to a question propounded to him by the disciples. Professor Swete has ventured upon a much fuller emendation of the text in this particular logion than have Grenfell and Hunt, who render as follows:

"His disciples question him and say, How shall we fast and how shall we (pray?) . . . and what (commandment) shall we keep? . . . Jesus saith, . . . do not . . . of truth . . . blessed is he . . . "

As we have seen from the above, no one can afford to speak dogmatically regarding the exact contents of this mutilated papyrus. Though Professor Swete has reproduced these *logia* in such a way as to give an intelligible translation, and though he fills up the gaps with parallel clauses from the gospels, epistles, and the early fathers in such a way as to give us very smooth reading, he nevertheless frankly admits that "reconstruction in the present instance is not only hazardous, but for the most part impracticable." Contrasting the condition of the text of the *logia* of 1897 and those of 1903, he says: "The earlier discovery lent itself with comparative ease to conjectural restoration; two only of the seven sayings were seriously damaged, and with very few exceptions both the beginnings and the endings of the lines had been preserved. The new fragment, on the other hand, has been torn or cracked down the middle, and the right-hand side has disappeared; of the forty-two lines which it contained, every one has lost its ending, while the last eleven are defective also at the beginning. Thus even the average length of the lines can only be conjectured; but, judging from the four or five which can be restored with some degree of confidence, the average number of letters may well have been twenty-nine or thirty, and the normal length twelve syllables, or that of an iambic trimeter, one of the measures, as Dr. Rendel Harris has shown, which professional scribes followed in dividing their matter into *stichoi*."

Now, in what sense are these *logia* "the sayings of Jesus"? To answer this question two things at least must be considered: their origin and date of composition. Are these two fragments, discovered at Oxyrynchus, portions of a large independent collection which was circulated in Egypt during the latter part of the first century or the early part of the second? Or, have these few sayings been taken from some of the apocryphal gospels sent out in the interest of some church party or heretical sect? No less an authority than Professor Harnack maintains that the *logia* of 1897 were excerpts from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. Others again would have us believe that they are from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or from the Gospel according to Thomas. As we know but very little about these apocryphal gospels, a logical comparison is out of the question. It is true that the fathers have quoted extensively from some of them, and some of the passages so quoted bear a striking similarity to passages in the *logia*. Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt maintain that the sayings do not owe their origin to any of the apocryphal gospels; speaking of the Gospel of Thomas in particular, they say: "That there is a connection between the earlier Gospel of Thomas and the sayings is extremely likely, but this can be better

explained by supposing that the sayings influenced the gospel, than by the hypothesis that the gospel is the source of the sayings." Nor is it at all possible that the *logia* were taken directly from the canonical gospels; for though they contain much in common with these, they also have much that cannot be found in any of the four gospels, but which is clearly from other sources. The most plausible theory, therefore, is that the *logia* are from an independent collection which was circulated and read by the Christians of Egypt, and made up by some early writer from the lips of those who had enjoyed the ministry of the apostles and their contemporaries. If this supposition be true, they are almost direct from the lips of our Saviour through those who "had heard the Lord." But why are they addressed to Thomas? At first view a natural inference would be that they are excerpts from his gospel. This, however, is highly improbable, since what we know of this gospel argues against such a supposition. It has been suggested that the entire collection, divided into twelve sections, was called, "The Sayings of Jesus to the Twelve," and that each section bore the name of one of the apostles. If this be so, then this portion of the collection is that addressed to Thomas.

Fragment of a Lost Gospel

Here again we shall content ourselves with a mere translation of the passages found on the fragment of papyrus which was also discovered at Oxyrynchus by Drs. Grenfell and Hunt in 1903:

"(Take no thought) from morning until even nor from evening until morning, either for your food what ye shall eat or for your raiment what ye shall put on. Ye are far better than the lilies which grow but spin not. Having one garment, what do ye (lack)? . . . Who could add to your stature? He himself will give you your garment. His disciples say unto him, When wilt thou be manifest unto us, and when shall we see thee? He saith, When ye shall be stripped and not be ashamed. . . .

". . . He said the Key of Knowledge ye hid; ye entered not in yourselves, and to them that were entering in ye opened not."

Should the reader take the trouble to look up the following passages: Matt 6. 25-28, 31-33; Luke 11. 52; 12. 4, 22, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, and John 14. 19, ff., he will see at once the great resemblance between them and those in the fragment. Nevertheless, the differences are such as to preclude the theory that the latter are taken directly from the former. Unless, therefore, it can be shown that the verses are taken from one or more of the uncanonical gospels it must be assumed that we have in this fragment a portion of another gospel, hitherto unknown to the world. If we are to believe the discoverers, the fragment was probably composed in Egypt before 150 A. D., and is intimately connected with the Gospel according to the Egyptians and the Second Epistle of Clement. Here, again, dogmatism is of no avail. All we can do is to patiently wait, hoping that Oxyrynchus may have more light to throw upon the subject.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT

Oskar Pfister. Twice in succession The Hague Society for the Defense of the Christian Religion has announced as a theme for a prize essay "The Justification and Tenability of the Theory of Indeterminism and its Significance for Religion and Morals." Pfister won the prize for the second essay in the series. His book is entitled Die Willensfreiheit. Eine kritisch-systematische Untersuchung (The Freedom of the Will. A Critical and Systematic Investigation). Berlin, 1904, G. Reimer. Pfister takes a somewhat paradoxical position. He claims that the best way to defend the freedom of the will is to defend also the theory of determinism. That is to say, while determinism and indeterminism are mutually exclusive terms, determinism and freedom of the will are mutually consistent ideas. This position is supported in part by the attempt to destroy one after the other the contentions of the indeterminist; in part by calling attention to the well-known distinction between degrees and kinds of freedom; but chiefly by reference to what he calls the retrospective and the prospective factors involved. When an act of will is considered retrospectively it must be regarded as determined; when prospectively, it must be thought of as free. When one looks at the steps leading up to an act of will the law of causal dependence requires us to regard it from the standpoint of the determinist. When the same act is looked upon as one to be performed, and the steps leading up to it are ignored, it must be thought of as free. But the fact that in the act of willing there is no sense of compulsion Pfister regards as in no sense a proof that the act is not really determined. In the passage, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure," we have a biblical utterance showing that in Paul's thought the two ideas are compatible. Of course, Pfister does not introduce this Scripture passage as proof, but as illustration. But, using it just as Pfister does in this respect, it brings out forcibly the argument for the freedom of the will, though it may prove to one who takes the psychology of Saint Paul as final the deterministic character of all volition and action. Pfister is very certain that there is not the slightest contradiction between the imperative of the first part and the affirmative of the second part of the passage. But how does he show this? Simply by denying that the imperative says anything with regard to our freedom. In other words, the sense of moral obligation and responsibility is not to be considered in deciding between determinism and indeterminism. When one considers the precarious nature of the arguments for determinism it would seem as though some weight ought to be attached to the deep and ineradicable consciousness of personal responsibility. On the deterministic theory we are actually what we are without any effort of our own. God has wrought in us absolutely all. But what a contradiction he has wrought in us on this hypothesis! For with our intellects we conclude we are not free and therefore not responsible; in our consciousness we feel ourselves free and responsible. God wrought in us the judgment of the intellect, and he

wrought in us the consciousness of freedom. The absurdity of the supposition on the basis of any worthy conception of God shows that there is an error somewhere. Is the error in our judgment or in our feelings? Until we can eradicate the feeling the exigencies of life will demand that here we give more credence to our feelings than to our judgment, if our judgment says we are not free.

Paul von Hoensbroech. Sometime in 1903 Chaplain Dabasch, a Roman Catholic member of the German Reichstag, publicly challenged anyone to find in a Jesuitical work any instance in which the principle that the end sanctifies the means is taught, and declared himself ready to pay anyone two thousand gulden (about fifteen hundred dollars) who would find such a passage. Count von Hoensbroech accepted the challenge, and his book, published in 1904, Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel (Berlin, C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn), gives numerous instances in which Jesuits have so taught. Dasbach denied, however, that von Hoensbroech had found any such passages, and declined to pay over the promised sum. It will be left, therefore, for men to decide for themselves whether von Hoensbroech has made out his case. Of course it is understood that many Jesuits condemn the principle in question. The point is whether any Jesuits ever taught it. It is also agreed that the words, "the end sanctifies the means," are not found in any Jesuit work. The question is as to the teaching of the principle that a morally bad act may be performed innocently if thereby a morally good end may be reached. There are not a few Protestants who would affirm that lying is innocent if it is necessary in the saving of life or property. But in all such cases it is denied that lying is a bad act, since the murderer has no right to the truth. It is necessary, therefore, to consider cases in which it must be admitted that the act is bad. To give but two instances: The Jesuit, Paul Loymann, in his Theologia moralis, Monochii, published in 1625, taught that if anyone had fully determined in his own mind to commit some great sin, as, for example, adultery, it was permissible, in order to prevent the greater sin, to advise a lesser one, for example, intercourse with an unmarried woman. That such intercourse is morally bad under all circumstances cannot be doubted by anyone who has not learned to call evil good. But Loymann says that in such a case *absolute suadetur quod bonum est, siquidem ex duobus malis si alterum eligendum sit, bonum est, eligere minus.* It would seem that von Hoensbroech has made his point here. Again, the Jesuit, Ferdinand de Castropolao, who died in 1633, taught that it was allowable to provide anyone an opportunity to sin, or at least it was allowable not to remove the opportunity or occasion to sin, in order that he might be caught in the act and thus led to repentance. The end is thus a "*sufficiens causa honestandi permissionem.*" "*Licitum esse, offerre deliquentibus occasionem peccandi ob bonos fines.*" This is, if anything, even more clear than the former instance. All such teaching, whether by Jesuits or others, is contrary to Christian principle, which forbids us to do evil that good may come. But it is also disrespectful to Christianity, since it utterly fails to recognize that our Lord provided for better and more effective means of moral improvement than these weak and disgraceful concessions to the sinful passions of men. It could be wished that certain concrete instances of such baleful teaching could be effaced from Protestant history. Meanwhile the Jesuits gain

nothing by denying plain facts. It would be better to admit them and then bring forth fruits meet for repentance.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Das Wesen der Religion, dargestellt an ihrer Geschichte (The Essence of Religion, Exhibited in its History). By Wilhelm Bousset. Halle a. S., Gebauer-Schwetschke. This is a remarkably clear setting forth of the peculiarities of the principal religions and types of religion known to investigators. Bousset holds that the peculiar phenomena of religion cannot be exhibited in connection with the Christian religion alone. Religion is distinguished by two marks—it is a striving after life, and it is a personal communion with God or with gods. It is always accompanied by feelings both of fear and confidence, and arises when the human mind tries to pass from the seen to the unseen world. The beginnings of religion can best be studied at present among uncivilized peoples, although life among them gives us but a relatively adequate conception of life among primitive men. Its chief characteristics in this stage are fetichism in association with the black arts, the worship of ancestors and of the dead in general. Religion is here a purely private matter, and has to do exclusively with spirits of the lower order. The moral element is lacking, and the gods sought are sensuous. In a little higher class of this same stage we find attention directed toward the gods of the skies, the stars, and of the underworld. Totemism is also seen in this class of religions. The chief characteristics of the natural religions are polytheism; growing interest in morals; gradual separation of the idea of God from natural objects, and the personalization of God; pictorial representations of the deity; temples; priests; development of myths; disappearance of the worship of the dead. Examples are the Babylonian and the Greek religions. The prophetic religions are a great step forward. Here the individual has an almost creative place, whether in Zarathustra, or Plato, or the Israelitish prophets, who are the grandest examples. Religion is devotionalized and moralized; monotheism is developed, and the external elements are shaken off. The legal religions, such as Judaism, Parseeism, Islam, the later Greek religion, Eastern and Roman Catholicism, are a retrogression from prophetism. Forms become exceedingly important. Great emphasis is laid upon the observance of religious customs, upon creeds, upon sacred books, and the like. Another class is the religions of redemption, such as Platonism and Buddhism, which esteem this life as relatively worthless and strive to escape it. The idea of God becomes vague and dim; the moral element ceases to be emphasized. The perfect religion is found where the ideas of redemption and morals unite, namely, in Christianity, which is characterized negatively by the absence of all national limitations, ceremonies, worship of the letter, and the like. Its positive peculiarities are the closest blending of religion and morality; a conception of redemption which does justice to the dignity and uniqueness of humanity in the creation, and to morality; strong individualism; the expectation of a future life; and the significance of the person of Jesus. The book closes with an estimate of the Reformation and the future of Christianity, which is one with the future of religion. There are some things in the discussion of Christianity not commendable; but, on the whole, it is a most useful and intelligent treatment of its theme.

Das Buch Hiob. Neu übersetzt und kurzerklärt (The Book of Job, Newly Translated and Briefly Expounded). By Friedrich Delitzsch. Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Originally it was Delitzsch's purpose to write merely a lecture on Job. But being in Constantinople and without helps, except the Hebrew Bible and a Hebrew Lexicon prepared by himself, his studies interested him so much that he expanded the proposed lecture into this book, which he completed in a few weeks. He is poorly satisfied with the commentaries current on Job, because they show too little appreciation and understanding of the poem as such, and because they frequently translate incorrectly. He thinks this latter defect arises from slighting the vocabulary and phraseology of the Old Testament and its related dialects. This resulted in their taking refuge in the correction of the text whenever they came upon an unusual word or phrase. He first gives a translation of chapters 1. 1 to 2. 13, and 42. 7–17, which, with Duhm and Budde, he regards as distinct from the poem itself. He then translates chapters 3 to 27; 29 to 31. 37; 38 to 39. 12; 39. 19 to 40. 14; 42. 1–6. This he holds to be the poem proper, and he calls it "The High Song of Pessimism." After this he translates the remaining chapters. The whole is accompanied with explanatory notes, philological and other. Delitzsch thinks that he has enriched the Hebrew Lexicon by means of his study of Job to the extent of sixteen new words and roots out of the text itself and fifteen out of the text together with the Assyrian Lexicon. He has also given us thirty-nine new meanings of words, or new shades of meaning. Other experts, however, cut down his figures somewhat. It is interesting to note that notwithstanding his censure of the commentators for their correction of the text he resorts to it himself in forty instances affecting the consonants and sixty affecting vowel pointings. Of these one hundred about fifty are new, many of which will be disputed by scholars. His translation, also, is not accepted in many of the instances in which he differs from the ordinary translations. The general impression among authorities on the subject seems to be that Delitzsch made a mistake in proceeding so rapidly and in the absence of his library, and that far more would have been done for the exposition of the book of Job had he built more on the work of others than he has accomplished by attempting to work alone. Delitzsch has added to his reputation for dash and daring, and confirmed the opinion held by so many concerning him, that his judgment is extremely faulty.

Virgines subintroductæ, ein Beitrag zu 1 Corinthians VII (Subintroduced Virgins: A Contribution to the Understanding of 1 Corinthians VII). By Hans Achelis. Leipzig, 1902, Hinrichs. The author of this book gives us a valuable study of a phase of life in the early church which is generally passed over in silence by church historians, but which need in no sense to bring the blush of shame to the Christian's cheeks. We have distinct traces from about the year 100 A. D. onward for several centuries of a custom so strange to us that we can scarcely understand how it could have found a place in Christian history. It was the custom of avowed celibates of opposite sexes living in the same house in the relation of spiritual marriage. Scoffers like Gibbon have treated

this matter with such scorn that we cannot be too grateful to Achelis for setting it in its true light. In the first place, the custom was not confined, as many have thought, to the clergy. These were forbidden by the beginning of the fourth century to enter into such relationships, but the earlier practice was found among laymen as well as clergy. There are traces of it, too, in widely distant portions of the church, showing that its geographical distribution was general. What, now, could have led to such a state of affairs? Very certain is it that it was not, as many have supposed, a concession to the sex instinct. Although the custom was not confined to any one class or to any one locality, the fact remains that it seldom resulted in any violations of the vows of chastity. Tertullian recommended spiritual marriage, and Athanasius lived six years in the house of a virgin to whose house he fled in persecution. In proof of their continence these virgins were ready to submit to medical examination. It was everywhere regarded as entirely consistent with personal purity. These things could not have been had it not been felt that other causes than the natural attractions of the sexes for each other were here operative. Yet that it sprang from the theory of virginity prominent from the earliest days in the church is certain. The unmarried man needed the presence of womankind in his house if his household affairs were to receive proper attention, and the unmarried woman above all still needed the protection which only a man could afford her. It was particularly needful for the widower, to whom a second marriage was practically impossible on account of the prevalent theory that a second marriage was polygamy, to have a woman in his house who would care for its internal arrangements. It is a significant fact that of all the numerous references to the custom we have none indicating that both parties to the spiritual marriage were young. Some natural safeguards appear, therefore, to have been thrown around the practice. Still the main ground of the church's confidence that the relation would not be abused must have been in the consciousness of the individual Christian that he or she had within a power which lifted its possessor above the ordinary impulses that actuated humankind. That it was so long tolerated and even favored shows that that confidence was not misplaced. Springing as it did out of the almost necessary requirement that man and woman shall join together in the conduct of the household, and yet from the feeling that this union need not be physical but purely spiritual, the only thing to condemn about it is that it exposes those who practiced the custom to unnecessary dangers. In and of itself it is, as Achelis says, a sign of the ideal moral state of the Christians of those early days. Whether the seventh chapter of First Corinthians contains a reference to the custom with Paul's advice concerning it is more difficult to determine.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL

The Sixth International Congress of Old Catholics. The gathering was held in Olten, Switzerland, September 1–4, 1904, and was attended by about three hundred delegates from Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Austria,

France, the United States, and Russia, and by representatives from the Anglican Church and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Those who wish a full account of the proceedings will find the addresses published in the Revue internationale de Theologie. It will be interesting to Americans to learn that there are in this country fifty-six Old Catholic churches, with thirty-four priests, presided over by Bishop Kozlowski, of Chicago, all of them having been organized within the last ten years.

Protestant Intolerance at Sectarian Burials. The general supposition has been that only Roman Catholics make trouble for those who wish to be buried without the aid of the priests. This supposition may be for the most part correct. But it appears that in many parts of Germany the Protestant (Lutheran) pastors are even more intolerant. A recent number of the Christliche Helt gives accounts of several instances in which Baptist and other ministers belonging to "sects" were either forbidden to offer so much as a prayer at the grave or were rudely interrupted while so doing. It appears that the judges of the courts strive to release all who are accused of unlawfully holding religious services at burials, but that all too many of the German Lutheran pastors are guilty of gross intolerance in this respect.

Protestantism and Suicide. Statistics abundantly demonstrate that in most respects the state of morality in Roman Catholic countries is distinctly lower than it is in Protestant. But in one point, at least—that of suicide—the Roman Catholics show to advantage. In 1892-96 the figures were, for 100,000 of the population of the strictly Roman Catholic districts of Aachen, Munster, and Oppeln, respectively 5, 7, and 8. For the same population in the strictly Protestant districts of Potsdam, Magdeburg, and Liegnitz, respectively 32, 33, and 39. In Bavaria in a population of 100,000 Roman Catholics there were 9, in the same population of Protestants 21, suicides. In France the suicides increase with great rapidity. This is accounted for by Roman Catholic authorities on the ground that the bonds of the faith are relaxing in France. The comparative rarity of suicides among Roman Catholics they account for on the theory that the confessional is a tremendous hindrance to such intentions on the part of the Romanists.

A Peculiar Mode of Helping German Prisoners. An organization has recently been effected in Hamburg, composed of Protestants and Romanists, whose purpose it is to aid those who have been imprisoned and who have served their time. The peculiarity of the purpose, aside from the fact that this is the first organized attempt of the kind in Germany, consists in the fact that the society does not contemplate helping these men to a place in society in their native land, but to aid them in emigrating to foreign countries. They will give special attention to those who have been imprisoned for the first time, and to such only after a reasonable probation has been passed subsequently to their release.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

ANY reflections of an intelligent, broad-minded, and fair-minded Jew on the Christian Christmas are likely to be of interest to the followers of Christ. In the Reader Magazine for December, 1904, are some remarks on the subject by Israel Zangwill, part of which we quote: "Historically I recognize that evolution, not revolution, is the law of human life; that traces of earlier feasts are kept in Santa Claus's stocking, and that the Christian festival took over, and transformed to higher import, the natural celebrations of the winter solstice. Holly and mistletoe do not grow in Palestine; the snowy landscapes of our Christmas cards are not known of Nazareth or Bethlehem; mince pie was not on the menu of the Magian kings; and the Christmas tree has its roots in Teutonic soil. But even as the painters of each race conceived Christ in their own image, so does each nation unthinkingly figure his activities in its own climatic setting. And perhaps in thus universalizing the Master the peoples obeyed a true instinct, for no race is able to receive lessons from 'foreigners.' The message as well as the man must be translated into native terms: a psychological fact which missionaries should understand. Nor is it in the Palestine of to-day that the true environment of the gospels can best be recovered, for though one may still meet the shepherd leading his flock, the merchant dangling sideways from his ass, or Rebecca carrying her pitcher on her shoulder, that is not the Palestine of the apostolic period, but the Palestine of the patriarchs, reproduced by decay and desolation. The Palestine through which the Galilean peasant wandered was a developed kingdom of thriving cities and opulent citizens, of Roman roads and Roman pomp. Upon those bleak hillsides where to-day only the terraces survive—the funereal monuments of fertility—the tangled branchery of olive groves lent magic to the air. That sea of Galilee, down which I have sailed in one of the only two smacks, was alive with a fleet of fishing vessels. Yes, in the palimpsest of Palestine 'tis an earlier writing than the Christian that has been revealed by the fading of the later inscriptions of her civilization. And even where in some mountain village the rainbow-hued crowd may still preserve for us the chronology of Christ, a bazaar of mother-o'-pearl mementoes will jerk us rudely back into our own era. But—saddest of all!—the hands of Philistine piety have raised churches over all the sacred spots of sacred story. Even Jacob's well is roofed over with ecclesiastic plaster; incongruous images of camels getting through church porches to drink confuse the historic imagination. Churches are, after all, a way of shutting out the heavens, and the great open-air story of the gospels seems rather to suffer asphyxiation, overlaid by these countless chapels and convents. Is it, perhaps, allegorical of the perversion of the Christ-teaching? This suspicion, that 'the secret of Jesus' has been darkened and a doctrine of Life—'work

while ye have the light, that ye may be children of light'—turned into a doctrine of Death, comes ever to my soul as I go through innumerable dark churches of Italy, those heavy, airless glooms, heavier with the sense of faded frescoes and worm-eaten pictures, and vaults and crypts and moldering frippery and mildewed relics, and saintly bones mocked by jeweled shroudings and dim-burning oil lamps—the blue sky of Italy shut out as in a pious perversity. Are these the shrines of the Master, who drew his parables and metaphors from the vineyard and the sheepfold? The paintings of the Old Masters of Art and Faith serve further to misrepresent the teaching of the Founder. Their insistence on the more dramatic elements of the great spiritual tragedy throws Christianity quite out of perspective. Doubtless 'tis more difficult to represent in art the everyday teaching of the Prophet of righteousness, the stinging Satirist of hypocrisy, the Lover of light and of little children. Unfortunately, pictures are the theological manuals of the simple (*picturæ sunt idiotarum libri*), and hence the falsification of the great message of peace and good will. The living teacher was overcast by the livid light of the tomb and buried in the Latin of the church. Perhaps the masses are only able to receive Truth crucified. The humanitarian turn given to Yuletide by the genius of Dickens was at bottom a return from the caricature to the true concept. Dickens converted Christmas to Christianity. And to-day 'tis held in so truly catholic a spirit that Jewish circles have adopted it so fanatically that the little Jewish girl could ask compassionately, 'Mother, have the Christians also a Christmas?' But over large stretches of the planet and of history it is Christianity that has been converted to paganism, as the condition of its existence. Russia was baptized a thousand years ago, but seems to have a duck's back for holy water. And even in the rest of Europe upon what parlous terms the church still holds its tenure of nominal power! What parson dares speak out in a crisis, what bishop dares flourish the logia of Christ in the face of a heathen world? The old gods still govern—if they do not rule. Thor and Odin, Mars and Venus—who knows that they do not dream of a return to their ancient thrones, if, indeed, they are aware of their exile? Their shrines still await them in the forests and glades; every rock holds still an altar. And do they demand their human temples, lo! the Pantheon stands stable in Rome, and on the hill of Athens the Acropolis shines in immortal marble. Their statues are still held in adoration, and how should a poor out-moded deity understand that we worship him as art, not as divinity? It does but add to his confusion that now and anon prayers ascend to him as of yore, for how should a poor Olympian whose toe has been faith-bitten understand that he has been catalogued as pope or saint? Perchance some drowsing Druid god, as he perceives our scrupulous ritual of holly and fir branch, imagines his worship unchanged, and glads to see the vestal led under the mistletoe by his officiating priest. Perchance in the blaze of snapdragon some purblind deity beholds his old fire offerings, and the savor of turkey mounts as incense to his Norse nostrils. Shall we rudely arouse him from his dream of dominion, shall we tell him that he and his gross

ideas were banished two millenniums ago, and that the world is now under the sway of gentleness and love? Nay, let him dream his happy dream; let sleeping gods lie. For who knows how vigorously his old lustfulness and bloodthirst might revive, who knows what new victims he might claim at his pyres, were he clearly to behold his power still unusurped, his empire still the kingdom of the world!"

THE opening article in the American Journal of Theology (Chicago) for October, 1904, is entitled "The Religious Forecast in England." Its author is A. Taylor Innes, M.A., of Edinburgh, Scotland, who discusses in a semiphilosophical, semipractical way both the situation and the outlook. He says the broad-church party in the Anglican communion has melted away. While not censuring the broad tolerance exercised and claimed by the men of this party, he questions their evangelic power thus: "The men of this tolerant virtue—*how strive they*, as compared with their fathers, upon whose souls Wesley and Chalmers smote; or with the evangelical household of last century, which fed on Olney hymns and built up missionary societies; or even with the ardent souls who stood in the van of the Oxford movement?" How definite and confident, or otherwise, this "forecast" is may be judged from these concluding words: "It is probably safe to predict that ereiong the English masses will be face to face, as they have never been before, with the claims of religion and the higher life. But it would be rash to prophesy that they will embrace those claims—at least, at once. History has had too many cases of failure of a generation of men to listen to the higher call, and these failures may be repeated 'as the great ages onward roll.' Yet we discern better things in the century whose threshold we have been permitted to see. At all times the highest moral results have been attained by men *who fixed their gaze*, not upon these results directly, but *upon the central Personality* in whom they are gathered up; that is, these results have been attained through religion rather than ethics. And the attainment has *not* been by men who accepted a philosophical or ecclesiastical system, *but* rather by those *who suddenly found a bond with a Father reconciled;* and, even in their case, most of all in the first tenderness of reconciliation. It is at this stage, too, and in this form that *religion*, with its priceless ethical accompaniments, *has proved to be* powerfully sympathetic and even *contagious*. For within Christianity man's experience of religion has come in the way of pulsation and vibration and recurrent waves of life. These are bare facts and phenomena of history, and they may repeat themselves in the coming England. Religion may rise so high in the hearts of young Englishmen as to be a passion for the reconciled First Good and First Fair. And if, as these pages suggest, religion is an objective fact—the *recognition by many personalities of the central One*—then the main hope may come, not from ourselves, but from the other side. The Center of all life must have *infinite initiative*, and may well be found in his own time inconceivably *responsive to the appeal of man*." The chief value of the article

is in its definition of religion: "Throughout all history religion has been no mere subjective phenomenon. It has been the tie between men and the central Personality of the universe. Their apprehension of it—say, rather, of Him—was at first distorted or fragmentary; but in modern times science is perhaps doing as much as Christianity to insure that we shall never think of the universe without thinking of its oneness and its center, and that, if we admit religion into our thoughts at all, to us there is but one God. In earlier days he appealed to the mass of men, not so much as the central Mind or the central Heart, but rather as the central Conscience of the universe, from which none could escape, and to which all might appeal. The arbitrary and avenging powers of mythology had no evolutionary future, but the Hebrew recognition of a Judge of all the earth—'a God of truth and without iniquity, just and right is he!'—prevailed over the more local and limited ideas of that race as of all others. Their God, more and more acknowledged as the God of all, became also more and more the God with whom they had to do. And even when the national ethic was sublimed into loving the seen neighbor as oneself, it demanded first of all for one Unseen a love with all the heart and with all the soul and with all the mind. Of course, under a God-consciousness so direct as this all self-complacency broke down. It was exchanged in the multitude for *a wistful look at the altar*, and in select souls for *an inward cry for forgiveness*, while the lesson taught to both by the whole story, as prophet after prophet unfolded it to the world, was *personal dealing with that divine Personality*. The most characteristic utterance in Hebrew literature shows a conscience, burdened with treachery to a murdered friend, coming to God with the strange words, 'Against thee, thee only, have I sinned,' and refusing to depart. Christianity, throwing down all middle walls between Greek and barbarian, made *instantaneous appeal to men of every race to seek personal reconciliation with the Cause and Father of all.* The question was no longer one of races at all. Races were merely the vague, and generally the mistaken, names of groups of individual men with personalities infinitely apart, every one of which was now invited to become 'partaker of the divine nature' by a process of *beholding that other Personality* with open face. The previous history had been mainly a history of men blindly seeking God, 'if haply they might find' one, as the center of a world of dead matter evolving spirit must presumably be Spirit himself. Christianity affirmed his existence as a *living and loving Personality*, responding to the call and rejoicing in the love of man. It was an amazingly great, though surely not at all a strange, thing to affirm of the Center of the Universe. But a greater lay behind. If the center of all is *a Personality and a living heart*, it may well be that it will not leave initiative to its own creatures of clay. It will not merely be sought and found; *it may itself seek men.* And the special message of the new faith was this, that from an immeasurable distance the Center of things had *drawn near*, and from an infinite height the Absolute had *bowed down*, to attract to itself the spirits whom it had made."

In the Atlantic Monthly (Boston) for November, 1904, the most attractive item in a rich table of contents is Emerson's paper on "Country Life," which is part of a lecture given in Boston in 1858, every sentence of which is as fresh and fragrant as when it was written nearly half a century ago. The flavor of the whole is tasted in such passages as these: "At Niagara I have noticed that as quick as I got out of the wetting of the Fall all the grandeur changed into beauty. You cannot keep it grand, 'tis so quickly beautiful; and the sea gave me the same experience. 'Tis great and formidable, when you lie down in it, among the rocks. But on the shore, at one rod's distance, 'tis changed into a beauty as of gems and clouds. Shores in sight of each other in a warm climate, make boat builders; and whenever we find a coast broken up into bays and harbors, we find an instant effect on the intellect and industry of the people. On the seashore the play of the Atlantic with the coast! What wealth is here! Every wave is a fortune. One thinks of Etzlers and great projectors who will yet turn all this waste strength to account: what strength and fecundity, from the sea monsters, hugest of animals, to the primary forms of which it is the immense cradle, and the phosphorescent infusories;—it is one vast rolling bed of life, and every sparkle is a fish. What freedom and grace with all this might! The seeing so excellent a spectacle is a certificate to the mind that all imaginable good shall yet be realized. The sea is the chemist that dissolves the mountain and the rock; pulverizes old continents, and builds new—forever redistributing the solid matter of the globe; and performs an analogous office in perpetual new transplanting of the races of men over the surface, the exodus of nations. . . . For walking you must have a broken country. In Illinois everybody rides. There is no good walk in that state. The reason is, a square yard of it is as good as a hundred miles. You can distinguish from the cows a horse feeding, at the distance of five miles, with the naked eye. Hence, you have the monotony of Holland, and when you step out of the door, can see all that you will have seen when you have come home. In Massachusetts our land is agreeably broken, and is permeable like a park, and not like some towns in the more broken country of New Hampshire, built on three or four hills having each one side at forty-five degrees, and the other side perpendicular: so that if you go a mile, you have only the choice whether you will climb the hill on your way out, or on your way back. The more reason we have to be content with the felicity of our slopes in Massachusetts, undulating, rocky, broken, and surprising, but without this alpine inconveniency. Twenty years ago in northern Wisconsin the pinery was composed of trees so big, and so many of them, that it was impossible to walk in the country, and the traveler had nothing for it but to wade in the streams. One more inconveniency, I remember, they showed me in Illinois, that, in the bottom lands, the grass was fourteen feet high. We may well enumerate what compensating advantages we have over that country, for 'tis a commonplace, which I have frequently heard spoken in Illinois, that it was a manifest leading of the divine Providence that the New England States should have been

first settled before the Western country was known, or they would never have been settled at all. . . . Nature kills egotism and conceit, deals strictly with us, and gives sanity; so that it was the practice of the Orientals, especially of the Persians, to let insane persons wander at their own will out of the towns into the desert, and, if they liked, to associate with wild animals. In their belief wild beasts, especially gazelles, collect around an insane person, and live with him on a friendly footing. The patient found something curative in that intercourse, by which he was quieted and sometimes restored. . . . As man is the object of nature, what we study in nature is man. 'Tis true, that man only interests us. We are not to be imposed upon by the apparatus and the nomenclature of the physiologist. Agassiz studies year after year fishes and fossil anatomy of saurian and lizard and pterodactyl. But whatever he says, we know very well what he means. He pretends to be only busy with the foldings of the yolk of a turtle's egg. I can see very well what he is driving at; he means men and women. He talks about lizard, shellfish, and squid; he means John and Mary, Thomas and Ann. For nature is only a mirror in which man is reflected colossally. . . . If we believed that nature was foreign and unrelated—some rock on which souls wandering in the universe were shipwrecked—we should think all exploration of it frivolous waste of time. No, it is bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, made of us, as we of it. External nature is only a half. The geology, the astronomy, the anatomy, are all good, but 'tis all a half, and—enlarge it by astronomy never so far—remains a half. It requires a will as perfectly organized—requires man. Astronomy is a cold, desert science, with all its pompous figures—depends a little too much on the glass-grinder, too little on the mind. 'Tis of no use to show us more planets and systems. We know already what matter is, and more or less of it does not signify. He can dispose in his thought of more worlds, just as readily as of few, or one. It is his relation to one, to the first, that imports. Nay, I will say, of the two facts, the world and man, man is by much the larger half. I know that the imagination . . . is a coy, capricious power, and does not impart its secret to inquisitive persons. Sometimes a parlor in which fine persons are found, with beauty, culture, and sensibility, answers our purpose still better, striking the electric chain with which we are darkly bound—but that again is nature, and there we have again the charm which landscape gives us, in a finer form; but the persons must have had the influence of nature, must know her simple, cheap pleasures, must know what Pindar means when he says that 'water is the best of things,' and have manners that speak of reality and great elements, or we shall know no Olympus. Matter, how immensely soever enlarged by the telescope, remains the lesser half. The very science by which it is shown to you argues the force of man. Nature is vast and strong, but as soon as man knows himself as its interpreter, knows that nature and he are from one source, and that he, when humble and obedient, is nearer to the source, then all things fly into place, then there is a rider to the horse, an organized will, then nature has a lord."

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Preaching in the New Age. By A. J. LYMAN, D.D. 12mo, pp. 147. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Though mentioned several times in other pages of the REVIEW, this book has not been noticed in this department. We revert to it as to the raciest, most radiant, and most inspiring volume on preaching that has been issued in the past decade. No more tinglingly vital inverbalization of a sincere, genuine, and original personality has been put into print, in relation to the minister's work, certainly since N. J. Burton's Yale Lectures. And Dr. Lyman's lectures are superior in their absolute healthiness and robust buoyancy; in the kindling power of their glowing ideals; in the ringing summons uttered in them by a singularly gallant, virile, and chivalrous Christian manhood; and in the practical value of their definite suggestions. How could a lecturer fail to hold his hearers who first asked them to tell him what points they wish him to speak upon, what questions they desire him to answer, and then brought all his resources of power and wisdom to the task of answering in their presence their hundred questions? How could young ministers fail to listen eagerly to a man who begins thus winsomely: "I offer simply and solely this—one man's personal report of his own wrestle with a common task, as though I voiced a comrade's cheer in the rush of the charge to his younger associates who will be fighting when he falls"? He calls them always "My comrades." In the question of "How long to preach," he gives the answer of the Scotch professor, "A half hour, with a leaning to the side of mercy." Once in his student days our lecturer preached in a Connecticut church. After the service a deacon said to him, "Well, brother, I think you have about exhausted the subject—as well as the congregation." The student took the next train, a sadder and a wiser man. In a grand old church of America's metropolis, last Thanksgiving Day, the sermon, brave, clear, compact, telling, and magnificent, was exactly twenty-one minutes long. "What is preaching?" asks the minister. "He looks out upon his calling as involving at its supreme moment a wrestle with an audience. He sees in his mind's eye a thousand men waiting, careless, callous, dizzy with the week's whirl, dead in sins. In front of them the preacher asks himself, 'What is preaching? Telling these men what I think?' Why, yes, in a sense. But that alone is like talking to a fish instead of fishing for him. Preaching is not soliloquy. What, then, is it? Stating what the Bible tells? Yes, certainly, for the biblical thought is the disclosure of the Infinite through the divinely selected and inspired human development of a special race for a thousand years. But even this is not preaching. Preaching is telling all this *so* that it will reach men, so that it will

convince, persuade, win, save some among that thousand men. . . . Preaching is always supremely a wrestle to save, in the large sense of saving. It seeks not, as mere art may, to please, but to inform, to convince, to win its hearers. It issues in definite appeal, and its main concern is to urge that appeal effectively." The lecturer says of Dr. Richard S. Storrs, "He was the greatest pulpit orator of our land and epoch—the Cicero of Congregationalism. His mind was two minds in one. In one lobe it was facile and fluent as quicksilver, branching in every direction, and every fragment a perfect globule; while yet in the other lobe it was insistent upon consecutive logical progress as is the shining sweep of a mighty river. But his marvelously ready and perfect extemporaneous style had been formed by a steady quarter century of self-discipline with the pen." In the way of practical suggestion, Dr. Lyman says: "Begin the sermon very early in the week, and make the entire life and work of the week contribute to the sermon, not necessarily in a formal, explicit way, but dynamically. Make the entire current of everyday life, newspapers, magazine literature, hard reading in the study, social visits, parish calls, prayers by the sick and dying—make the whole orchestration of the week, sad and glad, tell in the sermon, not merely in the way of furnishing material for it, but as imparting to it tone, cadence, vital response to the environment. The total richness of the entire week should be put into that vivid, intense thirty minutes on Sunday in which the personality of the preacher wrestles in God's name with the personalities in the congregation. . . . Bring into the sermon the pastoral impressions of the week.' In order to do this, never relinquish pastoral visitation, for it keeps the minister human; it puts a certain humanly sympathetic quality into preaching, which is indispensable to its power. Conduct such visitation not carelessly, but nobly, tactfully, homiletically, so to speak, and make it tell, not in the way of crude and bold allusions, but by imparting subtle delicate fragrances and cadences to the sermon. The sermon is simply the culmination of the preacher's entire ministry. It is the pastorate vocalized. It is the week-day manhood set to Sunday utterance. . . . Know your people's homes and speak to those homes on Sunday. If some fond mother asks you to come and see her baby and you think you have no time for parish babies, remember Jesus among the little ones and go. And then put, not the incident surely, but some pure, gentle touch, caught from motherhood and from yonder Judean uplands, into your sermon." The importance of brevity is reëmphasized by the lecturer. He quotes Southey, "If you would be pungent, be brief. It is with words as with sunbeams, the more they are condensed the deeper they burn;" and Louis Stevenson. "To add irrelevant matter is not to lengthen but to *bury* it." He quotes the French *mot*, "You can do anything with a bayonet except *sit* on it," and then says, "Our mistake is that we often sit on the bayonet—when we think we have made a point we sit down on it. We camp there. Having made it sharp and clear, we keep dwelling on it till the people weary of it. They want us to move on. We must not reiterate too much. We shall not avoid platitude, but let us avoid vociferation in

platitude, and especially avoid vociferating the same platitude over and over in the same sermon. Heaven save us from oracular intensity in commonplaces!" Six qualities are insisted on as demanded in the sermon by the modern mind and need: Clearness, interestingness, progressiveness (it must "get on"), sincerity, and sympathy; and then above all there must be in our preaching "the indescribable, vital impression of the presence of the Living God, so that the people, though addressed in their own dialect and through our human personality, shall see and feel not us, but him, our Lord and Saviour." Then this is added, "What people desire in their minister is not a Sunday performer, but *a man whom they can trust seven days in the week*—trust in living and trust in dying—a man who incarnates his gospel, and who is, in his way, the thing he asks them to be in their way." Devotion to the needs of human souls must mark the minister. Beecher once said that his deepest feeling when he faced a great audience was compassion—pity for their wounds and aches, their weakness and want, their fears and hopes, their dangers and defeats, their losses and longings. Dr. Lyman does not believe in bringing "apologetics" or "criticism" much into the pulpit: "Let professors and critical experts fight the needed battles of apologetics and Biblical criticism. Let us preachers proclaim the gospel in such wise, manly, confident, unhesitating fashion, that it shall not seem to need any defense." Well for us and for our hearers if we can make our preaching as much alive as this book is!

Guidance from Robert Browning in Matters of Faith. By JOHN A. HUTTON, M.A. 12mo, pp. 148. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, 60 cents.

The purpose of this little book is not to estimate Browning, nor to admire him, but simply to urge his message as offering a basis and motive for faith and hope and love; to derive from the poet the help he offers for the serious business of living, especially in the case of those in whom the elementary instinct of faith has become depressed. To speak of "guidance from Browning" is most fit because there is in his writings always a moral strain, a passionate proclamation of some particular way as the only way for beings such as we are and placed as we are placed. Many there are who feel themselves indebted to Browning for solid and sufficient footing in the deeper things of life. These four lectures, entitled "The Case for Unbelief," "The Soul's Leap to God," "The Mystery of Evil," and "The Incarnation," were given to a class on Sunday evenings. Mr. Hutton's personal experience with Robert Browning makes him say in opening the first lecture: "Browning is never of such value as in days when something bitter has befallen us, and we are on the point of angrily blowing out our light. He is a real friend to anyone who has been defeated. He can in a wonderful way lay his hand upon your shoulder when you have failed. If at such times you listen to his words, the milk of human kindness within you will not turn sour. When you would like to 'curse God' Browning can break in upon your narrow passion with a strong, hopeful word; and behold the narrow walls fall

flat as did the walls of Jericho, and you see the things that compensate. He would like to come near you in the dark and dizzy morbid moments of your life and sit beside you to wait till you are well. He will discover to you the 'light which is in the midst of your cloud,' or, at the worst, he will promise you a day when the 'wind will come and cleanse your sky.' That is one level—I mean the emotional life—on which Browning meets a man and helps him on or brings him back to faith in God. Browning knew that the incidents of our life—the defeats, disillusionments, betrayals—give a man his point of view, his way of looking at things; and that these sometimes sow the seed of what may become harsh and hopeless unbelief. Therefore he tries to get alongside a man in all the various discomfitures of life. He appeals to us not to give way to rash decisions because of any shock, to remember that the soul is greater than mere circumstances, that even in the last push and stress of evil fortune a man may call upon his soul and be supreme. Browning serves the cause of faith by going up and down the ranks, putting new heart into men, calling upon the brave to be braver still, rebuking the cowardly with the lash of contempt, whispering something to the faint, and pleading with those who have sunk to the rear. He gives bracing treatment to the human soul in all its modern moods, and help, especially, to those who find difficulty in believing. He reasons strongly on such facts in our human situation as seem inconsistent with the sovereignty of a just and loving God. One secret of his power to help the sad, the sickly, the depressed, is his own healthiness." Carlyle, referring to Scott and Cobbett, said, "When British literature lay all puking and sprawling in Wertherism, Byronism, and other sickly sentimentalisms, nature was kind enough to send us two healthy men." Browning is a healthy man, sound and strong and sane. That is one of his qualifications for rectifying the deranged and darkened spirits of his fellow men and infecting them with his own buoyant courage. But his faith is not mere high spirits. It is aware of all the difficulties, familiar with unbelief's objections; and he faces them squarely, sturdily, victoriously. He conquers all the things which make faith hard to hold. He felt unbelief writhing like a snake beneath his heel, but he kept his foot firm upon it, and stood safe and calm. In various poems, as in Paracelsus, Christmas Eve and Easter Day, A Death in the Desert, and Ferishtah's Fancies, he puts the case for belief in face of all perplexities and doubts. But Mr. Hutton chooses Bishop Blougram's Apology as the poem in which a shrewd argument for belief lies in solution. His analysis and exposition of the poem are clear and admirable. It contains the stuff for a great sermon on the advantage of belief over unbelief. The trend of it is to show that unbelief has greater difficulties than belief, that belief is more reasonable and respectable and wise and prudent than unbelief. And the method of the argument is to demand of unbelief that it be thorough-going, that it honestly follow out its course to the logical conclusion; showing at last how difficult, unprofitable, and unpleasant a thing that is to do. And then the appeal is made that, if we concede that belief is better and more feasible than

denial, we must hold to it in all weathers, not only believing when we feel inclined, but holding resolutely to belief no matter how the moment makes us feel. We must rebuke ourselves as often as we find cynicism or unbelief taking possession. We must say, This is my infirmity, my weakness, the result of moral indolence, *anything;* but it is *not* the truth. It may be that there is mist in my eyes, or clouds over my head; but it can never be that there is no eternal blue and no eternal sun. Further, we must be thorough-going, and believe *the best.* If there is a purpose running through all things, it can only be the holiest purpose. If God is he must be good beyond all our measures of goodness. If man is indeed going home, then eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered the mind of man, the glorious things that wait to welcome him. At one point in Blougram's Apology, after the argument, the skeptic and denier has the test put sharply to him in this question:

> "What think ye of Christ, friend, when all's done and said?
> Like you this Christianity or not?
> It may be false, you think; but would you *have* it true?
> Has it *your* vote to *be true* if it can?"

When the skeptic is willing to believe, wishes he could clearly see it so, and longs to have it appear to him true, he is virtually on Christian ground. Unbelief is won't believe, not can't believe. The will to believe is in its essence faith. Mr. Hutton's second lecture begins thus: "I read in the newspaper the other day of a wonderful invention to be used in war. It was a *bomb* which would explode at the first touch of *a ray of light.* The bomb would lie inert so long as kept in the dark, but let light fall on it and instantly it would quiver and burst. Well, that is a summary of Browning's teaching on the awakening and conversion of the soul. His books teem with lines which tell of the elements and forces hid within man's soul waiting that touch of light from God which brings the flash and crash of an explosion. He shows us all sorts of souls when they are in this crisis of moral awakening, and among them the hardest and the blackest, as, for example, in The Ring and the Book, that abandoned and infernal villain, Guido, whose fiendish heart is at last touched so that he rushes out of life with a cry which, perchance, the good God may hear." The author's exposition of the meaning of that great poem Saul, in his second and third lecture, brings out clearly Browning's grand argument. The poet tells how David played the harp before Saul who was mad—played and played until "Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him." He tells how David's music kept calling to Saul the man, away beneath Saul the mistake and the failure. How David played and sang of better days, of the days when there was no goodlier man in Israel than Saul; and how, under all the playing, God was speaking to the soul of Saul. Just so, the poet means to say, God is ever playing to the spirit of man through all the ages, the Father ever speaking to his child beneath all the wildness and madness and disgrace which have gathered about him in his long absence from home.

God is ever speaking, playing, singing to his soul, if by any means the evil spirit may at length be driven out. And here lies Browning's hope for the world. Jesus Christ, God's Son, is now in this world of ours forever. He is the great Fact of history. He can never be unseated now. And all through the ages it shall be as it has been—wearied men and women, perplexed, beaten, overborne by stress of evil fortune, or by the tumult and bitterness of their own hearts, or by the mystery and insecurity of our present state of being—these, and such as these, living, sinning, and suffering souls, shall in some hour of their anguish or solitude remember Christ and think of him, and, as they think, that pure ray of light, that mild eye of God, will fall steadily upon them, until he is admitted whose right it is to occupy the whole mind of man. What this book notice has said conveys but faintly the richness of this little book. The minister who broods over these four lectures till he absorbs their substance will have the stuff for at least four great sermons simmering, seething, and fermenting in him; and will realize in some degree how great a preacher Robert Browning is—how truly he is the poet of the Soul and God.

Spiritual Power at Work: A Study of Spiritual Forces and their Application. By GEORGE HENRY HUBBARD. One volume, 16mo, pp. x, 343. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Price, $1.25 net.

The theme is treated in these divisions: Force, Machinery, and Work. In the first it is shown that the search for power is the problem that the Christian religion, in contrast with Buddhism, which strives merely for unaggressive purity, undertakes to solve. "The one all-pervading, all-controlling, all-achieving force in the kingdom of God is the Holy Spirit." It is as available now as at Pentecost. It is the privilege of every believer, though often regarded as a rare bestowment. The Wesleys, Whitefield, and Moody have been looked upon as prodigies, almost monstrosities. The conditions of the gift are self-surrender, desire, and purpose to use. The work appears in conviction for sin, the recognition of a righteousness that is possible and actual, and an awe of judgment, present as well as future. The divine operation is along natural, though not materialistic lines, and so means are to be employed, such as frequent assemblages of believers, prayer, and the cultivation of earnest desire. "The gift of the Holy Spirit is a distinct and real blessing, instantaneously given, and easily and clearly known." A disciple cannot grow into this experience. It is undeniable that there is a "second blessing" for every believer. In the second division the importance and necessity of machinery is noticed. Power is useless unless applied. All power, whether natural or spiritual, is from God, and even miracles are performed through media. When there is failure in result there is something wrong with the machinery, for God's power is unlimited. "All things are possible to him that believeth." "Jesus," says the author, "expected men to accept his teachings and to act upon them." There is special dynamic in prayer, which significantly accompanied the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the

Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other similar beneficent movements. Luther, Knox, Cromwell, Wesley, Edwards, Finney, and Moody were men of prayer. "The great need of many a weakened church to-day is . . . a larger, warmer, more intense prayer meeting." The "sword of the Spirit" is God's word, not simply the printed page of the Bible, which is a sheath for the sword, but the self-revelation of God to the longing heart. It may be added, however, that "word," especially in the Old Testament, as in Gen. 1, is identical with power. God's word may be spoken by Galileo, the geologist, and the progressive, thought-loving preacher. There need be no fear for the Bible, a book whose inspiration is self-evident. It survives Aristotle, Cicero, and all modern expressions of truth, and still is a living power. Spiritual force operates also in sanctified lives, as salt, light, and leaven, in spite of the fact that many reformers are imperfect and crude in plan and action. There is acknowledged power in church organization, but it must be reduced to the lowest terms possible, for there is both danger and loss in overorganization. The church is primarily evangelistic, and must not be satisfied with merely pervasive influences. Old-time revival, typified in the preaching of Whitefield and Finney rather than in the efforts of Parkhurst and Sheldon, is required to restore decaying churches and communities. The teaching function of the church is overemphasized. Modern revivals embrace almost solely children and those already under Christian influences. The author's views on the spiritual power of song are worthy of serious consideration. "Quartet choirs are the flimsy excuse of an unspiritual church for a religion that is mute when it should be militant." "That is an utterly unworthy conception of its (music's) function which makes the singing in the sanctuary a mere source of sensuous enjoyment like the opera or the concert. Perfection of harmony or taste in rendition is no criterion of the worth of church music. The true end of sacred song is to inspire to godly action, whether by arousing saints or converting sinners." Money is one of the tools of the Holy Spirit. The author terms it "the wedge of Ophir," starting with a thin edge suggestive of the beginnings of consecration in mites that grow to immense sums. The secret of evangelistic success, as illustrated by P. T. Barnum's wealth accumulated from the millions of small coins, is in the prayerful givings of the multitude. But there must be spread in the wedge. The tithe as a minimum is commended, but the rich and prosperous must devote much more for the kingdom. The third part of the book applies to work. It is shown that by the by-products of spiritual Christianity, as they appear in the political and commercial life of men, are of great value. These inevitably follow when radical conversion is the primal aim. Mission work is characteristic of the Spirit's presence. What have Paul, Saint Patrick, Cary, and Judson done! What marvelous results, as in Hawaii, Madagascar, and Japan! A salutary sign of grace is recognized in the Students' Volunteer and the Forward Movements. If any oppose foreign missions, why say "foreign"? for there is now no foreign country. One can go from Boston to Japan in less time than to Cincinnati when

the A. B. C. F. M. was organized. Missions are economically profitable. "Trade follows the Bible." The spiritual life of the home church is in peril when missions are neglected. Evangelism is to be regarded as integral work. The Wesleys above all things else were evangelists. A distinction must be observed between evangelism and revival. A religious boom is not a revival. Great revivalists, like Luther, are sometimes anathematized by the church. Spirituality also provides redemption from the evils of strong drink. All reformatory movements in temperance have been actuated by Christianity. Religion will secure social regeneration, and guards against the mistake of those who "have sought to convert their neighbors first and themselves last." So education is fostered by the spirit-filled life. All true children of God desire a closer intimacy with the Father through his works. The comparative scarcity of the male sex in the church may be attributed to a lack of spiritual efficiency. The organized church has been ritualistic, or evangelistic, or liberal, and in no one of these forms has she fully commended herself to robust men who expect an elevated standard, definite duties, virile preaching, and direct personal appeal. As most converts are secured in early life, women are in greater numbers because girls attend the meetings of the sanctuary and the boys stay away and are personally neglected. The tasks before the church of the Holy Ghost in the twentieth century are to improve the state of the heathen, remove by the intervention of gospel grace the yellow peril, tone up life's standards at home, develop a much-needed social and corporate conscience, and answer the questions of the nineteenth century—to usher in the *millennium*.

The Student's Old Testament. Narratives of the Beginnings of Hebrew History, from the Creation to the Establishment of the Hebrew Kingdom. By CHARLES FOSTER KENT, Ph.D., Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature in Yale University. With maps and a chronological chart. 8vo, pp. xxxiv, 382. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, $2.75.

This is the first volume of a comprehensive work which is intended to cover six volumes, when completed. These will contain the entire Old Testament in a new translation of the original Hebrew, and will include also the fresh translations of such portions of the Apocrypha as are necessary to supplement the Old Testament, such, for example, as the books of the Maccabees. The translation differs from former English translations in several points, notably, at first glance, in this, that the order of the biblical books is not followed, but the text is rearranged in logical order. Thus Volume I contains those portions of the books from Genesis to Judges which set forth the "Beginnings of Human History; Traditional Ancestors of the Hebrews; Deliverance of the Hebrews from Egypt; Life of the Hebrews in the Wilderness and East of the Jordan; Conquest and Settlement of Canaan." Volume II will continue the historical narrative through the Monarchy, the Exile, the Restoration, and the Dispersion. Volume III will contain the works of the Prophets, the Epistles, and the Apocalypses. Then Volume IV will give the Law, Volume V the Songs, Psalms, and Prayers, and finally Volume VI the Proverbs and Didactic Poems. Of the practical utility of a work con-

structed upon some such scheme as this it seems to us there can be no dispute whatever. Whether we like it or not, the processes and results, real or imaginary, of modern and literary criticism have found their way, in some form, into all the newer commentaries and dictionaries of the Bible. No man who consults a commentary to learn what scholars consider the meaning of any text is free from the call to understand the casual allusion to "documents," to J and E and other symbols hardly less enigmatic. If he does not understand these things he cannot follow the discussion in the commentary at all. If failing to understand it he plunges on, eager only to get the result, a meaning for the text and not stopping to consider the arguments, he is become a mere machine and is no longer an independent thinker. This being true, the only question remaining is to consider what plan may be devised to make accessible the processes and results of criticism in the clearest and, as far as may be, in the most interesting manner. Many attempts have been made to do this, but Professor Kent seems to us to have excelled them all. The scholar will gladly have such a book at his elbow, for in it he may at any moment verify a point that eludes recollection; while, on the other hand, the veriest tyro could use the book with comfort and enlightenment. It begins with an introduction which discusses, 1. Israel's Heritage of Oral Traditions; 2. The Transmission and Crystallization of Israel's Traditions into Literature; 3. The Present Literary Form and Contents of Israel's Early Records; and, 4. Characteristics, Dates, and History of the Different Prophetic and Priestly Narratives. This entire introduction fills but forty-six pages, yet it covers with remarkable success the whole of the complicated field embraced within range of the titles. It is a sketch, indeed, but it does not read like a sketch, but contains elaboration of detail enough, yet breadth enough to make an impression of life and color. The argument is pretty close, and needs careful reading, but the margins have a judicious series of headings for each paragraph, giving a summary of its contents. But though we may cordially praise the method and execution of these brief chapters, we are by no means so certain of the argument, or of the exposition. Professor Kent seeks to differentiate the Judean from the Ephraimite prophetic narratives, and in the translation which follows does so separate them. In a few cases the reasoning is cogent, but in a considerable number it is strong enough to excite only a favorable presumption, while in still another set of passages we are totally unconvinced. In relation to the severance of the Judean and the Ephraimite documents we are quite unable to agree that it can be carried out in most cases at all. It may be easy enough to separate the priestly from the prophetic documents, but to separate the Judean from the Ephraimitic is quite a different matter. Concerning it we are quite as skeptical as Driver, or more so. The translation is admirably done. The English is more modern than that of the Revised Version, but it is dignified, and entirely free from the catchy and rubbishy quality to which some recent versions have descended. It is so clear that much which requires a commentary, even in the case of the Revised Version, is here readily to be "understanded by the people" without one.

Yet the elaborate and learned footnotes amount almost to a commentary upon many passages. All minor disagreements aside, this is an able and useful book.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE

Studies of a Booklover. By THOMAS MARC PARROTT, Professor of English in Princeton University. 12mo, pp. 301. New York: James Pott & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

"These studies are merely fragmentary records of a booklover's journeyings through the pleasantest of all lands—the land of books. . . . They attempt only to seize certain aspects, to record certain impressions, of stopping places on the journey." So says the author, who writes about "The Poetry of Matthew Arnold," "Old Edinburgh and Her Poet-Laureate," "The Autobiography of Milton," "The Personality of Dr. Johnson," "The Frugal Note of Gray," "The Charm of Goldsmith," "The Last Minstrel," and "The Vitality of Browning." Professor Parrott thinks that Arnold's place in English literature will be determined by his poetry, of which he presents a just and discriminating estimate. Arnold had neither the sentiment nor the splendor of Tennyson; nor the keen interest in life and the broad human sympathies of Browning. The author thinks there is to-day a revival of interest in Arnold's poetry. He says: "Out of the past there rises the cool, clear, flute-like note of Arnold—not broad nor deep, but charming to the lovers of purity and perfection in art. . . . In one sense he is the most classic of the Victorian poets. In poetry, as in criticism, he looked back to the Greeks as his models, and his love of clearness, of order and restraint, of firm outline and polished phrase, are largely due to his loving study of those ancient masters." With the Studies of a Booklover open before us our eyes fall upon a quotation from Matthew Arnold's poem, Rugby Chapel—the lines in which he apostrophizes the predestined and qualified leaders of mankind. Now doubtless Arnold when he wrote these lines was not thinking of Robert Browning; but how closely the words fit as a description of Browning and his message and its effect. Thus Arnold addresses the true God-given leaders of men:

"In the hour of need
Of our fainting, dispirited race,
Ye, like angels, appear,
Radiant with ardor divine!
Beacons of hope, ye appear!
Languor is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow.
Ye alight in our van! At your voice,
Panic, despair, flee away.
. . . . . .
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Stablish, continue our march
On to the bound of the waste,
On to the City of God."

Surely, that description fits Robert Browning as if it had been made for him: every word of it is true concerning him. In a cynical and patronizing notice the New York Evening Post finds fault with Professor Parrott's book for not being what he explicitly says it does not pretend or attempt to be. Yet the unfair fault-finder deigns to praise one essay, the one on "Old Edinburgh and Her Poet-Laureate," as being "a spirited study of a minor and interesting figure in poetry," Robert Fergusson, from whose writings Burns drew much of his inspiration and even many of the ideas and descriptions found in The Cotter's Saturday Night; of whose poetry Burns said: "Rhyme I had given up; but meeting with Fergusson's Scottish Poems I strung anew my wildly sounding lyre with emulating vigor;" and over whose grave Burns placed a tombstone with a grateful inscription. No Scottish poet was ever so peculiarly the poet of Edinburgh and its life. Fergusson died in the public madhouse, his mania, like Cowper's, taking the religious form, in which he fancied himself a minister of the gospel and raved about the great work he would accomplish. Louis Stevenson wrote from Samoa concerning the three Roberts of Scotland—Fergusson, Burns, and himself: "We are three Robins who have touched the Scots lyre these last centuries. One is the world's. Burns did it; he came off; and he is forever. But Fergusson and I, ah! What bonds we have! Born in the same city; both sickly; both vicious; both pestered—one to the madhouse and the other nearly to madness—by a stern, damnatory creed; both seeing the stars and the moon from the same spots, and wearing shoe leather on the same ancient stones, down the same closes where our common ancestors clashed in their armor. He died in his acute, painful youth, and left models for others who were to come after." In the last of these booklover's studies we read what sounds like that which we have written elsewhere, about Browning's undaunted optimism: "In its struggle upward against the powers of evil mankind cannot afford to reject the aid of so strong and fearless a fighter as Robert Browning. A poet who can strike the note of hope in the Paris morgue is an ally not to be despised. In his optimism both temperament and reason combined. His vigorous and buoyant nature forbade him to succumb to the evil that he recognized around him; and his keen and powerful intellect found strong assurance for his instinctive hope of victory. And he found this strong assurance in *the existence of love* amid all the world's evil and misery.

> 'There is no good in life but love, but love!
> What else looks good is some shade flung from love.'

And since love is the best thing that the mind can apprehend in the world, it follows that God—and Browning was as sure of God as he was of the world—must be a God of love. And from the idea of a God of love springs the faith in immortality without which human life becomes a miserable mystery. And the faith in immortality once accepted transforms human life into a period of probation in which pain and sorrow and evil itself may be cheerfully accepted as necessary instruments in the shaping of the soul for its proper life hereafter. The belief in immor-

tality was not so much a religious dogma as a habit of mind with Browning; it seemed impossible for him to view the world except, as it were, *sub specie æternitas*. This belief inspired much of his loftiest and strongest verse; and the optimism which sprang from this belief gives his work as a whole its strengthening and elevating power." Wordsworth's noble Ode to Duty is spoken of as "assigning to the guardianship of duty, or of everlasting law, the fragrance of the flowers on earth and the splendor of the stars in heaven." Of Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, one of the undisputed classics of our language, Henry James says that it lives, not by its plot or its characters, but by the amenity of its author, by "the frankness of his sweetness and the beautiful ease of his speech. There was scarce a difficulty, a disappointment, a humiliation, or a bitterness of which he had not intimate and repeated knowledge; and yet the heavy heart that went through all this overflows in the little book as optimism of the purest water—as good humor, as good taste, and as drollery." Milton, meditating long in advance a great poem, promised that it should be a work "not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapors of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amourist, or the trencher fury of a rhyming parasite; nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her siren daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases."

Love Triumphant. A Book of Poems. By FREDERIC LAWRENCE KNOWLES. 12mo, pp. 168. Boston: Dana, Estes & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

Louise Chandler Moulton estimates this volume of verse as an advance upon, and superior to, On Life's Stairway, by the same author, noticed here at the time of its issue. This and the previous volume give Mr. Knowles, who is known as a critic and anthologist, a foremost place among the younger American poets. One Boston critic says that he displays in Love Triumphant "an individuality in which the quality of maturity is conspicuous and reassuring." The same critic adds that "he *never* fails to make sense, and his sentiment *always* rings true," which is a good deal for a poet to achieve, because most of our current poetry needs to be read "with a steady search-light out for *reality*, and with a mental mackintosh ready for use against gush and pathos and all that foam of iridescent fancy-bubbles which look like soaring spheres, but are exactly *suds* and nothing more." Another critic says that Mr. Knowles's patriotic verses have the swing that takes the popular ear, and that his peace verses are strong. There is a wide variety of theme and treatment in these ninety poems, grouped in five clusters. In addition to the general excellence of the poems as a whole, there are here and there lines of special and outstanding beauty or power. Take the close of the sonnet If Love were Jester at the Court of Death:

> "Better the cross, and nails through either hand,
> Than Pilate's palace and a frozen soul!"

Golgotha has this brief solemn meditation:

"Our crosses are hewn from different trees,
But we all must have our Calvarys;
We may climb the height from a different side,
But we each go up to be crucified;
As we scale the steep, another may share
The dreadful load that our shoulders bear,
But the costliest sorrow is all our own—
For on the summit we bleed alone."

The Sea of Faith has seven verses like the following:

"O the Sea of Faith hath storms, God knows,
And the haven is very far;
But he is my brother-in-blood who goes
With his eye on the Polar Star,
With his hand on the canvas, his foot on the ropes,
His heart beating loud in his breast;
With dauntless courage and quenchless hopes,
And the old divine unrest!
The swift keels chafe in the Harbor of Doubt,—
They were built for the glorious blue,
Where the stout masts bend and the sailors shout,
And the wave-drenched compass is true!"

Here is a note from The Larger View:

"To old Zacchæus in his tree
What mattered leaves and botany?
His sycamore was but a seat
Whence he could watch that hallowed street.

"But now to us each elm and pine
Is vibrant with the Voice divine;
Not only from, but in the bough
Our larger creeds behold Him now."

Our poets in these modern days are bold. They grapple the piled-up and granitic prose of our material civilization and try to make its meaning melt and flow down into the fluent grace of rhyme and rhythm. We are waiting for the poet who shall sit down in a modern parlor before the steam-heating apparatus and set the iron radiator to poetry. Kipling has tried his hand on a steamship's engines in McAndrew's Hymn, with some success, and Mr. Knowles's odes To a Modern Office Building, and To a Locomotive at Night, somewhat venturesome as they seem, are not failures. The twentieth century poet must be able to ride not only Pegasus, which, by comparison, is mere child's play, but the bicycle, and the bucking broncho, and the dromedary engine, and the automobile. A cultivated friend at our elbow, of discriminating and critical taste, names The April Boy as one of the most notably fresh, breezy, elate, spontanous, original poems in this charming volume. Here it is:

"As I went through the April-world
To watch my violets blow,
I met a child I long had loved
Whose heart was clean as snow.

"'Come hither, little White-of-Soul,
Now tell me how you fare!'
He ran to me, he sprang at me,
The sun was in his hair.

"His eyes were laughing like his lips,
He had an April look,
His feet were wet as ocean shells
From wading in the brook.

"And Nature, too, became a child;
As far as eye could see
The world was one big romping ground
For Earth, the Boy, and Me!

"I quite forgot my violets,
His eyes were both so blue,
His merry lips that pressed my own
Were mayflowers moist with dew;

"And as we took the road to town,
The little lad and I,
He seemed to hold the whole of Spring
And brush the Winter by.

"The birds all knew him, that I'm sure,
They ne'er sang thus for me;
The budding branches seemed to reach
To kiss each dimpled knee.

"And when I left him near his home,
'Good-bye, big man,' he said;
'Good-bye, Sir April,' I returned,—
He shouted, laughed, and fled."

Some of us, closing this volume of genuine and living poetry, cannot help seeing back of this new singer and his songs, back of the early flowing of these limpid and musical streams, a chair of English Literature in a Connecticut college which crests a slope that wets its feet in the cool, clear river below the town—a chair in which sits a great teacher, gifted, wise, masterful, patient, and faithful, to whom many owe the awakening, drawing out, and fine training of powers which are notably serving mankind to-day in many a chair and pulpit and literary office the wide world over; to whom grateful indebtedness looks back from many a life.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

Autobiography, Memories, and Experiences of Moncure Daniel Conway. Two volumes, 8vo, pp. 451, 482. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $6.

Incidents and views of the vagrant life of a mental and physical wanderer, an intellectual Bohemian, who has advocated successively in various lands many contrarious ideas and beliefs; whose career is one of contradictions, passing from proslavery to antislavery and from Methodism to the coldest rationalism; and who intimates that "one third of his life was given to error, another third to exchanging it for other error, and the last third to efforts to unsay the errors and undo the mistakes of the other two thirds." Our natural and warranted inference is that, if his life could be extended another decade or two, this man who, by his own showing, is "unstable as water," a professional skeptic who is "everything by turns and nothing long," would renounce his present views and pass on to others equally untenable. In the story of his early life he tells that the basement of his father's house in Virginia was fitted up for evening prayer meetings which were conducted by local preachers; and he confesses now that "it was through the beautiful Methodist hymns that religious feeling first reached" him. In old age he says that Charles Wesley's great hymn, "Come, O Thou Traveler Unknown," has been his song in many a night wherein he has wrestled with phantoms. At the age of fifteen he entered Dickinson College, and he gives interesting reminiscences of the men who were on the faculty in his time—John McClintock and George R. Crooks (whom he calls "broad-church Methodists and original thinkers"), William Allen, Spencer F. Baird, and Robert Emory—"an ideal college president; what he said when he called on my brother and myself I cannot remember, but when he left we were ready to die for him." "Many of the students at Dickinson were preparing for the ministry. They were trained to the ideal of Durbin, to conceive their theme perfectly, study it, and bring it to bear on the listener's reason, to make it realistic with life, and beauty, or even with intellectual passion; but there must be no loudness nor thumping." The sermon that made the deepest impression on young Conway at Carlisle was by Professor Crooks, on Charity, with the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians for a text, after reading which the preacher exclaimed, "What a coronet of brilliants around the brow of Charity!" Conway recollects some of the strong preachers of the days of his youth in Maryland and Virginia, who made him think the pulpit the summit of the world. Norval Wilson, father of our Bishop Alphæus W. Wilson of the Methodist Church, South, is thus described: "He was a well-bred man of fifty years. Intellectual power looked out of his light gray eyes. Never did preacher speak to my inmost soul like this man. He was almost inaudible when beginning his sermon, and his voice never rose to a high pitch; but as he proceeded his eyes kindled with a strange fire, his tremulous tones came as if from æolian chords in his breast, and my heart lay like a charmed bird in his hand. There was no rhetorical trick, no sensational phrase, none of the stock stories of the pulpit, but convictions personally thought out and uttered with few gestures and self-forgetting simplicity. His mission

was to the individual heart; his word came from the depth of his heart, and deep answered unto deep. Our eyes at times were filled with happy tears. When the enchantment ceased I longed to clasp his knees." Some who know Bishop Alphæus Wilson will see in this picture of his father a resemblance to the son. Dr. E. B. Prettyman, of Baltimore, was for a time Conway's chum in college. Conway graduating when a little over seventeen, selected "Old Age" as the theme of his commencement oration. He confesses that he was the practical joker who caused Dr. Jesse T. Peck, when president of Dickinson, to be carried to a lunatic asylum in Staunton, Virginia, as a crazy man. Young Conway was shocked by this strange incident which happened in 1850 in an Episcopal church in Richmond: "After the benediction my aunt stopped to speak to the rector and his family. We were in the vestry, and there the clergyman invited us to enjoy with him the remainder of the bread and wine he had just been using in the communion service." Conway's account of how he was turned from the practice of law to the Methodist ministry is curious. He attributes his sudden change to Emerson's Essays. This is Conway's explanation. "These essays leavened my Methodism imperceptibly by idealizing the whole of life as Methodism oversanctified it. Emerson's transcendentalism corresponded with Methodist transcendentalism at various points. The personal character of spiritual life, the soul finding the Divine in the solitude of the individual life, the mission ordained for every human being—these are interpretations of the Methodist doctrines of conversion, the inward witness of the Spirit, progressive sanctification, and the divine 'call' to the ministry. I believe that my early study of Emerson's Essays raised Methodism in my eyes, for this religious organization was, in Virginia, alive, earnest, and not much interested in dogmas. I never heard a Methodist sermon about the Trinity." Later on, it seems likely, some other elements in the Emersonian leaven did something toward disintegrating and dissolving his Methodist faith. In 1851 this young Baltimore Conference preacher writes to Emerson thus: "I am a minister of the Christian religion—the only way for the world to reënter Paradise. I have read your writings sentence by sentence; and have shed many burning tears over them, because you gain my assent to laws which I have not courage to practice. By the Law sin revives and I die. I sometimes feel as if you made for me a second Fall from which there is no redemption by any atonement." In Emerson's reply to him we read this: "The earth is full of frivolous people who are bending their whole force on trifles, and these are baptized with every grand and holy name, remaining, of course, totally inadequate to occupy any earnest mind; and so skeptics are made. A true soul will always disdain to be moved except by what natively commands it, though it should go sad and solitary in search of its Master a thousand years. The few superior persons in each community are so by their steadfastness to reality and their neglect of appearances. This is the euphrasy and rue that purge the intellect and insure insight." A subtle change came over the young itinerant's preaching which soon seemed so far-off, remote, and unrelated, that a cultivated lady at Urbanna said to him, gently, "Brother, you

seemed to be speaking to us from the moon." Association with some Hicksite Quakers and some fascinating Unitarian women hastened his apostasy from Methodism, which was completed by Dr. Dewey and Dr. W. H. Furness, who urged him to go to the Harvard Divinity School. Twenty-five years later, a Boston Methodist minister wrote in Zion's Herald of having met young Conway on his first Sunday in Boston at the Marlboro Hotel, and of finding him much vexed at a sermon he had heard that day from Theodore Parker and rather homesick for his old Methodism. Mr. Conway acknowledges that his diary of that date confirms the Boston minister's statement. He also confesses how on Sunday afternoons and holidays he used to steal by himself into the chapel of Harvard Divinity School to play on the organ. "There," he says, "I solaced my heart with the sweet old tunes that remained with me from my Methodist days, and which surrounded me with a 'choir invisible,' but not in any invisible world—choirs that were still chanting in Virginia, in Maryland, and in my old college at Carlisle." He tells us that Agassiz had a horror of atheists; they excited in him impatience and disgust; he flushed with anger when referring to a certain German, exclaiming, "He says himself he is an atheist." Agassiz could not tolerate the idea of self-evolution in organic nature. Mr. Conway tells us that the three beautiful daughters of Dr. Norton, chief professor in the Divinity School, used to be spoken of as "The Evidences of Christianity." It was Professor Norton's custom at family prayer to offer a special petition against the influence of Theodore Parker's unbelief. A Cambridge man once said, when asked what was going on at the Divinity School, "One professor is milking the barren heifer, and the other is holding the sieve." At one time when there were very few students, an old minister reported finding "only three seniors, one a mystic, one a skeptic, and the other a dyspeptic." Dr., afterward Bishop, F. D. Huntington when he abandoned Unitarianism, declared that the Divinity School was steeped in unbelief, resulting from a general decline of moral earnestness. In 1855 Conway called on Walt Whitman in Camden, and found engravings of Silenus and Bacchus to be the only decorations of his room. Silenus and Bacchus! Well, well! Were these his gods? A great many persons of note come to view in these two volumes of reminiscences. Much is seen and heard of Carlyle. He is quoted as calling the Anglican Church "the apotheosis of decency." Of Swedenborg he said, "He was just crazy enough to be unable to distinguish between inward and outward impressions." Emerson said of Carlyle, "He was a trip-hammer with an æolian attachment." After Emerson's visit to Carlyle the latter made this private record concerning the visitor from Concord: "Came here and stayed with us several days. Very *exotic*. Differed from me much as a gymnosophist sitting idle on a flowery bank may differ from a wearied worker and wrestler passing that way with many of his bones broken. Good of him I could get none, except from his friendly looks and elevated, polite ways." Yet he later came to love Emerson, speaking of him as "the cleanest intellect on this planet." It is time to notice that the one most conspicuous thread

running through Mr. Conway's account of his life is what he calls his "earthward pilgrimage," his gradual giving up of all definite faith in everything beyond "earth to earth and dust to dust." Earth and its life are real—that sums up his creed. He tells us how he first gave up his Methodist Messiah for the Unitarian Christ of the Cambridge professors, and then gave that up for a merely human Jesus, and finally gave up faith in a personal God. In 1857, revisiting Virginia, and finding himself called upon to offer prayer, he made the attempt, and justified himself in doing so by saying, "I was still a theist in the attenuated sense that there is in nature a stream of tendency that makes for righteousness." But in 1900 Frances Power Cobbe spoke of Conway as "abandoning the idea of a moral agent at the helm of the universe." On page 391 of his second volume, Conway speaks of "the enthusiasm which atheism can kindle." Half a century ago this "freethinker" left the Baltimore Conference "to enter on the path of free inquiry." He much resembles his friend, Professor W. K. Clifford, whom he describes as having "gone through all the phases of religious faith into well informed freedom"—freedom which has for its supreme discovery a bankrupt universe, and which stands naked, desolate, and forlorn, under an empty heaven upon a soulless earth. Where all divine and sacred meaning is emptied out of existence, what is to keep it from putrefaction or frivolity? Near the close of these two volumes—which enormously exaggerate the importance of the life they narrate—Conway writes in this foolish fashion: "When a man's supernatural faith has departed, and his early dreams have turned to illusions, his haven is Paris. There at least the work of creation continues. Sitting in the *atelier* of fine sculptors, like Rodin and Spicer-Simson, and seeing clay spiritualized in noblest forms, or among the painters who transform humble models into saints and goddesses, I have felt that with these chiefly the wayworn, weather-beaten pilgrims who have sought shrines only to find them tinsel, and entered temples that crumbled round them, find some blue sky still bending over the world. Here, at least, is no dogmatizing, but master-builders surrounding the human spirit with the truth and beauty of life." How much of seriousness can be left in a mind capable of writing on such a subject such senseless drivel as that? This boasted "freethinking" finally achieves for the mind a vacuum in which all sane and profitable thinking is asphyxiated. New York has not forgotten Dr. O. B. Frothingham who, after trying to promulgate his "freethinkers'" unfaith for a quarter of a century, found that it led to nothing, made no headway, awakened no interest, won no audience; and then made open confession of his failure, vacated his gospelless pulpit, and quit his fruitless quest, retiring into the silence which becomes a man who has no message that is of any comfort or value to mankind. A thinker as free and fearless as Frothingham or Conway wrote what such as they would do well to heed:

> "I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ,
> Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
> All questions in the earth or out of it,
> And hath so far advanced thee to be wise."

History of the Moorish Empire in Europe. By S. P. Scott, Author of Through Spain. Three volumes, 8vo, pp. xlii, 761; ix, 687; ix, 496. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. Price, cloth, $10.

These ample volumes, which traverse in part ground previously covered by Irving and Prescott, manifest a great and, to our thinking, an undue admiration of the Moors and of Mohammedanism; they may, indeed, be called a glorification of both. It must be admitted that the story of the reign of the Moors in Europe is magnificently told, with a sort of Oriental splendor in the stately and sonorous rhetoric, and a wealth of historic learning. The tone of the author's eulogy of the Moors is heard at the outset in the second sentence of his preface when he speaks of "that great race whose achievements in science, literature, and the arts have inspired the marvelous progress of the present age, and whose influence extends to the limits of Europe and America." The author feels it necessary to explain that he cherishes no animosity toward the Spanish people; rather admires and pities them; and says that "their faults are those entailed by a pernicious inheritance and a corrupt religion, which have perverted their principles, destroyed their power, and tarnished their glory." From Mohammed's alleged greatness considerable subtractions have to be made because of his weakness, superstitiousness, and wickedness. "He feared darkness and was afraid to be left alone without a light; he cried like a child under the slightest physical suffering; he was an implicit believer in the virtues of even numbers and the unluckiness of odd numbers, and lived in constant apprehension of sorcery; while the evil eye was to him a calamitous and dreaded reality. He often regulated his conduct by dreams and omens of the most puerile character. He was guilty of petty affectations and unexpected exhibitions of weakness; he dyed his hair and stained his hands with henna, and displayed an amusing self-consciousness and vanity when in the presence of any of the opposite sex. He was inordinately jealous, and to this must be attributed the seraglio, the veil, and the seclusion of women. He declared that he loved, above all things else, perfumes and women. He approved, and extensively practiced, polygamy [toward which not only Mohammedans but our author also is very indulgent, the author excusing it as a necessity among some peoples and saying that the moral aspect of polygamy seems to be only a question of latitude, and intimating to northern and western nations that they should refrain from judging the Orientals]. Furthermore, the responsibility for the assassination of prisoners, the employment of hired murderers, and other deeds of blood, is clearly fixed by evidence upon Mohammed." Such was the ignorant, vain, lustful, and murderous man who claimed to be the prophet of the Almighty, from whom he pretended to have received, through the angel Gabriel, the Koran. Contempt for, and distrust of, women characterized Mohammed and his followers. He said the majority of those in hell were women. The Arabs had a saying, which they often quoted, "Never trust in women, nor rely upon their vows, for their pleasure and displeasure depend upon their passions. They offer a false affection, while perfidy lurks within their garments.

Be admonished and guard against their stratagems." With immense accumulation of detail, and imposing order, the author unfolds the history of the Moors in Spain, from the day when Tarik landed at Gibraltar to the hour when Boabdil surrendered the keys of the Alhambra; and portrays impressively the extent and might of the Moorish empire. "Its military power became a standing menace to every state of Christendom. Its fleets of armed galleys dominated the seas. The Saracens of Sicily sacked the suburbs of Rome and insulted the Holy Father in the Vatican. In every trade center of the East and West, in the streets of Delhi and Canton, in the bazaars of Damascus, along the crowded quays of Alexandria, beside the scattered wells of the Sahara, at the great fairs of Sweden, Germany, and Russia, in the splendid markets of Constantinople, the Moorish merchants and brokers of Spain outstripped all commercial competitors in the amounts of their purchases and the shrewdness of their bargains. . . . In rapidity of conquest, in extent of dominion, in successful propagation of religious belief, in ability to profit by the resources of nature, in profundity of knowledge and versatility of intellect, no people have ever approached the Arabs. Their conquests were secured and made permanent by that peculiar provision which, appealing to the strongest of human passions and sanctioned by the injunctions of their Prophet, permitted them to appropriate the women of vanquished nations. . . . Of all the dynasties ever established by the followers of Mohammed that of the Ommeyades of Spain ranks highest." This historian proceeds to glorify that Moorish dynasty as follows: "Of its noble deeds, in war and in peace, every individual of Moslem faith or Arab lineage may well be proud; proud of its long line of illustrious princes; proud of its mighty conquests; proud of its civilization, which surpassed the splendors of imperial Rome, and whose arts modern science has found it impossible to successfully imitate; proud of its unequaled agricultural prosperity; proud of the exquisite beauty of its edifices, still preëminently attractive even in their decay; proud of its academical system, with its perfect organization, its colleges, its lyceums, its libraries; proud of the vast attainments of its scholars, its surgeons, its chemists, its botanists, its mathematicians, its astronomers; proud of the theories of its philosophers, which for a thousand years, amidst the incessant fluctuations of human opinion and infinite variations of religious belief, have retained their original form, and are accepted as correct by the most enlightened thinkers of the present age." Most extraordinary, if true! The author closes by lamenting the destruction of this amazing empire as a misfortune to be forever deplored. This is his lofty lamentation: "Evil was the day for human progress when from his battlemented walls the Moor looked down upon the signing of a truce craftily devised for the betrayal of his kindred; evil was the day when upon the red towers of the Alhambra, decorated by the emirs with profuse and unexampled magnificence, and which for seven centuries had been the stronghold of Moslem power, the home of Moslem art, were raised the victorious banners of the Spanish monarchy, suggestive, it is true, of incredible

achievement, of undaunted valor, of heroic self-sacrifice, and of imperishable renown, yet at the same time harbingers of an endless train of national calamities which, like avenging and relentless furies, stalked unseen in the wake of the exultant conqueror." So ends this three-volume book, fairly illustrating in the closing passage the author's grand, if not grandiloquent, style, in which, it should be confessed, there is considerable fascination. One is tempted to say that the story of the Moors in Spain is here "decorated," like "the red towers of the Alhambra," with "profuse and unexampled magnificence." Yet fairness requires us to say that this able work well repays the twenty years of hard study and labor which it cost; albeit it leaves us wondering whether there has been any empire whose history is worth recording except that of the Moors in Spain.

A Yankee on the Yangtze. By WILLIAM EDGAR GEIL. 12mo, pp. 312.' New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is the sprightly record of a globe-trotter's journey from Shanghai through the Central Kingdom to Burma. It is called by a competent critic "the best contemporaneous account of the life of the common people of China in city and country." The author being an experienced traveler in many lands and a practiced observer, speaking Chinese and traveling *à la Chinoise*, was exceptionally qualified to understand and describe things aright. He is not a missionary nor a preacher, but a sharp critic of everything and everybody, including missionaries, whom especially he watched and studied. He thinks these good people are fallible, and make mistakes like the rest of us; but he testifies to "the culture, kindness, and common sense of the missionary body as a whole." He has found them "vastly superior to the tramp critics who accept the good offices of the missionaries, are entertained at their tables with the best they have, and then go away to criticise their entertainers." He tells of one such, a traveler across China, who was graciously welcomed in a missionary's home and entertained free. The ladies of the household were courteous to him and fed him generously, and gave him all the cream from the day's milk, denying themselves in this and other respects for this traveling stranger. He ate his fill, drank all their cream, received their gentle courtesies, and afterward sneered at these ladies, and disparaged them one by one! And this brave man! this chivalrous gentleman!—say, rather, this dog!—figured afterward at home as a critic of missions and missionaries! The author tells of another traveler who went hunting in India. He and his gun were alike loaded; one with powder and ball, the other with whisky. He could not hold the gun, and his native servant had to do the shooting for him. Yet this man had his opinion of missions and missionaries, and in the club at home his statements will be believed as those of a competent witness testifying from personal knowledge! The writer of A Yankee on the Yangtze thinks that missionaries often keep too few servants, and that they ought to keep and use firearms to replenish their tables with game, adding variety to their limited bill of fare. He did not hear one missionary

complain of the smallness of his salary, though many highly educated, able, and capable men are giving their lives to missionary work with less to live on than a common uneducated laborer, a post-hole digger, earns at home. He commends the business methods of the missionaries, and says: "They handle in the most careful way the money given by the Lord's people. The China Inland Mission undertook to finance me across China. That is, in Shanghai, I turned over so many hundred gold dollars to them, and they gave me sight drafts on any place where they have central stations and wherever I would want money. Without exception, everything was properly done. Good business men are attending to the mission merchandise. The missionaries are doing splendid work, and their self-sacrifice and devotion are beyond all praise. Never have I seen money made to go further in accomplishing the purpose for which it was given. As I look back over my travels I think of the many men and women whom I saw laboring to lift the Chinese into a better life. Far from home and friends, they are doing a grand work without sniveling. Their work should appeal to all classes, not only to those who care for souls, but to all who are interested in science or in trade and commerce. For the missionaries write the best books of information about the lands and the peoples, and open the way for commerce and business of every kind. The missionaries set the Chinese an example of high spiritual living, and for this they are hated and slandered by the European winebibber and profligate. The highest officers of the United States government in the cities of China employ as translators and interpreters men trained as missionaries, and the men who now do the translating for the American Minister in Peking and for the Consul-General in Shanghai got their knowledge of China and its language as missionaries in the slums of Chinese cities. But what I admired most in missionaries was their unselfish devotion to duty and their inflexible determination to win. None seemed discouraged, and not one doubted the final result. And yet the English language is inadequate to describe the conditions of filth and misery amid which they often live and work. The stenches and foulnesses of Chinese towns and cities can scarcely be imagined. Christian missionaries make their abode there because immortal souls are there. They are nobly doing a splendid work and are entitled to cordial sympathy and adequate support." In the city of Wan, on the Yangtze River, the author was piloted around the city by a Chinaman who turned out to be an evangelist of the Inland Mission, of whom our traveler gives the following account: "He was a man of great mental strength, with high rank as a scholar. He first heard the gospel in Hankow. Six years ago he was engaged to teach Chinese to one of the missionaries. In spite of his Confucian training, he became interested in the story of Christ which he and his pupil were reading together, and as the narrative approached the climax of Calvary the pagan teacher became intensely absorbed. One morning, while his pupil was out of the room for a short time, he read all about the Crucifixion, and the missionary reëntering the room found him with his head bowed and silently weeping. He declared that

henceforth he would be a follower of the Saviour who died for the world. He called together his Confucian friends and burned his family idols in their presence. Though disowned by his family, and persecuted by the Literati, he stands fast in the faith. During the Boxer troubles in 1900 he traveled great distances at his own expense to encourage, protect, and help the Christians at distant out-stations. When some of the missionaries were fleeing toward the coast he went out at his own peril to help them to a place of safety. From the time he read in the New Testament the account of the Crucifixion until now, he has fearlessly and actively identified himself with the Christian cause." This is simply the old, old story—one more proof of the power of the Cross to melt the heart and transform and transfigure the life. This Yankee on the Yangtze says that since the Boxer troubles the respect and confidence of multitudes of the Chinese toward the Christians have greatly increased, one reason for this being the splendid courage and patience and devotion shown by the missionaries and native converts in the dangers and sufferings of that trying time. The Chinese like to belong to a society that has backbone, and they see that the Christian church is that kind of a society. This traveler sees some advantage for Christianity in the results of the Boxer uprising. He says the story of the collapse of that ineffectual movement against the Christians has spread all through China, and, together with the increase of taxes for the payment of the indemnities, has brought home to three hundred millions of people some report of the religion of the Christians as well as a new conception of the strength of Christian nations. He thinks the Christians who died as martyrs at the hands of the Boxers may do more by dying for Christ than they could have done by living. And he says that if the missionaries take advantage of the present situation, Central and Northern China will be evangelized in the near future. He applies to the Chinese the dictum of Voltaire concerning his own countrymen: "They always come late to things, but they do come at last."

MISCELLANEOUS

Players and Vagabonds. By VIOLA ROSEBORO. 12mo, pp. 334. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This is a book outside our world. The only thing in it that touches our sphere is the curious story of "The Clown and the Missionary," in which the author tells how the only circus clown she ever knew sailed to China as a Christian missionary. On the steamer Baltic, bound from New York to Liverpool, was a pale, watery-eyed youth, who on land lived by the violent vivacities of a sawdust buffoon, but who was seen every day on shipboard reading a pocket edition of the Holy Scriptures. On the fly-leaf of his Bible was written in a girl's hand, "To my beloved brother, Teddy, from his loving sister. 'Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth.'" Teddy was on his way to see his sister, the dear giver of the little Bible, who, though a mere theatrical scene-painter, had actually had one of her pictures accepted by the Royal Academy.

Of this and his sister's goodness Teddy was proud of telling. On board, also, was a poorly dressed, but gentle and intelligent missionary, home for a while from China, now on his way to a great Exeter Hall meeting in London, whence he would return to his field of labor. The clown and the missionary became acquainted during the voyage to England. His sister and her Bible had awakened religious aspirations in the poor little circus performer. At Queenstown a letter came on board bringing him the dreadful news that his sister was dead. This was the missionary's opportunity to comfort him with the words of the Master, and to deepen religion in his soul. And it ended in the clown's clinging to the missionary and begging to be allowed to go with him to China and help him somehow in his work, by doing anything he wanted him to do. Teddy, when asked about his sudden and queer plan for becoming a missionary, explained thus: "Why, you know the missionary's different from most religious folks; he just takes things naturally. I've saved some money, and my sister has left me a little. I can go out there, and he says he can give me things to do for him as a lay worker, and that I can be of some use to him, and that it will be easier for me to be in good standing there than here in England. I don't care how it is, but I'd like to stay with him and do something some way for religion, you know, for the real thing. I don't know what I'll do when my money is all gone. They'd never want to support me as if I was a real missionary; I wouldn't be worth it. But, anyway, they'll let me be a Christian out there." And the missionary, when inquired of, explained thus: "Yes, Teddy is going with me. He seems so little capable of the ordinary ways of entering upon a religious life that I don't know what channel of usefulness would be open to him at home. He wants to come with me, and it seems to me a good step; things are simpler out there. I don't think he'll come back here. I think he may in time be taken fully into the work." Such is the gist of the story of "The Clown and the Missionary." Some of our readers have heard William Taylor tell how he once started mission work in a South American city with nobody to help him except a rough, profane Englishman who kept a liquor saloon there, whom Taylor utilized for all he was worth—who first assisted Taylor in his meetings by scaring off the rowdies with his fists, and who later, having been converted in the meetings, gave up the liquor business, and took full charge and leadership of the mission when Taylor left for other fields. Starting a mission with no earthly capital except one rum-seller was a characteristic William-Taylor enterprise. It was like threshing a mountain with a worm. And a missionary, it seems, can utilize a circus clown, fresh from the sawdust ring.

H. B. Ridgaway

METHODIST REVIEW

MARCH, 1905

Art. I.—AMERICA AS A WORLD POWER

All the world knows that the term America means the United States. By "power" more is meant than that of armies and navies for a far-flung battle line, more than mechanical power of iron, steam, and explosives; we mean every higher and stronger influence of ideas civil, sociological; power of diplomacy, of patriotism, and of religion.

Why should so young a nation have any considerable world power deserving of notice? Just because it has been made heir of all the ages, the depository of all the good achieved by all the nations going before. When Mr. Gladstone says, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man," it is not to be supposed that a few Americans invented it offhand in a moment of divine afflatus. Even a drop of attar of rose must have whole acres of summer bloom behind it. We get little from Babylon and Nineveh, the most significant art of Egypt was lost, Greece sends us its ideals of perfect physical beauty in its pathetic fragments of statues, Rome sends us her laws; but the literature of these last-named countries is only useful as a gymnasium for training adolescent minds, having little value for teaching true philosophy, high thinking, or worthy life. But there is one older country whose literature is incredibly rich in ideas and the fundamental principles of the best life. Its literature is studied a thousandfold more than all other ancient literatures combined. It is spread by

multiplied millions of copies every year toward the ends of the earth. It is now in seven eighths of the languages of the polyglottal earth. From it we get the glorious doctrine of monotheism, emancipating the mind of the terrorized worshipers of millions of malignant gods; we get the right of slaves to walk out of bondage into freedom. Egypt meant the condensation of all men into a mass. Israel meant the exaltation of every man into a distinct entity with a whole empire of rights worth defending with his very life. Every man was to own land, have a family, sit under his own vine and fig tree with none to molest or make afraid. Even the king could not touch the poor man's one ewe lamb without disaster. The poor man's robe in pawn was to be given back to him at night for shelter. His wages were not to be kept back over night. If a debt was beyond ability of payment by reason of sickness, it was canceled. If a man had sold himself for service, or his land, by reason of calamity, at the blast of the jubilee trumpet both were freed. The divinely constituted right of every man to rest one day in seven was commanded and enforced. The principle of nation building was this: "The Lord doth build up Jerusalem, he gathers the outcasts, he healeth the broken in heart, he lifteth up the meek, he maketh peace in thy borders and filleth thee with the finest of the wheat, he sendeth forth his commandments, he showeth his statutes"—principles of prosperity and well-being—"to Israel." Modern industrial science finds that, in the processes of distillation, etc., the by-products are more valuable than the main thing sought. Israel saved all the by-products of humanity, which oppressors had cast as rubbish in the void, and did not lose the main thing in nation building. Besides all this, we had the experience of later nations: all that revival of liberty from the despair of the Dark Ages resulting in the new impulses and wider outlooks of the Crusades, culminating in the formation of the Lombardic League; all that was secured by the heroic struggle of Milan against that glacier of death that flowed down the Alps under the lead of the tyrant Barbarossa; all from the free cities of Germany that was worth keeping, all the liberties magnificently defended by Holland, all that Naseby and Marston Moor achieved, all that the Bill of Rights secured in 1689—indeed, all that the

liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon blood had established by ages of sublime sacrifice—all this was offered as the heritage of America. The law of heredity for beneficence is "keeping loving-kindness to a thousand generations of them that love God and keep his commandments."

Besides all this heritage Providence provided that America should be free from the old-time curse of religious intolerance and have the inestimable uplift of perfect freedom of conscience and religious liberty, by putting so many forms of religion alongside of each other that intolerance would be national suicide. Then for the first time in human history it became possible that next in importance after the Christmas of the world's religious life should come the Christmas of the world's civil rights and privileges. Hence it was possible for the preamble of the Constitution to say, "We, the People, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution." The struggle for the maintenance of the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution was long and severe. Bunker Hill, Valley Forge, and Yorktown took their places among the greatest heroisms of humanity. The Constitution was adopted in 1788, and the nation so endowed by nature with rain from heaven, with the finest of the wheat, and so dealt by as no other nation, was ready to begin its missionary work in the whole world. The beacon fires of victory had not died out on the hills of America before they blazed up with sudden splendor in France. No one ever dreamed of ascribing the cause of the French Revolution to any other source than to the American Revolution. Here was smitten out the spark that fired the magazine there. The explosion was terrific, but it was the greatest event of the century in Europe. The human mind, long time oppressed with more than Ossa on Pelion, more than burning Ætna flung on Enceladus, showed by its resilience that it had in it the strength of the immortal God from whom it came. America in Europe was the greatest event of the ages. The doctrine of human rights, enunciated in the Declaration of Independ-

ence here, took the more succinct form of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality there.

But were there not dreadful excesses in the French Revolution? Of course. You cannot have thunderstorms and lightning flashes without some people getting scared and occasionally one getting hurt. But they clear the air and refresh the earth. What a joy to be alive when the storm has passed, when the rainbow is on the dark back of the retreating cloud and the ozone of new life is in the air. Excesses! I have often stood where the steady chop, chop of the guillotine severed twenty-eight hundred heads from their bodies in one place. One of the largest fountains in the world has now played on that spot for half a century, but to my feeling it has not yet washed the place free from blood or cleared the air from the smell of limitless murder. I have gone with reverent feet to one grave, close to our Lafayette's, where were buried thirteen hundred of these headless bodies. I have revolted with all the horror of my nature against the deep damnation of the taking off of many of the best of France. But I declare that, horrible as these excesses were, they were no worse—and far shorter in continuance—than the despotisms and outrages of the regular government that preceded them. Of course, the pendulum, pulled to the extremity of the arc, swung beyond the center. But the guillotine was only the short-lived successor of the Bastille. The volcanic outbreak of the Reign of Terror was far less deplorable than the massacre of the Huguenots, when from seventy thousand to one hundred thousand Frenchmen were murdered in cold blood by other Frenchmen for the crime of having a purer form of religion.

But even before this visible concrete example of the world power of America the nation had entered upon a policy less startlingly evident but equally full of power to affect the world. Reference is here made to the field of diplomacy. First it introduced the element of directness, definiteness, an avoidance of all double meanings and double constructions. The principle of diplomacy had been Macchiavellian, happily phrased by the expression that "Language was invented to conceal man's thought." When Decatur, on June 30, 1815, sent his treaty to the Dey of Algiers,

demanding instant signature and surrender of all American prisoners, and the Dey asked for time to consider—even for three hours, in hopes that his squadron would arrive—Decatur answered, "Not a minute; and if your squadron appears in sight before the treaty is actually signed and sent off with the American prisoners we will capture it." That sort of diplomacy was understandable. So when Lieutenant Ingraham in 1853, in the harbor of Smyrna, demanded the surrender of Martin Koszta under threat of sinking the Austrian ship if refused it was an understandable diplomacy. So the recent message, "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." America could not always impose its Jeffersonian simplicity on other nations, but it could set an example. The treaty with Persia of December 13, 1856, is concluded between "The President of the United States and his Majesty, as exalted as the planet Saturn; the sovereign to whom the sun serves as a standard, whose splendor and magnificence are equal to that of the skies, the Sublime Sovereign, the Monarch whose armies are as numerous as the stars," etc. What is the substance of these treaties? From 1776, the first year of its asserted sovereignty, to 1789, the United States made fourteen treaties, more than one a year, in which were inserted principles new to diplomacy, such as commercial intercourse—free ships make free goods except those contraband in war; rights of conscience, rights of aliens in times of war, humane treatment of prisoners, and especially the principle of arbitration by disinterested powers of matters that might otherwise lead to war. This principle it has gradually engrafted on the diplomacy of the world, willingly submitting its own *casi belli* to peaceful arbitrament. It is consummated in the Tribunal at The Hague. Fifteen nations have already become signatories to this compact, and the whole grand movement is fittingly established by an American giving one million dollars to erect a suitable building and furnish its library. Between October 1, 1903, and July 12, 1904, nine treaties of obligatory arbitration have been signed. In a nearly complete list of eighty-eight modern arbitrations in the whole world I find that the United States submitted its interests in forty-seven cases.

America found countries trying to claim dominion over seas

as well as land. Spain tried to make the Gulf of Mexico a closed sea, as the Sultan had the Black Sea. Russia claimed all the Pacific Ocean north of latitude 51 degrees as its own peculiar property. The Mississippi, Amazon, La Plata, and Saint Lawrence Rivers were closed to the world's commerce. As early as December 30, 1776, America began to agitate the question of opening all these waters to the world's commerce. The wholly unjustifiable sound duties claimed by Denmark were abolished in 1857, and the Bosporus was opened to all nations in 1871 by American influence. It is conceded that at the close of the recent Boxer rising in China that empire was in great danger of division among the Powers but for American diplomacy. For a long time the Barbary pirates preyed upon the commerce of the world that did not buy exemption. While as yet we had no navy they captured ten of our merchantmen and sold one hundred and fifteen of our sailors for slaves. The ransom demanded for each captain was $6,000, for each mate $4,000, for an ordinary seaman $1,400, with a bonus of eleven per cent on the whole sum for oiling the palms of intermediary agents. We actually paid $2,000,000 blackmail. But as soon as we had gotten a navy, in 1815, the Dey of Algiers had his ships captured and harbor invested—with the result already mentioned. All the world shared the benefit. In 1810 all South America rose in united rebellion against the oppression of Spain. They justly said that the Spanish flag, of a stripe of red, yellow, and red again, was a river of gold between two rivers of blood. This revolt was most bloodily put down by 1816. But by 1820, feeling that it was better to die fighting than to live so outraged, revolt broke out again. This was made successful by the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine, first nebulously suggested by J. Q. Adams but given in formal message by Monroe, December 2, 1823. This said to European powers, "This half of the world is consecrated to liberty and the rights of men. Let there be no interference." The eleven republics of South America, which have almost exactly copied our Constitution, owe their existence to the United States.

But we were not ready to enter upon the next larger and better range of world influence till we had put away an evil of

our own. Our arm had not sufficiently the strength of ten because our hearts were not pure. We were subject to the taunt:

> "United States, your banner bears
> Two emblems: one of fame,
> Alas, the other that it bears
> Reminds us of your shame!
> The white man's liberty in types
> Stands blazoned by your stars,
> But what, alas, do mean those stripes?
> They are your negroes' scars."

So we periled all of wealth, life, and national existence, and freed the slaves. Then the cries of Cuba being murdered went up into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth. Was there any nation by which he could send deliverance? Would any nation peril itself by interfering in behalf of another in the complications of European politics? Doubtless there was occasion enough. Spain was innately cruel. Disemboweled horses, tortured and slain bulls, and wounded matadores made their joyous holiday. They had a long training in cruelty. For three centuries, from 1481 to 1781, they had burned or imprisoned a thousand a year of their own citizens for the crime of thinking. The figures are 32,000 horribly and publicly burned at the stake, 17,000 burned in effigy, 291,000 imprisoned, and so subtracted from the respect of men and the strength of the state. Spain had stolen from Peru, to say nothing of the rest of the continent, 400,000,000 ducats, equal to $920,000,000. Could anyone be persuaded to cry "Halt!" and take the consequences? America declared to the world that it would free Cuba and not claim the island for indemnity. From its own practice, unable to believe the declaration, Europe said disdainfully, "We will see." It did. It saw more. It saw that a Spanish fleet at Manila menaced our whole Pacific Coast. War was declared April 21, 1898. Ten days later, at daylight, Dewey brought his six ships against their seventeen backed by forts, his fifty-three guns against their one hundred and eleven, and before noon, the Manila cablegram to Madrid said, he had "either sunk or burned every ship of our fleet in Manila Bay." No nation in Europe cared to take up the cause of Spain. But Europe saw this: when by all the rights of war we might, we did not take Cuba

as indemnity, neither did we take the Philippines, but paid $20,000,000 cash therefor. In these islands we are doing what a strong, rich nation ought to do for a weak, poor one. Long since Virgil, a heathen poet, said, "Not for themselves do the birds build their nests, the sheep grow wool, the bees gather honey, and the cattle plow the ground," and a greater has said, "So then ye that are strong ought to bear the burdens of the weak, and not to please yourselves." He quotes the highest example therefor. Hence the Philippines, instead of being plundered of everything but life, now feel a refluent tide of wealth averting famine, sanitary science stamping out the direst diseases, education by a thousand of our best teachers, and the development of their own by a dower of the American language to be the only official means of intercourse January 1, 1907, and by the free gift of the religion of the ever-blessed Lord. The common school of America has made it a world power. America asserted at first that all men had equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Among these rights was the one of development. It forbade the conferring of all titles and privileges of nobility, and said to every man, "Go in and win the best you can." When Domingo Faustino Sarmiento was president of the Argentine Republic, 1868–1874, he came to Boston to become acquainted with Horace Mann, the embodiment of our common school system, that he might get its ideas and ideals and transfer them to South America. On Mr. Mann's suggestion he took also the representatives of those ideals in a score of "schoolmarms" and put them at the head of the normal schools of that republic. Some of them are there yet. The liberal forces of Ecuador won their final victory at Rio Bamba in January, 1899. They soon asked an American missionary in Lima to organize common schools on the American plan, with American teachers in control. We imported 1,042 teachers into Manila in a month. Nearly all our mission stations have schools attached. In India alone 43,000 youth are in our schools of all grades, from primary to university.

In the matter of invention we surpass all others as a world power. Twice we have revolutionized the naval architecture of the world: first, by our fleet ships of 1812, and, second, by the

armored and turreted ships of 1862, and by our swift yachts all the time. It is said that of the fourteen principal inventions, that must go wherever civilization goes, every one of them was invented in America. We have issued about half a million patents for better ways of doing things; many times more than all the rest of the world besides. Some men see nature as a mountain range whose rugged sides feed starveling flocks of sheep. But others pierce the sides and they ooze forth plenteous gold. Other nations even complain that American machines and their products are being dumped on their shores. I saw steel beams from Pittsburg, for buildings in the interior of India, and the Scottish contractor told me they were better in quality and twelve per cent cheaper in price than those elsewhere obtainable. Despite a few strikes occasionally, we are settling the labor questions for the world. Strikes are merely the growing pains toward complete manhood. The vast majority of the working people are intelligent, self-respecting, and content with their prospects. Many of the better class share the profits and seek to enhance them. With our improved machinery and more agile workers, one American does the work of three and one half average Europeans. I have seen American carpenters with their tools employed abroad at three dollars a day in preference to natives at twenty-five cents with theirs.

America has exerted another world power that cannot be expressed by statistics. It is in bringing the spirit of our holy religion into governmental affairs. No sooner was our independence acknowledged by Great Britain than Congress declared that no act of attainder for treason should be passed against anyone for adhering to Great Britain in the war, and that all estates and rights that had been confiscated should be restored. A heavenly charity and help has been extended toward other countries in special need. Older men remember, perhaps can repeat, that splendid oration of Mr. Webster in favor of sending help to the inhabitants of Scio's rocky isle, ravaged by the unspeakable Turk, in April, 1822. More can remember how we took the captured British ship of war, Macedonia, packed it full of provisions, and sent it to starving Ireland in 1848. All remember the shiploads

of grain and tens of thousands of dollars sent to the famine victims of India. At the close of the awful war with the South the terrible cry of the Romans, "Væ victis!"—"Woe to the conquered!"—was not once uttered, but every kind of help was rushed forward at once. At the close of the war with Spain no indemnity was demanded nor any slight put upon sensitive Castilian honor. Amazing consecration of money to benevolent purposes has not only been shown here but has overflowed to other lands. Without claiming for America entire credit for the spread of constitutional liberty some of its milestones may be mentioned: Governments have been liberalized, constitutions granted, elective franchises given or extended, and a two-branched house of legislation established in all or in part as follows: Norway and Sweden, 1809; Belgium, 1830; Switzerland, 1848; Denmark, 1849; Austria after Sadowa, 1866; France again, 1871; the German empire consolidated and Italy united, 1871. All these governments, including their colonies, have been incredibly liberalized, with the example of America standing large and fair before them and with a constant gulf stream of emigration flowing both ways. The principles of the American government are so genial to the human heart that they almost propagate themselves, as a single special plant seeds a continent. A man from India was passing along a street of Manila soon after the American occupation. He saw a group of men from the same country. He knew them at once, from their costume, and accosting them in their own language asked why they had come, across such wild seas, so many thousand miles from home. They answered, "We heard that the new flag had come and was waving here, and we came to live and work under its protection." Just as the seed buried in the earth feels the warmer sunshine of the spring and unfolds its verdant nature toward its genial warmth, so over the whole earth, in all races of men, is this genial feeling wrought by the sun of liberty, and peoples that have been buried for ages under oppressions and wrongs unfold their better nature and move toward it. This explains the world-wide movement toward our shores.

But above all the power of mechanical inventions to lighten and quicken labor, above all social uplift by new ideas, above all

political enlargement by our Constitution and example, we have received and dispensed the Gospel, which is *the* power of God. This is no more our invention than was our Constitution, but its very essence is expansion. Whatever God is in is imperialistic. The marching orders of the kingdom are, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to the whole creation." Even animals and plants are to be benefited by the good tidings. On everyone pretending to be a Christian it lays the duty of working for world-wide expansion. America proved the reality of its being a part of the true church by sending missionaries to the Indians, especially by the Presbyterians, as early as 1741. But it began what is called its foreign work, though no part of the human family is foreign to the Christian, as follows: The American Board, 1810; the Baptist, 1814; the Methodist Episcopal Church, itself a product of missionaries, 1819; the Protestant Episcopal, 1820, and all others in such times as seemed most fit to them. If there be any part of the earth to which it has not sent its glad tidings it is either because some missionary society not American is doing the work or the country has not yet yielded to its efforts and opened its doors. No tropic heat or arctic cold, no malarious or deadly fever, no savage degradation or civilized resistance makes it abate its zeal. For this purpose about $6,000,000 is annually contributed, largely by poor people. The influence of missions is greatly underrated. They follow the example of their Founder—heal the sick, inculcate new ideas, and give to the soul an eternal life beginning here and now. Hence doctors, dispensaries, and hospitals are a part of the necessary equipment of every mission where they do not already exist. Hence schools, open to all comers, are founded and maintained. They teach all that a civilized, developed nation has of art, literature, science, manual training, home life, public concerns, to those who have nothing of any. Hence they give them the great uplift brought to a soul by a consciousness that God comes as a loving father instead of a malignant demon. Jesus made of the humblest peasants a surpassing world power that neither social ostracism, superstition, opposing civil power, nor military might could withstand. The gospel—the power of God—is the same to-day and accomplishes the same results. A

word of corroborative testimony from one who had the widest opportunity to know; Sir Bartle Frere, governor of Bombay, said, "The teaching of Christianity among the 160,000,000 of civilized, industrious Hindus and Mohammedans in India is effecting changes, moral, social, and political, which, for extent and rapidity of effect, are far more extraordinary than anything you or your fathers have witnessed in modern Europe." And Lord Lawrence, viceroy and governor-general of India, after unequaled opportunities of observation said, "I believe, notwithstanding all that the English people have done to benefit India, the missionaries have done more than all other agencies combined."

The object of this paper is to make Americans appreciate their past work, their present opportunities, and their future duty. They should remember that having received much—O, so much!—all the earth could yield, all that the preceding generations of man could bequeath and that the infinite God could give, much, O, so much! is required. There is much land and more mind still to be possessed.

Henry W. Warren

Art. II.—WILLIAM BUTLER YEATS AND THE REVIVAL OF GAELIC LITERATURE

About a year ago a cultivated young Irishman bearing the name of William Butler Yeats arrived in this country. To the general public he was an utter stranger; even to the literary circles of America he was not much more than a name. One of his American admirers had visited several of the large bookstores in Boston and asked for the works of some of the writers who occupy a very prominent place in the literary movement of which Mr. Yeats is so conspicuous a representative; without exception these booksellers admitted that they had never heard the names of these writers. Mr. Yeats's name they knew, but few of them had his works in stock. Not many weeks later this young Irishman made a triumphant tour across America, and the sale of his books went up with a bound. Undoubtedly this exuberant enthusiasm was, to a considerable extent, bogus. Undoubtedly the outer fringe of the literary world, catching eagerly at the vague hints which the Brahmans of literature had dropped concerning the distinguished stranger who was about to arrive, had worked itself into a factitious and delightful excitement. Some allowance must be made, too, for the susceptible hearts over whom a thoughtful, singularly attractive face, lighted up by eyes in which burns a volcanic fire, always exerts an indescribable fascination. After making all deductions for ill-regulated enthusiasm the fact remains that William Butler Yeats deserves the considerate attention of educated men as a leading representative of a new literary movement. This the Gaelic revival in literature is essentially. Not that scholarship in Ireland is a new thing. Not that literature in Ireland is a new thing. Those who study history know that there was a time when Irish scholarship dominated the world of letters. From the monasteries in Ireland issued faultless copies of Greek and Latin manuscripts that told of the quenchless love of learning of those monks who stood between the priceless treasures of classical antiquity and the ruthless hand of the enemies of civilization. But a blight fell upon Irish scholarship. These sober words

of an impartial historian are almost literally true: "The silence of death settled down upon Ireland. For a hundred years [from about 1700 to about 1800] the country remained at peace, but the peace was that of despair." During this period of apathy and stagnation literature shared the common death of the arts and sciences and manufactures of Ireland.

Modern Irish literature in the English language has a history of but a hundred years. It is scarcely too much to claim that modern Irish literature is but ten or fifteen years old. We usually assign its beginnings to a period dating back about one hundred years, and we think of Miss Edgeworth and Charles Lever and Samuel Lover as the chief representatives of Irish fiction, and of Thomas Moore as the representative Irish poet. And these are indeed the names of conjurers. Our fathers read Charles O'Malley and Harry Lorrequer and laughed consumedly. Great books these, books that made men forget their sorrows, yet judicious critics to-day are hardly willing to put them under the head of genuine Irish literature. These novels represent a single phase of Irish life. They show us the Irish peasant as he appeared to the aristocratic landowners. No one knows a people until he knows the peasant class to the very depths of its nature; these aristocratic landowners knew only one side of the Irish peasant—the servile side, the side which he turned toward his social superiors. The novels based upon this imperfect knowledge of the Irish character are necessarily superficial, and yet they are almost entirely responsible for the literary and dramatic conception of the Irishman which still prevails. In these novels the Irish peasant either appears as a stupid, unreasoning, blindly devoted, and faithful follower of his master or he bursts upon the scene with a whoop and manifests the exuberant craving for wild excitement which is so delectable a feature of the Donnybrook Fair Irishman. So thoroughly are these types impressed upon the modern reading world that American tourists in Ireland are puzzled and disappointed at not finding such specimens everywhere. The critics have made out a strong case against the novelists. Their attacks on the poems of Thomas Moore seem less gracious. Moore's poems have sung themselves into the

heart of the English-speaking world. If Moore's emotion is not specifically Irish it is at least genuine human emotion, for men of all nations have wept over Moore's lyrics. And yet it must be admitted that we enjoy our tears while yielding to the charm of Moore. Our sorrow is an æsthetic sorrow and we shed æsthetic tears, and by these tears our literary soul is clarified. But these modern Irish lyrics breathe thoughts that lie too deep for tears. They come from the depths of a heart that feels itself clutched in the grip of a mad spirit that lives just beyond the turn in the road. We shudder with the Irish peasant as he starts on his fearful trip across the lonely hills. "By the cross of Jesus! how shall I go? If I pass by the hill of Dunboy old Captain Burney may look out on me. If I go round by the water and up the steps there is the headless one, and another on the quays, and a new one under the old churchyard wall. If I go round the other way Mrs. Stewart is appearing at the Hillside Gate and the old one himself is in the hospital lane." Should some well-meaning friend endeavor by ridicule or argument to rid him of these tormenting fears, the peasant flings back in his despair the perfectly unanswerable retort of the frenzied Orestes: "You see them not, but I see them." To illustrate the essential difference between the exquisitely modulated voice of Thomas Moore and the wild cry of a despairing Irish heart we may contrast Moore's

> "Erin, the tear and the smile in thine eyes
> Blend like the rainbow that hangs in thy skies.
> Shining through sorrow's stream,
> Saddening through pleasure's beam
> Thy suns with doubtful gleam
> Weep while they rise,"

with Nora Hopper Chesson's May Eve. It is the eve of the first of May, akin to the Walpurgisnacht of Goethe's Faust, the night when the spirit of the dead comes back to its former dwelling place:

> "There's a crying at my window, and a hand upon my door,
> And a stir among the yarrow that's fading on the floor:
> The voice cries at my window, the hand at my door beats on,
> But if I heed and answer them, sure, hand and voice are gone.

"You would not heed my calling once, and now why would I hear?
You would not hold my wistful hand, but let it fall, my dear:
You would not give me word or look, but went your silent way,
O, wirrasthrue, dumb mouth of you that had so much to say.

"Be still, my dear: I heed, I hear, but cannot help you now,
The rose is dead that was so red, and snow's upon her bough.
Be still, be still a little while, for I shall surely come
And kiss the sorrow from your eyes, and from your kind lips dumb.

"Be patient now, avourneen! You may not lift the latch:
Go hence: the wind is bitter cold that whistles through the thatch.
The wind is cold, and I am old, but you're young and fair to see,
And my heart turns to you night and day, my fair love leaving me!"

About fifteen years ago a number of young Irishmen, awaking to the fact that in the political struggle which has raged so incessantly between Ireland and the British government Irish literature had nearly perished, were actuated by a sincere desire for its reanimation, but with many of them the new movement was primarily an attempt to summon literature to the aid of politics. One can never go far or read much or listen long in Ireland without coming upon politics in some of its myriad forms. It may seem that a literature professedly political can scarcely hope to attain a dignity which will command the respect of the scholars of foreign nations. If, however, a political literature be at the same time a national literature—if, rising above party quarrels, it breathe the aspirations of a whole people—this political literature may assume a dignity and breadth which will place it beside the national literature of the great nations of the world. This literary revival in Ireland is a phase of the struggle to restore its nationality, every phase of its nationality—its commerce, its manufactures, its arts, its language. This movement is an attempt to *revive*, not to *create*, a literature. Irish literature is already one of the venerable monuments of the human intellect. An Irish literature of vast extent lies almost entirely neglected in manuscripts scattered here and there in Ireland. This new movement aims in part to give to the world these venerable and stirring epics. The circumstances which led to this revival form a not uninteresting chapter in the history of literature. About the year 1848 modern Irish literature reached its culmination

and for the next forty years it steadily declined. During these forty years the Irish people put their intellectual strength into practical politics. Then came the sensational downfall of Parnell; the political structure which had been so laboriously reared crashed to ruin with the fall of the Irish Samson. In their despair the Irish now endeavored to revive by other means their flickering national life. The struggle against England assumed a subtler and more formidable aspect. About the year 1890 a company of young patriots determined to encourage the cultivation of the finer literary side of the Irish character. In 1892 the National Literary Society was organized in Dublin. In the following year the Irish Literary Society of London held its first meeting. It is with so recent a movement as this that we are now concerned.

Let us pass to a consideration of some of the characteristics of this new movement, and, first, the language in which this new literature is written. Should it be written in Gaelic, or may it properly be written in English? At once a political phase of the question appears, and the poets come down from their serene heights and become savage partisans. The careful student of the Gaelic literature can usually predict from the name of a Gaelic writer the attitude which that writer will assume regarding the question of the language in which he should express his thoughts. An Irish writer will, if he knows Gaelic, probably insist that Irish literature should be written in the Irish vernacular. A Scotch Gael, even though he is familiar with the Gaelic language, is quite as likely to insist that Gaelic literature may legitimately be written in English. It is a curious fact, however, that Mr. Yeats, an Irishman of unquestioned loyalty to the traditions and spirit of his nation, is unable to express himself in Gaelic and is obliged to confine his written and spoken utterances to the English language. This anomalous fact brings us to a brief consideration of the present status of the Irish language in Ireland. Before we have proceeded a dozen steps in the investigation we find ourselves confronted with the ever-recurring subject of Irish politics. The chapter of their national history which is burned most indelibly into the memory of Irishmen is that which records the steps which the British government took to extirpate the Irish language. By

the statute of Kilkenny of the year 1367 it was forbidden to use within the pale the Irish language, to wear the Irish national dress, or to give to a child an Irish surname. The penalty was imprisonment, and confiscation of land and houses. We are not called upon to discuss the justice or the injustice of this procedure on the part of England. We confine ourselves to a statement of the fact that under this system of repression the number of those who spoke Irish had, a few years ago, fallen to 700,000. This number marked a decline of over 200,000 in ten years. So rapidly was the language dying out that one of the scholars who has played a leading part in the revival of the Irish language, the Rev. Eugene O'Growney—who died in 1899 at Los Angeles, California—has testified that until he entered a seminary at Navan, in Ireland, in preparation for the work of the priesthood, he did not even know that there is an Irish language. He determined first to learn it himself and then to do everything in his power to restore it to its original position as the language of the country. He became the editor of the Gaelic Journal. He wrote an Irish grammar which has done much to win students for the Irish tongue. During the last few years there have sprung up a number of organizations which are to-day carrying on with considerable success in Great Britain and America the work of resuscitating the language and keeping it alive. About twenty-five years ago a society called "The Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language" secured some partial concessions regarding the use of Irish in the national schools of Ireland, but the decay of the native tongue still made rapid progress and matters had reached a desperate condition when, in 1893, chiefly through the efforts of Rev. Eugene O'Growney and Dr. Douglas Hyde, the Gaelic League was organized. The league at once entered upon an active educational campaign. Branches were established in every important center in Ireland. In 1898 the movement spread to America. In 1902 there were in the United States and Canada about forty branches of the league with classes for the study of Gaelic. Professorships in Gaelic have been established in Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Roman Catholic Seminary of Maynooth, in Ireland. In America there are professorships of Celtic at the Catholic Univer-

sity of America and at the University of Nôtre Dame, in Indiana. Courses in Celtic are offered also at Harvard University. Already the Gaelic League has succeeded in introducing the study of Gaelic into a large number of "National Schools" in Ireland, and into nearly all the Catholic parish schools of that country. In Dublin alone there are about thirty-five hundred students of Gaelic. It has become the fashion to use Gaelic in Ireland. Even in aristocratic Dublin, where a few years ago the ability to speak Gaelic was looked upon as an infallible indication of vulgar origin, the upper classes of Irish society are now proud to converse in that language. Every year there is held in Dublin a flourishing Gaelic summer school which brings together the most famous Celtic scholars of the world. Germany has for years maintained in her largest universities professorships of Celtic. As long ago as 1886 Dr. Windisch, of the University of Leipzig, famous as a Sanskrit scholar, was even more famous as an investigator in the untrodden fields of Irish philology; to-day he is in the very forefront of the movement. This new Celtic movement is not a local or parochial agitation, but is enlisting the attention even of scholars who by nationality are very far outside the pale of Irish birth or parentage. In these facts lies the explanation of the curious anomaly that Mr. Yeats cannot express himself in Irish. His birth occurred at a time when Irish was a decaying language. Gaelic was not spoken in his household. The lost opportunity can never recur, for were he now to study Gaelic he could never hope to use it as an instrument for spontaneous expression. The writers in this movement who employ the English tongue as their vehicle of expression may be divided into several groups. With a description of each group we shall mention one or two of the leading writers of that group. In this arrangement we follow the classification of Mr. Horatio Sheafe Krans in his biography of Mr. Yeats in the Contemporary Men of Letters series.[1]

The first group is made up of those who translate into English the treasures of the original Irish literature. One of the leading

[1] Mr. Krans is a brilliant young scholar who has received his literary training under Professor George E. Woodberry, of Columbia University. Mr. Krans has recently published a work entitled Irish Life in Irish Fiction. His work on William Butler Yeats in the Contemporary Men of Letters series gives an admirable sketch of this new movement.

lights of this group is Dr. Douglas Hyde, the president of the Gaelic League. Dr. Hyde is a remarkable man. Born in 1860, he is still in his early prime. He is a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. He has rendered incalculable service in his labors to preserve the native folklore of Ireland. His Literary History of Ireland was the first attempt to write a comprehensive and systematic history of Gaelic literature. A mere translator does not usually occupy an exalted place in the literary world. Dr. Hyde is far more than a translator, he is himself a writer of high rank both in Gaelic and in English. He is especially happy in reproducing the simple feeling and the complicated metrical structure of the native poetry. A second distinguished name under this group is that of Lady Gregory, who also is far more than a translator. She takes collections of old Irish tales and welds them into an artistic unity, touching everything with exquisite literary finish. As representative works of this author we may mention Cuchulain of Muirtemne, and Gods and Fighting Men. Mr. Yeats says of the former, "It is the best book that has come out of Ireland in my time—perhaps I should say the best book that has ever come out of Ireland." The second group consists of writers who do not limit themselves to literal translations of old Irish literature. They faithfully reproduce the spirit of old Irish romances and old Celtic legends and Celtic mythology. They are swayed by the wayward moods and the untamed passions of the genuine Irish character. They bring the past before us by throwing themselves into the spirit of the past. Under this group are to be placed Mrs. Nora Hopper Chesson and Mr. Yeats. We have already quoted in full one of Mrs. Chesson's poems under the title May Eve. Another prominent name is that of John Todhunter. His Glade in Aghadoe is vibrant with the unquenchable hate that Ireland feels for those whom it regards as its oppressors. We shall speak more fully of Mr. Yeats in another connection, and we shall not be able to give in full any of his poems that come under this head. Here belongs his Madness of King Goll. The old Irish king has become insane. He knows that his reason has tottered from its throne, and he traces the gradual wreck of the proud intellect that once swayed a kingdom. Even the wild beasts of the wood

have noted the ruin of the master mind and they no longer fear him. Ever and anon in the poem recurs a refrain that haunts the reader: "They will not hush, the leaves a-flutter round me, the beech leaves old."

> "And now I wander in the woods
> When summer gluts the golden bees,
> Or in autumnal solitudes
> Arise the leopard-colored trees;
> Or when along the wintry strands
> The cormorants shiver on their rocks,
> I wander on, and wave my hands,
> And sing, and shake my heavy locks.
> The gray wolf knows me; by one ear
> I lead along the woodland deer;
> The hares run by me growing bold.
> They will not hush, the leaves a-flutter round me, the beech leaves old."

The third group is made up of writers of religious poetry. This group takes its material from the various legends connected with the early church, the lives of the saints and the miracles they wrought in Ireland. The chief writer of this group is Lionel Johnson, who died but a year or two ago, young in years, and after a brilliant literary career that promised to furnish to the new movement one of its chief ornaments. The fourth group is made up of those who take as their theme the pathos, the comedy, the tragedy of the daily life of the Irish peasant. Names crowd upon us here, but we must limit ourselves to a single one, that of Miss Barlow. A thousand deft touches in her works show how thoroughly she has mastered her subject. Two other groups include the writers of Irish dramatic literature and the writers of mystical poetry. Under the head of the mystics falls the name of Mr. G. W. Russell, who usually brings out his work under the initials A. E. The chief representative of these two groups, however, is Mr. Yeats, and here we shall look rather closely into some of his works and his literary theories, considering him first as a dramatic writer. In this field Mr. Yeats has done some of his best work. His Land of Heart's Desire is representatively dramatic. Mr. William Archer has said, "It is a flawless little poem, concentrating into a single scene the pure essence of Celtic folklore." The underlying doc-

trine of the work is a belief in the existence of fairies. It is a genuine reflection of the beliefs of the remote peasantry of Ireland at this present day. A young wife chafes under the monotony of her humdrum daily life. Even the devotion of her young husband cannot keep her contented with her lot. She invokes the fairies:

> "Come, fairies, take me out of this dull house!
> Let me have all the freedom I have lost."

Her prayer is heard, the fairies come. The reader is thrilled as he listens to the wooing of the fairy and the agony of the husband's plea. The bride wavers, she hesitates, she is lost.

> "I think that I would stay—and yet—and yet—"

and with these sad, glad, reluctant, willing words her spirit follows the beckoning fairy.

And Mr. Yeats is a symbolistic and mystical writer. By this is meant, as Mr. Krans neatly expresses it, "the use of concrete images to convey abstract ideas or to evoke moods." Mr. Yeats gives two beautiful examples of his meaning. The first is from Burns:

> "The white moon is setting behind the white wave,
> And Time is setting with me, O!"

"The lines," says he, "are perfectly symbolical. Take from them the whiteness of the moon and of the wave, whose relation to the setting of Time is too subtle for the intellect, and you take from them their beauty. But, when all are together, moon and wave and whiteness and setting Time, and the last melancholy cry, they evoke an emotion which cannot be evoked by any other arrangement of colors and sounds and forms." The second, even more beautiful, is from Blake, that mystical poet whom Yeats greatly admires:

> "The gay fishes on the wave when the moon sucks up the dew."

Hand in hand with this symbolism goes his love of mysticism. He says frankly that he believes in magic: "I believe in the practice and philosophy of what we have agreed to call magic, in what I must call the evocation of spirits, though I do not know what

they are, in the power of creating magical illusions, in the visions of truth in the depths of the mind when the eyes are closed." Mr. Yeats relates some remarkable personal experiences in the field of evocation of spirits, and hints, "I could tell of stranger images, of stranger enchantments, of stranger imaginations, cast consciously or unconsciously over as great distances by friends or by myself." This symbolism and this mysticism have, of necessity, a marked effect on Mr. Yeats's English style, which at its best is tense, nervous, fraught with meaning, and at its worst unintelligible. Mr. Yeats is packed with mythological lore picked up at the firesides of Irish cabins in the Arran Islands. It is easy for him to lose sight of the fact that his knowledge of folklore is unique, and that references and allusions which to him are clear as day may be Egyptian darkness to his reader. What do the following lines, quoted by Mr. Krans, mean even to a man of literary culture?

"Michael will unhook his trumpet
From a bough overhead,
And blow a little noise
When the supper has been spread.
Gabriel will come from the water
With a fish tail, and talk
Of wonders that have happened
On wet roads where men walk,
And lift up an old horn
Of hammered silver, and drink
Till he has fallen asleep
Upon the starry brink."

But Mr. Yeats feels very little concern about his reader. It is not the business of a writer to make his meaning clear to the reader. He quotes approvingly this dictum of a friend: "It is not the business of a poet to make himself understood, but it is the business of the people to understand him. That they are at last compelled to do so is the proof of his authority." He says, "I have been wondering why I dislike the clear and logical construction which seems necessary if one is to succeed on the modern stage." Flatly contradicting the old Greek adage, "Nothing in excess," Mr. Yeats adopts as his own these words of Samuel Palmer: "Excess is the vivifying spirit of the finest art, and we

must always seek to make excess more abundantly excessive." Given a writer who has an encyclopedic knowledge of mythology; let him look with fine scorn upon clearness; let him make up his mind that it is the business of the reader to understand the writer; let him put his meaning into symbols; let him run to the mystical in his mental processes; then let him cultivate excess until excess becomes excessive—and you have a product which can be understood only by a literary cult. Mr. Yeats seems to be treading this path. One of his latest books, entitled The Hour Glass and Other Plays, has called forth angry protest from some who still believe that literature is none the less literature if it is intelligible to men of ordinary common sense. One of these critics says: "There has come to be more than one point of resemblance between his work and M. Maeterlinck's; but the strongest is this nightmare of unreason which they both possess in common with delirium—these incoherent thoughts and nameless terrors, this strained expectancy and sense of portentousness in ordinary and indifferent objects, which we have all known in dream and fever, in the seances of spiritualists, in moments of great bodily depression, whenever our sanity is partially overcast or quite obscured." In concluding he says: "There seems to be no doubt that the old order is breaking up around us. Science, after depopulating heaven and hell, has finally proved unable to answer the riddle of creation; and the physical interpretation of things, which has kept humanity in some sort of hope for a century, has shown itself merely an illusion like another. . . . Literature reflects this state of uneasiness—as how should it not? When men are ignorant of what they desire it is hardly to be expected that they should write clearly, nor is it extraordinary that in their trouble and uncertainty they should mistake folly for wisdom, and the cravings of a queasy stomach for immortal longings."

Mr. Yeats will not like this insinuation, but he will heartily agree with the critic's admission that the old order in literature is breaking up. He distinctly recognizes the fact and glories in it. He says: "I remember that when I first began to write I desired to describe outward things as vividly as possible, and took pleasure, in which there was, perhaps, a little discontent, in

picturesque and declamatory books. And then quite suddenly I lost the desire of describing outward things, and found that I took little pleasure in a book unless it was spiritual and unemphatic. I did not then understand that the change was from beyond my own mind, but I understand now that writers are struggling all over Europe, though not often with a philosophic understanding of their struggle, against that picturesque and declamatory way of writing, against that 'externality' which a time of scientific and political thought has brought into literature." He traces this movement in France, where it is most noticeable; he mentions as representatives of the new movement Maeterlinck and Count Villiers De l'Isle Adam. He sees even in French painting evidence of this movement. "One sees everywhere," he says, "instead of the dramatic stories and picturesque moments of an older school, frail and tremulous bodies unfitted for the labor of life, and landscape where subtle rhythms of color and of form have overcome the clear outline of things as we see them in the labor of life." He finds in England evidences of the same movement. The old style of poetry is gone. The poetry of Browning and Tennyson and Swinburne and Shelley, poetry which, he says, "pushed its limits as far as possible and tried to absorb into itself the science and politics, the philosophy and morality of its time," is giving place to a new poetry which is always contracting rather than expanding its limits. The representatives of this new poetry in England are Rossetti, who began it, and his successors, Mr. Lang, Mr. Gosse, Mr. Dobson, Mr. Bridges. Such is the new movement, such are the leaders of the new movement. What is the new style? Not the style of Burns, not the robust common sense of Longfellow. Burns and Longfellow and the poets of this class are to be banished from this new Republic of Letters: "Despite his expressive speech, which sets him above all other popular poets, he [Burns] has the triviality of emotion, the poverty of ideas, the imperfect sense of beauty of a poetry whose most typical expression is in Longfellow. Longfellow has his popularity, in the main, because he tells his story or his idea so that one needs nothing but his verses to understand it." Ah, this fatal defect of clearness! In this new republic

we are to have, instead, words behind which will glimmer "a spiritual and passionate mood as the flame glimmers behind the dusky blue and red glass in an Eastern lamp." Count Villiers De l'Isle Adam has already created persons "from whom has fallen all even of personal characteristic except a thirst for that hour when all things shall pass away like a cloud, and a pride like that of the Magi following their star over many mountains." The characters of Villiers De L'Isle Adam are, then, clad only in pride and a thirst. "Maeterlinck," says Mr. Yeats, "has plucked away even this thirst and this pride and set before us faint souls, naked and pathetic shadows already half vapor, and sighing to one another upon the border of the last abyss." Mr. Yeats has not yet attained this virtuosity, although he is evidently striving hard to reach this land of disembodied literary spirits. His Michael still has a little breath left, for he can "blow a little noise when the supper has been spread." His Gabriel is still on speaking terms with the inhabitants of the deep, for

> "Gabriel will come from the water
> With a fish tail, and talk
> Of wonders that have happened
> On wet roads where men walk."

Such, in part, is the Gaelic revival in Ireland; such, in part, is William Butler Yeats, one of its leading representatives. It should be kept constantly in mind, however, that Mr. Yeats in his symbolism and his mysticism is not to be considered as the typical Irish writer of the present day. The poems of modern Irish poets nearly all demand of the reader, it is true, some knowledge of mythology and the popular religious beliefs, but the poems of such writers as Nora Hopper Chesson or Fiona Macleod are sufficiently lucid to give exquisite pleasure to the reader of cultivated literary tastes.

Joseph R. Taylor.

Art. III.—HENRY BASCOM RIDGAWAY

Ten years have passed since Dr. Ridgaway completed the record of his life on earth. We are accustomed to bury with appropriate eulogy such saints as he was and thereafter rarely make public mention of them except in an incidental way. We desire in this writing to set a different example, and to make record of a remarkable lifework years after it has ended. It is not the custom of Protestant churches to canonize their illustrious dead, but it is their glory and delight to perpetuate the memory of those "spirits of just men made perfect" who have exceptionally adorned the walks of Christian life and labor.

Henry B. Ridgaway was born in Talbot County, Maryland, September 7, 1830. His mother's maiden name was Mary Jump, and her father was a soldier of the Revolution, who after the war was chosen to represent his county during several sessions in the Legislature of his state. James Ridgaway, the father of Henry, was distinguished for unusual talent and great force of character. He was one of the best known and most successful farmers of the county, an earnest Christian, and for years an official member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. In naming their son these Christian parents showed their Methodistic affiliations and their admiration of the Rev. Henry Bascom, at that time probably the most popular pulpit orator in the United States and agent of the American Colonization Society. He had also been chaplain to Congress and president of Madison College, Pennsylvania, and he was subsequently elected a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Henry's early education was received in the public schools of Baltimore. He was graduated from the High School at the age of sixteen, entered Dickinson College in 1847, and was graduated in June, 1849. As a boy he was always conscientious and devout, and his young life was greatly influenced for good by the kindly attention and godly example of the principal of the High School in Baltimore. He was converted at the age of thirteen, and he seems to have been called and consecrated from childhood to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

At the college in Carlisle he came under the inspiring influence of Merritt Caldwell, John McClintock, and William Henry Allen, who left upon his soul for all after time the deep impress of their genius and power. Dr. Ridgaway was accustomed in his later years to speak often of those distinguished educators and describe his own feeling and work while under their instruction. Professor McClintock dazed him with his brilliancy, versatility, and immense learning. He declared that he could never feel at ease or make a creditable recitation with McClintock in the chair, but in the presence of Professor Allen he was always self-possessed and generally at his best. While yet a student in college he began to preach. For one year after his graduation he taught a common school, and in March, 1851, he was admitted on trial, with seventeen others, in the Baltimore Conference. His first appointment was to Winchester Circuit, with Thomas McGee as preacher in charge and George Hildt as his presiding elder. The next year he was sent to London Circuit, on the same district, with William Hirst as senior preacher. At the Conference of 1853 he was admitted into full connection, ordained deacon by Bishop Morris, and returned for a second year to London. In 1854 he was appointed with two others to the Summerfield Charge, on the Baltimore District, and in 1855 he was ordained elder by Bishop Waugh and made preacher in charge of North Baltimore Circuit, with the distinguished Henry Slicer for his presiding elder. The next year he was changed to another appointment of nearly the same name, but in the city of Baltimore—a charge consisting of three churches and constituting one of those city circuits which were quite common in those days. There were three preachers for this circuit, but they served the different churches on successive Sundays, according to a definite itinerant plan. It is interesting to notice among the nine presiding elders of the Baltimore Conference at this time the names of John Lanahan, John A. Collins, and John Poisal, while among the other leading members were Thomas Bowman, Thomas Sewall, Thomas B. Sargent, R. L. Dashiell, William B. Edwards, John Wilson, Charles Collins, and O. H. Tiffany. In 1857 the old Baltimore Conference was divided and the East Baltimore Conference was organized, by which arrangement the former North Baltimore

District became the East Baltimore District of the East Baltimore Conference, Henry Slicer still remaining the presiding elder and Henry B. Ridgaway remaining on the same charge but with different colleagues in the work. In 1858 he was stationed at High Street, where he remained two years, and at the close of his term of service there, in March, 1860, was transferred to the Maine Conference and appointed to Chestnut Street Church in the city of Portland. The thorough discipline and various associations of those earlier years exerted a mighty influence upon Ridgaway's entire subsequent career. Precious to him was the memory of the dear friends with whom he labored, and all the places of his Christian toil were holy ground. His large experience in circuit work not only gave him peculiar opportunities for cultivating his ability as a preacher and pastor, it also instilled in his heart an enthusiastic devotion to the Methodist itinerancy. No one ever questioned his loyalty to the doctrines and discipline of the church of his choice. He knew the character of the rough places of the ministry and the blessed friendships that come about through common suffering and toil. It was during those years, too, that he listened at times in awe and rapture to such men as John P. Durbin, Thomas H. Stockton, and Matthew Simpson. Probably no other preacher made so deep and lasting an impression upon him as Durbin, whose peculiar methods of preparing and delivering a sermon he studied with much care and sometimes made use of with great efficiency and skill. After those nine important years of service in the Baltimore Conferences he came, in the full strength of his young manhood, at the age of thirty, to the pastorate of the large and influential church in Portland, where a new and imposing edifice had recently been erected. Methodism was introduced into that city by Jesse Lee in 1793, but it was not until 1805 that the first Methodist church was builded there. Several new churches were organized from the original society, and the first church itself had rebuilded and enlarged its house of worship until, at the Conference of 1860, Chestnut Street Church, the real successor of the first society, reported 420 members, and the two other younger organizations, Pine Street and Congress Street Churches, numbered 487 members. It was a high compliment

to one so young that he should be placed in charge of the largest and most influential Methodist church in the state of Maine; but young Ridgaway proved himself equal to the work, and soon became widely known and greatly honored and beloved. As a natural result of his growing fame he was invited, two years later, to become the pastor of Saint Paul's Church in New York city, then doubtless the most wealthy and widely known Methodist congregation in the United States. This large society was the outgrowth of Mulberry Street Church, and its pulpit had been made famous by the ministry of Randolph S. Foster, Abiathar M. Osbon, Archibald C. Foss, John B. Hagany, and John McClintock. So efficient and successful did the young pastor prove himself in this responsible position that after an absence of four years he was invited to return, and he spent three years more in the care of that large parish, in which he was as greatly beloved as he was honored and admired. The charge of this conspicuous church made him distinguished among the thousands of Methodism and also commanded for him an honorable recognition among the ministers and members of other Christian bodies. He was often called to speak on public occasions and to represent his own church in the union meetings of the different denominations. It is saying very much to observe that his honored record at Saint Paul's was effectively repeated in every subsequent pastorate. He served for a full term Washington Square Church, one of the most popular, enterprising, and useful societies of New York Methodism; also, from 1871 to 1874, he was pastor of Saint James Church in New York city, which at that time had become scarcely second in influence and importance to any church in Methodism. In 1867–68 he served the church in Sing Sing, on the Hudson, and in 1874 to 1876 he was stationed at Saint James Church in the city of Kingston. In the autumn of 1876 he was transferred to the Cincinnati Conference and appointed to Saint Paul's Church in Cincinnati, and three years later was changed to Walnut Hills Church in the same city. In these two most conspicuous appointments of that Conference Dr. Ridgaway completed his pastoral labors of thirty-one consecutive years, thus consummating a record of very exceptional character. The foremost churches of American

Methodism were eager to secure his services, and his brethren in the ministry delighted to do him honor.

From the time of his first pastorate in New York, and his pleasant association there with some of the professors in Union Theological Seminary, Dr. Ridgaway was attracted to the kind of work which comes to those who are called to train young candidates for the Christian ministry. It was, therefore, with no small measure of gratification to himself and his friends that, in 1882, he was elected to the chair of historical theology in Garrett Biblical Institute. In the autumn of that year he entered into his labors in that new and untried field. With him the new vocation was to be no separation or retirement from the ministry of the gospel, but rather an advancement in a definite office and work of that ministry, and, withal, a position which, other qualifications being equal, an experienced pastor of the church is best fitted to occupy. He found at Evanston a faculty of most congenial associates. William X. Ninde was at that time the president and professor of practical theology, and Henry Bannister, Miner Raymond, Francis D. Hemenway, and Robert L. Cumnock were in charge of the other departments of instruction. Preaching the gospel had, however, become so habitual with Dr. Ridgaway that, in addition to his regular professorial work in the Institute, he served for a whole year as the pastor of the neighboring church in Willmette. Two years later he accepted in a similar way the charge of the church in South Evanston, and also, still later, of the First Church of Evanston. The election of Dr. Ninde to the episcopal office, in 1884, and the death of Dr. Bannister and of Dr. Hemenway brought about a number of changes in the faculty of the Institute. Dr. Ridgaway was, at his own request, transferred to the chair of practical theology, not, however, without expressing a measure of regret upon turning aside from the historical studies which were becoming to him more and more a labor of delight; but he was persuaded that his previous work as a pastor had furnished him with peculiar qualifications for the vacant chair of homiletics and pastoral theology. He brought to this department the rich accumulations of over thirty years' experience in the pastoral office. After Dr. Ninde's removal from

Evanston he became the acting chairman of the faculty, and in May, 1885, by the unanimous vote of faculty and trustees, he was made president of the Institute, and he held this position until the close of his life, in March, 1895. The ten years of his presidency of Garrett Institute were a period of manifold and strenuous toil. The necessary correspondence was very large. Tender regard for discouraged students, limited in their means of support, heaped many burdens on his heart and consumed months of his time in efforts to secure financial aid for the deserving. Probably the most conspicuous monument of his administration was the building of Memorial Hall. Students, teachers, trustees, alumni, and other friends of the Institute had for a long time felt the need of better accommodation for the work of the school, and three of the professors had pledged themselves to the amount of eight hundred dollars whenever the erection of a new building should be undertaken. Immediately after his election to the office of president Dr. Ridgaway began to agitate the movement, and upon receiving the approval and liberal support of the trustees he went about among the patrons and friends of the Institute to secure the necessary funds. The result was that what many have pronounced the most beautiful edifice on the campus of Northwestern University, known as Memorial Hall, was completed, paid for, and dedicated in May, 1887. The plan of this structure provided for chapel, library, reading room, recitation and lecture rooms, and a private study for each professor. During these years the number of students in attendance steadily increased until, in 1890, the registration in the Garrett Institute alone, aside from the students in the Norwegian-Danish and Swedish schools of theology, was one hundred and eighty-five. With all these students Dr. Ridgaway kept himself in very close relations. He drew the young men to him by his transparent goodness and the gentleness of his spirit. He helped them bear their burdens. With his high estimate of the work of the Christian pastor he could not be other than conscientiously faithful as a teacher of young ministers. Careful, even punctilious, in matters of detail, yet broad and sympathetic in his views, he was patient and kindly in his intercourse with all. He won the hearts

of the students, and commanded the profound respect of the faculty and the trustees of the Institute. His manner was always affable, but his convictions of truth and duty were very firm, and whenever occasion required he expressed them with great boldness and persistence. He believed that the supreme purpose of a theological seminary is to train young men to become efficient preachers and pastors. He admired real scholarship; he emphasized the importance of ample learning; he maintained that no minister of Christ could reasonably expect to magnify or adorn his high calling without diligent attention to study and the art of teaching. Nevertheless, he argued, the main purpose of the school of theology is not to produce great scholars, but rather great ministers of the gospel of Jesus Christ. The highest wisdom in the apostleship of the Lord Jesus is to know how to win the souls of men and build them up in righteousness and love. His personal relations with his colleagues in the faculty proved to be a powerful bond of union that held them all very close together. Tenderly affectioned toward all his brethren, he yet made manifest a noteworthy fidelity and a wealth of kindly feeling toward those who shared with him in the responsible work of the Institute. It was foreign to his nature to exhibit an arbitrary spirit, or to indulge in any personal or official assumptions of superiority. Time and again would he take pains to gratify the wishes of his brethren when he found that their judgment differed from his own. The ingenuousness of his heart, known and read by all, beamed forth with a quiet, charming power upon those who shared the privilege of his more intimate fellowship. This quality was the more engaging by reason of his genial manner and the beautiful purity of his character. Love for the Institute became more and more a ruling passion with him as the years went on. Whether at home or far away, in sickness or in health, his last thoughts at night and those which entered into his morning prayers were toward his beloved "school of the prophets."

Among his many labors Dr. Ridgaway wrote much for the various periodicals of the church and also published several volumes. Those writings added to his fame and influence in the Methodist ministry, and led, along with his other eminent services,

to public recognition in the way of honorary degrees. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Dickinson College in 1868, and that of Doctor of Laws from the same institution in 1889. He was a member of the editorial staff of The Methodist almost from the time that paper was established, in 1860. Among his elaborate and solid contributions to theological literature is his article on Vicarious Atonement in the Methodist Quarterly Review of October, 1871. In the same Review, for January, 1885, appears a sketch of the life and work of Bishop Simpson, written by the same facile pen. Among his published volumes the largest and most sumptuous is the narrative of his travels in Sinai and Palestine, which appeared in 1876 under the title of The Lord's Land. It is a most entertaining book, an octavo of 744 pages, prepared from the daily journals of his explorations in the fields of Holy Writ. Few travelers in those regions, especially in the Sinaitic peninsula and on the east of the Jordan, have enjoyed such opportunities of observation as were his. But in his Life of Alfred Cookman, which was published by Harper & Brothers in 1873, and in his Life of Edmund S. Janes, published in 1882, he appears at his best as a writer. For he possessed peculiar gifts for the writing of biography, and his intimate relations with those men of blessed memory qualified him in a special way for preparing the record of their saintly lives. The following editorial notice of the first of these biographies appeared in the Methodist Quarterly Review of October, 1873, and is a specimen of the comments which both these noteworthy books called forth at the time they were published. We quote but a few sentences as sufficient for our purpose here: "Among modern contributions to the biographical wealth of the church few are equal to Dr. Ridgaway's Life of Alfred Cookman. So beautiful a theme, in the hands of so ready a writer, could hardly fail to produce a beautiful result. The volume is eminently a delineation of character. It narrates little of incident, little of anecdote, nothing of adventure. The events and scenes which it describes all belong to the living present, and lack the enchantment which distance sometimes lends to the view. The author invites us simply to the contemplation of a human life in which divine grace wrought

a good work, and which shone more and more unto the perfect day. The biographer is to be congratulated, not only upon the pleasant character of the work set before him, but the success with which he has done it. To a kindred spirit we can imagine no more grateful task than the delineation of such a friend when he is gone from earth, but gone in such wise that it can hardly be said of him that he died, but rather that he was not, for God took him." Because of his eminence as preacher, educator, and writer it was matter of course that Dr. Ridgaway should have been frequently called upon to speak on public occasions. At the dedication of new churches he was in great demand. His most famous achievements as a public speaker were witnessed in the addresses he made at the anniversaries of various benevolent societies. On some of those occasions he wrought his audience up to a degree of enthusiasm quite akin to that which tradition reports of Summerfield, and George Cookman, and Henry Bascom. His lecture on Richard Cobden was delivered at many places and commanded attention in English journals. Mrs. Cobden read it, and expressed her opinion that it was the most gratifying and satisfactory tribute to her husband that she had seen. In 1870 Dr. Ridgaway visited the English Wesleyan Conference at Burslem. In 1882 he was the fraternal delegate of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and his address at Nashville, on that occasion, was able, masterly, and captivating. At the Centennial Methodist Conference, held in Baltimore, December, 1884, he read a valuable paper on the "Personnel of the Christmas Conference" held in that city one hundred years before. After speaking eloquently of Coke, and Whatcoat, and Garrettson, and many others whose personal qualities showed that "it is by the fellowship of souls that noble souls grow nobler," and after pronouncing Francis Asbury "the incarnation of the ecclesiastical genius and religious spirit of American Methodism," he concluded his address with the following words: "Deep as is the undying interest with which we read of the first council at Jerusalem, of the inspired men who composed it, men whose names are inseparably joined with Christ and Christianity and which must live through all time; impressed

as we are by the mighty persons at the first Ecumenical Conference—men gathered from city and cave and desert, some sightless and others armless, the confessors of Christ who did then and there stamp orthodoxy upon Christendom, to go down through the ages—yet we violate neither sound sense nor good taste when we claim for these holy men who organized the Methodist Episcopal Church a position on the roll of great councils of which these were the forerunners. For who can compute the results which must accrue to the world as the various Methodisms, which are traceable in their descent from that conference, go forward in the fulfillment of their respective providential missions?"

Ridgaway's peculiar gifts and methods as a preacher were often matters of comment, and sometimes of adverse criticism. We have said that he was much influenced in his early ministry by the pulpit triumphs of John P. Durbin. It was a theory and the common habit of that remarkable preacher to begin his public discourse in a manner not adapted to awaken much interest in the ordinary hearer. He sought rather, at the first, to allay any emotion or undue expectation, and by a series of commonplace remarks to prepare the way for stirring the deeper feeling as he advanced to his designed effectual climax. Sometimes, as he himself confessed, his method failed to reach the desired result. Dr. Ridgaway sincerely believed that this method of sermonizing is a very proper one. He argued that "you must not trot right off at the start if you expect to come in successfully on the home stretch." Begin slowly, he would say, and so provide for the deeper and more lasting impression at the close. He wrote an essay on "The Sermon as a Work of Art," and in his sketch of Bishop Simpson he maintains that "preaching, when really eloquent, appeals to the æsthetic nature of man. As an art it has its foundation in the higher susceptibilities of human nature, precisely as music, or painting, or any other fine art has." Whatever one may think of this theory of a sermon, or however he may question even the propriety of speaking of a burning gospel message of salvation as a work of art, there was little room to question the success of the theory when put to its test in the actual preaching of Dr. Ridgaway. It was always noticeable at the beginning of his

discourse that his face wore an expression of calm self-control. His manner was engaging, his voice pleasant, his language choice; so that even when he talked with a slowness of deliberation that did not promise stirring results, the modulation of his tones of voice was never, as in the habit of Durbin, adapted to provoke unfavorable criticism. He would sometimes proceed for half an hour or more in his slow, measured style, but every proposition advanced was a preparation for the concluding climax. By and by his countenance would light up, his language would take on an element of passion, his whole spirit and soul and body would glow with contagious emotion, he would introduce figures of speech and illustrations certain to arouse the most listless hearer, and as he thus hastened on he himself became the more impassioned, and indeed transfigured, by the truth and glory of his message. Often, in the best days of his strength, he found both himself and his large audience carried away together into heights of uncontrollable emotion. The writer recalls a scene witnessed at an anniversary of the Church Extension Society held in Peekskill, New York, in April, 1871, during the session of the New York Conference. Dr. Ridgaway had spoken for the space of half an hour and had commanded silent attention but increasing interest, when suddenly, by a few magnetic strokes of his art, the large audience became fervidly responsive to the moving power of his speech, and were carried helplessly on from climax to climax until their emotion broke the bounds of silence, and one venerable superannuate, leaning upon the top of his staff, shouted aloud, "Thank God! that is good enough!" Thereupon the excitement became so intense that the speaker felt it best for him to cease, and he gracefully said, "Well, if that is good enough I have probably said enough;" and he sat down amid the plaudits of his brethren. But whatever were the efficiency and success of the theory and methods of his preaching, the great, strong element in the personality of Dr. Ridgaway was his transparent goodness. Back of every sermon and address stood the man of pure heart and blameless life. And here, probably better than at any other place in this sketch, we may enumerate those distinguished qualities which were recognized by all who enjoyed his intimate fellowship: 1. There was in

him a native nobleness of nature that could not stoop to anything low or mean. By the laws of heredity some men are better born than others, and the fact shows itself in physical and mental traits and in dispositions and temperament. With such a nature to begin with, the grace of God wrought in him a beauty and purity of life, a goodness of heart, a sweetness of spirit, and a tender regard for the feelings of others which all showed themselves in a simplicity and refinement of manner that commanded profoundest esteem. 2. He possessed in an eminent degree what the apostle speaks of as "love without hypocrisy," and "love of the brethren," which consists in being "tenderly affectioned one to another." The affectionateness of his heart was a transparent power by which all his other social qualities became the more impressive. What royal welcome he could give a friend, and do it without the slightest affectation! The wealth of his affection shone forth with special brilliancy in the domestic circle, but it was also felt in all manner of brotherly kindness toward the passing stranger, toward all his neighbors, toward his colleagues in the faculty, toward the students of the Institute, the weakest and least promising of whom seemed at times the object of his deepest yearning. 3. His openheartedness was as noticeable as the warmth of his affection. He appreciated the charms of manner, and cultivated them for worthy ends; but it was not in him to plan or practice the art of dissimulation. Genuine frankness was the habit of his mind, and it imparted to his religious life the element of saintliness. One of his lifelong Baltimore friends declared: "I have known a great many good men, but I think Ridgaway has the whitest soul I ever knew. He is like a dewdrop that is filled with sunshine. I am a better man from having known him. He cannot know how his kind friendship has enriched my life." 4. Dr. Ridgaway was a man of progressive spirit and naturally fell in with all reform movements as a matter of Christian principle. His voice was often and eloquently lifted against the evils of the liquor traffic and against all iniquity, in high places or in low. He delighted to encourage all measures looking to the elevation of human society and to the purification of the body politic. He approved of the ballot for women, and he was a particular friend of the founders

and managers of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. He favored the admission of women to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He delighted to welcome the gifted women of the church to his pulpit, and would have put no obstacles in the way of licensing and ordaining them as ministers of the gospel. Whether one agreed with him or not in any question or measure of reform, the sincerity of his thought and action was never for a moment a matter of doubt among his closest friends. 5. It should be mentioned further that he was, in habitual and exceptional ways, a man of prayer. He was very familiar with the inner chamber and secret place of the Most High, where the true worshiper is recompensed with the promise of the Father. And what holy fervor, strong faith, and tender feeling were poured forth in his public prayers! In the pulpit, in the chapel service, in the prayer meeting, and in the private circle he would talk familiarly with God, as a prophet who was at home in the divine presence. And thousands of thousands who joined with him in those fervent supplications felt, through his words of prayer, an uplifting influence and a heavenly balm. Bishop Foss spoke feelingly of these qualities in his address at the funeral. "How sweetly and gently," he observed, "but how strongly and clearly he brought the gospel in the scriptures he read, in the tones of his voice, in the prayers he offered. I never knew a man more fit to carry comfort into the cultured home, and into any home. I never knew a pastor better fitted to bear the solaces of religion to the sick and the dying, or to minister at a funeral, than Henry B. Ridgaway. In homes like that of Bishop Janes, in which he ministered as pastor for many years to the invalid wife and daughter, and at the deathbed of the bishop himself, how he was beloved!"

It remains for us to speak of yet another and a very sacred part of the life of H. B. Ridgaway. The efficiency of his ministrations in the pastorate and the usefulness of his work in the theological school were immeasurably enhanced by reason of his domestic felicity and the generous hospitality of his home. While yet a student in college he became engaged to Rosamond, daughter of Professor Merritt Caldwell. The engagement ring with which he pledged and symbolized his firm attachment bore the striking

inscription JEHOVAH-JIREH. When given its literal interpretation (*Jehovah will see*), the motto may now be seen to have contained the significant prediction of a wedded life so guarded by the God of heaven as to have been from first to last the unmistakable ordering of the everlasting Father. They were united in marriage February 22, 1855, and for forty years thereafter their lives flowed on together like the waters of a joyous rippling stream. In Baltimore, in Portland, in New York, in Cincinnati, and in Evanston their home was ever as a sacred haunt. Refinement and elegance marked the ordinary routine of the domestic life, friends were always welcome, and nothing seemed to delight both Dr. and Mrs. Ridgaway more than to gather around their table a large number of guests. Such gatherings were of frequent occurrence, and not only distinguished visitors, the wise, the learned, the reverend, men and women known to fame, but also the poor, the neglected, the bashful and retiring were frequent partakers of their generous hospitality. As soon as Dr. Ridgaway was elected to his professorship in Evanston he proceeded to build there a house of his own. Into that handsome residence he and his wife studied to embody their ideals of what an inviting house and home should be, and one chief aim seems to have been to make its various apartments and furnishings contribute in the best way to the entertainment of visitors and friends. To that delightful home came many a stranger and found a cordial welcome. Many a needy, timid, doubting student entered there, beset with his heavy burden, but went away with a glad heart, filled with new inspiration and encouragement. And those two generous hosts never appeared more cheerful than when imparting real help to others. They truly found it more blessed to give than to receive. Their wedded life was not blessed with children of their own, but the fatherless and motherless of more than one broken household found in them the tender sympathy and the substantial help that rarely come to the orphan in such times of need.

Dr. and Mrs. Ridgaway were privileged above most others to travel both in their native land and abroad. In 1870, during a summer vacation of his second pastorate in Saint Paul's, New York, they spent three months in Great Britain and on the continent

of Europe. This taste of foreign life and observation filled them both with strong desire to see more of the great world, especially of Europe and the East. About the Yuletide of 1873 they left New York for a long and somewhat perilous tour. They passed through England and Europe on their way, lingered a while in Italy and Rome, crossed the Mediterranean to Alexandria, went up the Nile as far as the first cataract and back again to Cairo, where, about the first of March, 1874, they separated for forty days, he to make the journey of the Sinaitic desert, she to go directly to Joppa and thence to Jerusalem to await his coming to the holy city by a longer route. Few travelers through the wilderness of the Exodus have been favored as were those twelve men who made the journey in March and April of that year. Professor James Strong, of Drew Theological Seminary, was leader of the party, and among the others were Dr. S. M. Vail, formerly of the Concord Biblical Institute and at that time consul in Rhenish Bavaria, and the Rev. Dr. Chambers, of New York. They followed the usual route from Suez to the traditional Mount Sinai, thence on to the fortress of Akabah, and thence to Petra, the ancient stronghold of the mountains of Edom. From Petra they journeyed northward to Hebron and Jerusalem. Aside from those places and routes which are seen by most tourists, it was the rare privilege of Dr. Ridgaway's party to make an extensive trip across the Jordan, eastward, and traverse the country from Mount Gilead to the stronghold of Kerak, around the southern end of the Dead Sea, and back by way of Masada and Engedi. On leaving Jerusalem the party passed through central and northern Palestine, visited Damascus and Baalbec and the cedars of Lebanon, and finished their travels in "the Lord's land" with a rest of several days at Beirut, the beautiful seaport city of Syria. From that place they returned homeward, taking in the cities of Smyrna, Ephesus, Constantinople, Athens, and Trieste on their way. In later years, while president of Garrett Institute, Dr. Ridgaway accomplished many journeys in his homeland. Among them was an extensive tour, in company with his wife, to the southern Pacific Coast and thence northward as far as the great glacier of Alaska. Meantime these two had planned together

for a longer journey—a trip around the world—and in 1892 the way opened to accomplish this desire. They returned in the autumn of 1893.

Twice during this long journey Dr. Ridgaway's health had given cause for apprehension. In Rome and in Japan he was obliged to suspend his travel and modify his plans. For many anxious days, in Japan, his life seemed to be hanging upon very slender threads. But he rallied and pursued his homeward way, and, though much wearied and worn by the long journeys and sickness by the way, reached his home full of enthusiasm for the work that now seemed to open before him with greater promise than at any previous time. The year sped rapidly away, and his labors during that last year of his active service bore evidences of his usual efficiency and holy consecration. His new ambition was to make the latest years of his life the best of all, and to make the accumulations of travel and observation and varied experience contribute to his highest possible usefulness. The Commencement of 1894 came on in due time; its cares and joys were met with his usual urbanity and cheerfulness; his last address to the graduating class was spoken with remarkable fervor. But no sooner had the pressure and excitements of that Commencement ceased than he began to languish. There soon followed a general collapse of his physical energy, and he hastened away to seek rest and recuperation at Clifton Springs, New York; but after many weeks of careful treatment he found no promise of returning strength. Then followed weary days of anxious seeking here and there to obtain the counsel of the best known physicians, until at last, in Philadelphia, it became apparent to all whom he consulted that there was nothing better for him to do than to return at once to the quiet and comfort of his Evanston home.

As the end drew nigh his soul seemed often to revel in dreams and visions of beauty. He would speak of charming landscapes, and healthful mountain breezes, and springs of living water. "The end is approaching," he said one day; "the great change is near. I do not understand it; it is all a great breaking up. But there is nothing to do, nothing to say. I can only rest in my faith in God, in Christ, in immortality." At another time he

calmly whispered: "O, this great change! Immortality! Immortality! Of all the friends gone before no word has come back from the world beyond, only from my Saviour. With the Bible it is all made plain. The Bible has been my one companion and guide. With the first money I ever earned I bought a Bible of my own. Upon its truths my heart has always rested." In such calm, blessed Christian faith, and with his soul lit up with visions of heavenly glory, he gently fell on sleep, March 30, 1895.

"Dead he lay among his books!
The peace of God was in his looks."

In Rose Hill Cemetery, six miles south of Evanston, near the monuments that mark the graves of Bishop William L. Harris and President Joseph Cummings, rises a modest but beautiful granite shaft surmounted with a floriated cross, the transverse beams of which appear to be fastened together by a solid circle inwrought within the stone. Underneath the complex sacred symbol of sacrifice and immortality we read the following inscription:

HENRY BASCOM RIDGAWAY
AN ABLE MINISTER OF THE NEW TESTAMENT
For Thirty Years
A PASTOR OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH
For Ten Years
PRESIDENT OF GARRETT BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

The tearful friend who stands before that monument and looks upon the place where that which was mortal mingles with the dust thinks rather of the imperishable spirit, and hears a heavenly voice whispering the blessed assurance of the Christian heart: He is not here; he is risen; he has gone before you into the everlasting habitations.

Milton S. Terry

Art. IV.—THE YELLOW PERIL

The "yellow peril," like Minerva, sprang full-fledged from an imperial brain. When the versatile and volatile Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany sketched with his own hand that famous cartoon of the "yellow peril" with the dramatic appeal, "Nations of Europe, guard your most precious possessions!" his fertile, frenzied brain brought forth this colossal phantom, which has been frightening the uninformed and superstitious ever since. In this cartoon the Kaiser represents the winged archangel Michael as holding an inverted flaming sword in one hand, as he addresses a group of mail-clad females, personifying the Christian nations of Europe, armed with sword, spear, and shield, while his other hand points away to the Far East. There—"placid, satisfied, serene"—sits Buddha in a halo of flashing flame, enveloped by threatening clouds whose darkness is rendered more visible by vivid flashes of lightning. From the ground beneath rise lurid conflagrations of cities and towns, while over the startled European Amazons appears the cross in the skies, as if urging them on to a new crusade against the infidels. Michael is standing near the brink of a precipice, overlooking a vast inhabited plain through which flows a river like the Rhine. In fact, the landscape of the panorama vividly resembles that from the heights west of the aristocratic university town of Bonne, on the Rhine, where the German emperor, when crown prince, spent his collegiate days. Whether he diligently studied the classics there or not, it is evident that he learned to give loose rein to his imagination. This fancy sketch of such a startling, spasmodic specter was soon followed by the spectacular display of his "mailed fist." Kiaochao, a fine harbor on the northeast coast of China, with its extensive hinterland, was actually exploited, grabbed, or, in decalogic terms, stolen by *force majeur* from the Chinese. Now, when one bears in mind that all Chinese territory belongs theoretically to the emperor of China it is evident that the Chinese have a different point of view. Until recently, in conformity to Chinese law, not a square foot of Chinese land could be sold to any foreigner. The usual terms used were "perpetual mortgage"

or "everlasting lease." Magistrates have been degraded or removed from office simply because they have inadvertently allowed the little word "buy" or "sell" to be inserted in the official documents for the transfer of real estate to foreigners. This fact helps to reveal the standpoint of the Chinaman opening his eyes in consternation at such high-handed dealings by "foreign devils" or European nations in appropriating large slices of his native land. The old rhyme is applicable here:

> In vain we call old notions fudge,
> And bend our conscience to our dealing.
> The Ten Commandments will not budge,
> And stealing will continue stealing.

This imperial cartoon exhibits the cities of Christendom burning from the fire-encircled Buddha. Surely the Kaiser must be suffering from a severe attack of jaundice if he can detect symptoms of the "yellow peril" emanating from calm, contemplative Buddha, the incarnation of the annihilation of all human passions in order to attain to the blissful though impassive heights of Nirvana, and can arouse his soporific Holiness to enlist the yellow race upon a mad career of pillage and burning. His celebrated grandfather, William I, chose as his prime minister the Iron Chancellor, Bismarck. The present Kaiser, in this erratic whim of his, seems to have selected as his confidential adviser Baron Munchausen.

Other Western nations had been acting on the principle that "might makes right," but with no fear of the "yellow peril" before their eyes. France in 1884 had, in the harbor off Foochow, fired into and sunk all the Chinese southern squadron except one man-of-war, without having made any previous declaration of war. Is it any wonder, then, that Japan in initiating the present war in the Far East has shown, off Port Arthur, that she has learned this lesson in modern naval tactics by imitating the example set by France twenty years ago? Russia later followed by seizing Port Arthur and Manchuria, which rightfully should have reverted to Japan, as the legitimate spoils of war, in 1895. England had already displayed the same exploiting spirit by seizing Hongkong, as a sequence of the iniquitous opium war, so that later she imitated Russia by seizing and fortifying Wei-hai-wei. To-day, however, in the development

of the modern scientific theory of evolution, Japan steps boldly to the front and the whole world stands amazed. If the popular theory of "the survival of the fittest" be correct, then Japan ought to preserve the integrity of China, drive usurping Russia out of Manchuria, help restore to China the territories wrested from her by European powers, and lead the yellow races in asserting and maintaining their inherent rights.

What, then, is this "yellow peril"? Ignorant popular opinion, like the above-mentioned jaundiced vision of the Kaiser, conjures up a demon causing an irresistible irruption of the yellow race, China, Korea, and Japan, overwhelming Christendom with devastation and destruction. "History repeats itself." History tells strange tales of the wild Scythian hordes of ancient times and of the fierce barbaric tribes of Vandals, Goths, and Huns of the dark ages. This "yellow peril" is to be a modern repetition, on a grand scale, of these awful, inhuman atrocities. This imaginary demon, like a besom of destruction, is with one fell swoop to destroy every vestige of Christian civilization. These alarmists sometimes strive to lessen the dire extremity of their "yellow peril." Hon. Fritz Cunliffe Owen, formerly of the diplomatic service, in a recent magazine article states that "It is a realization of the dream 'Asia for the Asiatics,'" but later on, in the same article, he is allured by this *ignis fatuus* to state that Japanese success "would lead to the further organization of the Chinese millions, under Japanese direction, into a military entity whose power, once aroused and mobilized, *would dwarf into insignificance any horde of conquerors that the world has ever seen.*" His point of view will readily be seen from the following extracts: "He (the Asiatic) will believe that *the oppression of the white man is about to be destroyed* at last." Again he says: "The great issue involved in the present war is not the control of Korea and Manchuria, nor even of China, but the question whether *the white man is to dominate Asia*, as heretofore, *or submit to the native.*" As Americans, we sincerely desire "the oppression of the white man" over the Asiatic to cease, and if this war in the Far East brings that result to the yellow race, all the better. This writer apparently sees no alternative for the white man but to dominate or submit to the native. The American

idea of equality is not in all thoughts. Baron Ernest von Hesse-Wartegg, Austrian Commissioner to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, voiced, before the Twentieth Century Club in Chicago, warnings of the dangers which would threaten the United States and the entire white race in the event of a Japanese triumph in the war against Russia. The animus of Austria in regard to American ideas was well illustrated by the designed omission of the name of our martyred President McKinley in the formal speech of the Austrian minister of foreign affairs, Goluchowski, before the Imperial Diet, because being only a President, elected by the people, McKinley did not deserve to rank with royal personages. Austrian political ideals certainly differ radically from American. As might be expected, a Russian professor, I. A. Sikorsky, in an elaborate article in a Saint Petersburg quarterly, Voproci Psichologiy (Questions of Psychology), holds a similar view. He avers that nature "has relegated the Hun and the Mongol to the rear and given first place to superior races." "Japan is of an inferior race, and her triumph would be unnatural—a triumph of reaction and inferiority. This war is, in the deepest sense, a racial war, and the Russian represents the cause of the white man against the yellow man."

Sir Robert Hart, the inspector-general of the imperial customs of China, is the most influential and by many regarded as the best informed British subject on Chinese affairs; writing shortly after relief came to the besieged in Peking he says: "The Boxer patriot of the future will possess the best weapons that money can buy, and then the 'yellow peril' will be beyond ignoring." "Twenty millions or more of Boxers, armed, drilled, disciplined, and animated by patriotic—if mistaken—motives, will make residence in China impossible for foreigners, will take back from foreigners everything foreigners have taken from China, will pay off old grudges with interest, and will carry the Chinese flag and Chinese arms into many a place that even fancy will not suggest to-day, thus preparing, for the future, upheavals and disasters never even dreamed of. In fifty years' time there will be millions of Boxers in serried ranks and war's panoply, at the call of the Chinese government: there is not the slightest doubt of that! And, if the Chinese government continues to exist, it will encourage—and it will be quite right to

encourage, uphold, and develop this national movement; it bodes no good for the rest of the world, but China will be acting within its right and will carry through the national programme. Nothing but partition—a difficult and unlikely international settlement—or a miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form—a not impossible, but scarcely to-be-hoped-for religious triumph—will defer, will avert this result." That Sir Robert Hart should be affrighted by the apparition of the "yellow peril" is, under the circumstances, not at all strange. After having passed six weeks under the spell of the Boxers, "animated," as he says, "by patriotic—if mistaken—motives," during that awful siege at Peking, most naturally would he, or anyone else, be at first dazed at this specter of the "yellow peril." To the German, Austrian, and Russian this specter will not down, but Sir Robert Hart is not entirely overawed nor unmanned by the apparition, for he sees a power which can effectually annihilate it. Glorious flashes of light, heralding the dawn of a brighter day when the Sun of righteousness shall arise with healing on his winged rays and the shades of darkness shall forever disappear, illumine the horizon. The true hope for China and for the world is, as he expresses it, "Christianity in its best form." Sir Robert had lived long enough in China to recognize the laborious, unselfish, and self-sacrificing efforts of Christian missionaries, and agreed with his influential, observant American friend, Colonel Charles Denby, thirteen years United States Minister to China, who said concerning Christian missionaries in China, "I unqualifiedly, and in the strongest language that tongue can utter, give to these men and women, who are living and dying in China and in the Far East, my free and unadulterated commendation." Hence he affirmed that such a religious triumph of Christianity is "not impossible."

Now, in order to know what the danger of the so-called "yellow peril" really is, we must ascertain the real spirit or animus of the yellow races. War usually is the result of the clashing of spirits antagonistic to each other. If war threatens the white races from the yellow races it must be either a religious or a racial conflict. The utter absurdity of the devotees of the nonresisting, meditative Buddha initiating a religious war has already been shown. The history of India in former times and of Japan in our day corroborates

the fact that Buddhism does not engender a martial spirit for religious strife. Then the danger must arise from a racial war between the yellow and white races. Do the advocates of this theory of a racial war believe that history teaches that because men are of one and the same race war and strife will therefore cease? The bloody feuds in Kentucky occur between men of the same stock, traditions, and religion. The terrible French Revolution was a fraternal strife. Likewise was our late civil war, when brother fought against brother, and men of the same race, language, and religion fought, for four long years, to kill each other, until slavery was "a lost cause" and General Grant said, "Let us have peace!" Being of the same race does not preclude war, nor, on the other hand, does being of different races necessarily precipitate war. Blacks and whites fought side by side against a common foe on the wire-tangled slopes of San Juan hill at Santiago, Cuba. Why? Simply because they were united by the same spirit.

Just here it is essential that we examine into the spirit of these yellow races, so as to ascertain what are the salient national traits of these countries, China, Korea, and Japan. In this way we are likely to find out where lurks the real danger to Christendom and Christianity. If these nations really exhibit an active or latent spirit of hostility against the white race, then let us, without further delay, join in the aggressive crusade inaugurated by the "mailed fist" of the German Kaiser. China with her toiling millions first passes in review. By nature and tradition she is a lover of peace. The great majority of her enormous population is engaged in agriculture, and agriculture is generally considered to be a peaceful occupation. The Chinese are adepts in agriculture in its intensive form, being especially skilled in producing large results by rotation of crops and proper fertilization of the soil. Even in foreign lands, as in Vladivostock, Siberia, Hongkong, and Singapore, the Chinese excel as market gardeners. That keen observer, Arthur H. Smith, author of Chinese Characteristics, says: "The Chinese farmer is industrious with an industry which it would be difficult to surpass." He "bestows the most painstaking thought and care upon every separate stalk of cabbage, picking off carefully each minute insect, thus, at last, tiring out the ceaseless swarms by his own greater

perseverance, . . . that he may have something for his stomach and for his back, and for other stomachs and backs that are wholly dependent upon him. Those who have occasion to travel where cart roads exist will often be obliged to rise soon after midnight and pursue their journey, for such, they are told, is the custom. But no matter at what hour one is on the way there are small bodies of peasants patrolling the roads, with fork in hand and basket on back, watching for opportunities to collect a little manure. When there is no other work pressing this is an invariable and an inexhaustible resource." Thus is this peaceful pursuit of agriculture assiduously practiced by the millions, young and old, of China.

The religions of China place righteousness above war or valor, and most highly esteem filial piety even if exaggerated into ancestral worship. In the Confucian Analects a disciple of this renowned sage is described as asking him the question, "Does the superior man esteem valor?" Confucius replied, "*The superior man holds righteousness to be of highest importance.* A man in a superior situation having valor without righteousness will be guilty of insubordination, one of the lower people having valor without righteousness will commit robbery." This principle of right superior to might pervades Chinese society. Ordinarily if two Chinamen begin to quarrel one or more peacemakers will almost invariably appear on the scene and at once endeavor to separate and pacify the belligerents. Hence it is quite natural that in the higher ranks of society a civil mandarin always ranks higher than a military mandarin. The antiquity of China is unique in history, and if we can ascertain the reason therefor it will be found to work for peace and not for war. God's providence has most wonderfully preserved this great nation, whose most prominent national characteristic is filial piety. "Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee," is the first commandment with promise. This command has been more faithfully observed by China than by any other nation. Where, to-day, are the once flourishing nations of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome? All have passed away as autonomies and were long since consigned to ancient history. Archæological and ethnological societies may vie with each other in searching

amid their buried ruins for relics of their past glory and power, monumental evidence, cylindrical books, and chiseled tablets may be collected and deposited in the great museums of Europe and America, but these nations, as such, have long ago ceased to exist. If their languages can be deciphered they are only dead languages, while China, on the other hand, in her language, literature, and laws, is practically the same to-day as she was centuries before the Christian era. God's wonderful protective care has been constantly extended over this populous, peaceful nation, practicing filial piety. Is there anyone, aware of this significant fact, who dares to assert that China, by thus prizing this national trait of filial piety, even in its extreme form of ancestral worship, is thereby cherishing a spirit more warlike than peaceful?

Learning is more highly prized in China than in other lands. When one learns that the highest official positions are open to nearly all who can pass the educational tests of the civil service examinations he understands why the young boys and men of the Chinese empire prize education so highly. So great is the reverence of the Chinese for learning that it is a breach of etiquette to allow a piece of paper having characters on it to lie on the ground. Societies exist which provide receptacles for waste written or printed paper, which is sedulously gathered and deposited, and on certain propitious days is burned up. Once while taking lunch in a temple in the delectable mountains of Kiu-hua-shan, in central China, where the scenery greatly reminded us of the Catskills in New York, we chanced to let fall on the dirt floor a soiled piece of printed paper. Quickly noticing this, a Chinaman picked it up, not without allowing us to incur his censure for our barbaric deed. The national primer, San-tzu-ching, is committed to memory by every Chinese lad who enters upon the road of learning. Well do I remember the pardonable pride of a certain Chinaman at Kiukiang, China, who brought his little brother before me that I might hear him recite the San-tzu-ching. Being winter, the little urchin was clad in cumbrous cotton-wadded garments, so that he looked almost as wide as he was tall. Nimbly facing about with his back toward me, and constantly swaying from side to side, this little Chinese tot glibly recited the entire "trimetrical classic." The following extract may serve as a

specimen of its inspiring sentiments: "Even the sages of antiquity studied with diligence. Clao, a minister of state, read the Confucian Dialogues; he too, though high in office, studied assiduously. One copied lessons on reeds, another on slips of bamboo. These, though without books, eagerly sought knowledge. (To vanquish sleep) one tied his head (by the hair) to a beam, and another pierced his thigh with an awl. Though destitute of instructors, these were laborious in study. One read by a glowworm's light, another by reflection from snow. These, though their families were poor, did not omit to study. One carried fagots, and another tied his books to a cow's horn, and while thus engaged in labor studied with intensity." The famous Confucian classics, inculcating morality and teaching jurisprudence, are, in due order, mastered by the plodding, ambitious scholar. In comparison with the ancient writings of India, Greece and Rome they are remarkable in the absence of the vulgar and obscene. Some of their poetry is truly of a high order of excellence. Take, as an example, an ode composed by Wan-wang, about 1000 B. C., which may remind us of a more modern production on a similar topic. It is entitled The Sweet Pear Tree.

O! Fell not that sweet pear tree!
See how its branches spread!
Spoil not its shade,
For Shao's chief laid
Beneath it his weary head.

O! Clip not that sweet pear tree!
Each twig and leaflet spare—
'Tis sacred now,
Since the Lord of Shao,
When weary, rested him there.

O! Touch not that sweet pear tree!
Bend not a twig of it now;
There, long ago,
As the stories show,
Oft halted the chief of Shao.

The familiar lines beginning, "Woodman, spare that tree!" are, by this poet, anticipated by nearly three millenniums. Throughout China there is no system of public schools. Many schools are started by wealthy parents for their sons, and other pupils are allowed for a small sum to attend. Other schools are supported by well-to-do

Chinese as meritorious deeds. The attractive incentives to study are honor, office, and immunity from corporal punishment, obtained through the civil service examinations. District, provincial, and national examinations, if successfully passed, open the door to rank and office. Yung-Wing, projector of the Chinese educational commission to the United States, whose headquarters were at Hartford, Connecticut, and who afterward became Chinese Minister at Washington, D. C., was the son of a poor widow living near Canton. So poor was she that she would frequently keep this son of hers away from school in order that he might go on the hillsides and pick up the roots of grass and weeds, so to procure fuel with which to cook their daily food. Dr. S. R. Brown told me that, having learned these facts, he made an arrangement with his mother by which he gave her a few *cash* per day for purchasing fuel, and the boy, who thus early exhibited a bright intellect, was allowed to continue at school. Throughout China there is no aristocracy of wealth, rank, or caste. Only the aristocracy of intellect prevails. The son of a poor cooly as well as the son of a rich mandarin may compete in this intellectual tournament. Whoever succeeds, whether of rich or poor lineage, may, provided he has the brains, attain a position next to the emperor himself.

Allowing all these excellencies in the Chinese educational system, there are, however, also lamentable deficiencies. Especially is this evident along the lines of science and religion. Science, as we understand it in its modern state of development, does not exist now in China. The Confucian classics are ignorant of divine forgiveness of sin, of the life beyond the grave, and of constraining love. Once a disciple of Confucius came to this conservative sage and asked him concerning sin. The only consolation Confucius gave him was this: "He who sins against Heaven has no one to whom he can pray." How different from Bunyan's Pilgrim, who felt the burden of sin roll away as he came in sight of the cross of Christ! At another time, a disciple inquired of him concerning the future life. Confucius replied, "If we know not the present life, how can we know the future?" Honest words, frankly spoken. No man, however wise in this world's wisdom, can, unaided by divine revelation, describe with certainty the life beyond the grave.

Philosophers of all nations may surmise and speculate, but, as Gibbon candidly stated in his famous fifteenth chapter of The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, "It was still necessary that the doctrine of life and immortality, which had been dictated by nature, approved by reason, and received by supersitition, should obtain the sanction of divine truth from the authority and example of Christ." Self-renouncing love, as exemplified on the cross of Christ, is no more to be found in Confucianism than in any other heathen religion or philosophy. True it is that Confucius formulated what is sometimes styled the Silver Rule, in contrast to the Golden Rule of Christ. One is negative, the other is positive. The Silver Rule of Confucius shines clear and serene, like the silvery moon, but its rays are cool and chilly. The Golden Rule of Christ shines like the sun in its noontide glory, infusing everywhere life, warmth, and cheer. The one is like the priest and Levite, who, seeing the wounded traveler by the wayside, did him no harm, but unsympathetically passed by on the other side. The other is like the Good Samaritan, who, "when he saw him, had compassion on him," and tenderly cared for him, treating him, not like a despised alien of inferior race, but like a brother; for are they not all children of the same heavenly Father?

From this cursory glance at China's millions, influenced by Confucianism, prizing education, exhibiting the virtue of filial piety, and busily engaged in agriculture, have we been able to discover any bacilli of such a devastating, warlike spirit as pervaded the Huns? If we look around us in our own land, whither some Chinamen have come, do we find the Chinaman, like the Celt, pugnaciously pushing himself upon the police force of our great cities? Somehow or other, we do not read in the daily press of these Chinamen enlisting in great numbers in our rapidly developing army and navy. Let, however, peace be the topic under consideration, and, lo! the Chinaman is in evidence. In New York city, on October 12 last, Cooper Institute was packed with an enthusiastic audience to listen to speeches by delegates to the International Peace Congress, and, behold, China was there, and represented on the platform by a woman. In referring to this meeting the New York Times said: "Little Dr. Kim, from China, with a new set of gorgeous Oriental robes, made a graceful speech,

and amazed and captivated the audience. If the audience were expecting the 'yellow peril' to be exhibited on the platform they were woefully disappointed." Why they were "amazed" the reporter does not explain, but it was at her eloquence and appreciation of the risk of the "white peril" now encountered by her native land. This love of peace being a national trait of the Chinese, we pass over to Korea, and find practically the same influences at work there. Geographically placed between the upper and nether millstones of China and Japan, Korea's political aspirations have long since been ground to powder.

Turning now to Japan, a marvelous transformation scene greets our vision. Japan has already discarded her kimono, the two swords of the Samurai, the kango, and the junk. To-day the cultured Japanese dresses in European clothes of the most fashionable style, his soldiers are equipped with weapons of most modern type, he travels through his entrancingly picturesque country on well managed railway trains, while his fast, finely furnished steamers plow the waters of the Inland and other Oriental seas, as well as Occidental oceans. Captain Frank Brinkley, editor of the Japan Mail, who for over thirty years has lived in the Island Empire, thus describes the present status of Japan: "A land of true freedom. In almost every town throughout the empire stand places of Christian worship and education; to Christian schools the same public privileges are extended as to government schools of similar grade; Christian associations own real property under an article of the civil code which classes them with public benefactors; Christian converts sit on the bench, sit in the two houses of the Diet, and occupy high posts in the army, the navy, and the administration; Christian chaplains accompany the troops in the field at public charges; and absolute freedom of conscience, within the limits of law and order, is guaranteed by the constitution." As J. H. De Forest, D.D., in the Independent, of New York, in its issue of September 8, 1904, writes, we can see the real status of Japan to-day. He says: "As for religious liberty, Japan has it not only on paper, as given in that glorious twenty-eighth article of the constitution, but has it in reality, as no other nation has it save the United States. The thirteen thousand arrests, mainly of Protes-

tants, in England, over that educational blunder, and France's fight against religious schools, show that the rest of the world has not yet attained to such religious liberty as have Japan and the United States. . . . There is no evidence in the history of any nation of such toleration and even catholicity, on the part of the government and religions of the land, as Japan's Meiji Era furnishes. . . . There would be a new heaven and a new earth in Europe within a year could that part of civilization put the religious question where Japan has put it. Let Europe sit at the feet of Japan and learn something. Count Okuma truly said, in a recent address, 'In freedom of religious worship we are probably more advanced than any European country.'" The Japanese, even in their present terrible war with Russia, endeavor to act according to justice and law. They carry with their armies in Manchuria two professors of international law from the University of Tokyo. Their humane spirit is evidenced in the operations of their Red Cross Society and in their kind treatment of the Russian prisoners who have fallen into their hands. An American recently visiting these Russian prisoners in a certain Japanese town reports that they are considerately treated, the Russian officers are allowed servants and on their parole may stroll about the town; the sanitary regulations are excellent, and the food nourishing and abundant. The only complaint from these Muscovites was that they had no bread to eat, but the Japanese had provided them with a liberal allowance of their national dish, rice.

Now, in regard to the present war between Japan and Russia, Japan's prime minister, Count Katsura, has officially stated that it is for "the security of the empire and the permanent peace of the East," and "not a war for the supremacy of race over race, or of religion over religion." To all intelligent observers the fact is patent that Japan is appropriating modern Western civilization, as the Teutonic tribes earlier did the Roman and the Christian. The Chinese, Koreans, and Japanese are not barbarian Huns and Mongols, as some still erroneously seem to believe. History narrates how these savage hordes were stayed by Christianity; how Alaric, the Goth, showed mercy to Rome, "when the barbarians cowered before the churches of Saint Peter and Saint Paul—when they restored the sacred vessels to their rifled shrines, singing hymns to God,

along with the Roman worshipers—when they spared the city for the memory of its martyred saints," and again holy awe caused Attila, the Hun, to withdraw "from the ascent of the Apennines, stunned by the rebuke of the holy Leo, who went forth with crosier and miter and a single attendant to encounter all the armies of the Scourge of God." If ancient barbaric tribes were thus checked by Christianity, shall modern Japan, imbued with Western ideas of civil and religious liberty, not feel its restraining influence? Alexander and Napoleon, starting upon their bloody careers of a world's conquest, were animated by an ambitious spirit of carnage and war. The reversal of this is revealed by the extensive and elaborate exhibits of these yellow races at the World's Fair in Saint Louis, where are tangible manifestations of a peaceful spirit in education, art, manufactures, and commerce. So long as certain European nations keep on boasting of their vaunted superiority over the yellow race, so long as they ignore the Christian law of love in their dealings with these Asiatics, so long as they continue to "oppress" and try to "dominate" them, so long will the phantom of the "yellow peril" appear visible. As Baron Kato Hiroyoki, of Japan, asserts, they will abide by their "Heaven-conferred rights." On the other hand, if Western Powers will firmly stand by "the open door" in the Far East, and insist upon justice, equality, and fraternity in their intercourse with these Oriental peoples, this specter of the "yellow peril" will vanish into thin air.

The United States of America, whose Declaration of Independence affirms that among man's inalienable rights are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," believes in fair play at home and in the Far East. Therefore by a wise—because just—policy she insists upon maintaining "the open door" in the Orient. By this wise and liberal policy America is hastening the desired era of international peace, when will be ushered in the federation of nations and the parliament of the world. Long before that desired consummation shall we see the once dreaded "yellow peril" transformed into a glorious golden opportunity.

Horace L. Pyle

Art. V.—THE ULTIMATE CHRIST

"Ring in the Christ that is to be."—*Tennyson.*

Do we know Jesus Christ? The Wise Men came asking, "Where is he that is born King of the Jews?" The Master himself asked, "What think ye of Christ?" Many scriptures indicate at once the importance of knowing Jesus and the difficulty of knowing him adequately.

The question of the knowledge of Jesus is to some extent a puzzling one. *A priori*, we should think that a divine revelation would make it clear at the very first, once and for all, who its central Figure is and what his character might be—his mission, his relation to God and man, his place in theology, in religion, in society and progress. But whatever else is clear, this is not. Frankly speaking, we must acknowledge that, with all that we know about the Son of God, there now are, and always have been, grave variations of opinion concerning almost every feature of his person and mission. Whatever may be clear and settled in our own minds, as long as wise and good men continue to hold contrary opinions about the Christ we cannot claim that the Revelation has fully revealed him yet. Further, as we study more closely the New Testament in its effects upon the minds of Christian thinkers it becomes evident that the various writers thereof have not presented to them the same portrait of the Master. We cannot claim that all agree that the Christ of the gospels is or can be the Christ of the epistles, or that the Christ of Paul can be the Christ of John, or the Christ of John the Christ of the synoptics. Some men think that the Jesus of Matthew was the Jewish Messiah and a Jew pure and simple. He came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it. He abrogated nothing of his ancestral cult, and died with and for the lost sheep of the house of Israel. The Jesus of Luke was broader, and more widely sympathetic, but still he was a Jew. Winestock claims him as a consistent Jew throughout his life and ministry. He did not destroy his mother's religion, nor did he found another to supplant it.

All the marvelous things that he accomplished in his short ministry are to be put to the credit of Judaism, and if he were to appear among us to-day he would appear in the following of the ancient faith. And they think that the Jesus of the fourth gospel was a Greek. They tell us that when they pass from the simple parables of the synoptics to the highly wrought doctrines of the Logos in John they seem to be in another world. For them it is not within the scope of any single mind to utter the beatitudes and the high-priestly prayer. They cannot conceive of the Galilean Teacher talking familiarly with his fisher-friends—of the nets, and the boats, and the flowers, and the sower in the fields, and the lost sheep—as the same Person as he who spoke of his mystical union with the infinite and adorable Father, dwelling in him and imparting his life to men, saying, "I in them, and thou in me, that they all may be perfect in one." Still more strongly marked are the divergences of Christian thought as to the Christ of the Pauline epistles. Many cannot even allow that any single personage can unite the various aspects of the Son of God that are presented within these, but—if this is possible—it is claimed that Saint Paul pays little attention to the life and teachings of Jesus, being almost wholly engrossed with his death and its theological significance. He follows Jesus to the skies, and treats of him there far more extensively than of him on the earth. It is evident that, on any view of the Master, Saint Paul raises more difficulties than he settles. When we think of the theory of the atonement, the preëxistence of Jesus, the Trinity, the subordination, and the kenosis, and other theological and metaphysical involutions of Saint Paul's treatment of Jesus Christ, we see an enlarging rather than a diminishing problem. Professor Stevens makes this concession: "These elements of doctrine supply the material for the great problems concerning the person of Christ and the Trinity with which doctrinal theology has to deal. If, on the one hand, these problems are inevitably forced upon theology by the apostle's language it is, on the other hand, certain that he himself has attempted no solution of them." Passing from the Book to the fathers, we still see many shadows and phases of the one Christ. Indeed, we can only maintain his unity as a Person by sacrificing

many things that are said of him. As the church advanced down the centuries many of these views of the Christ hardened into lasting conceptions which we must set aside in order to save the unity, and therefore the personality, of the Holy One for ourselves. For instance, upon the tympanum of La Madeleine, in the very center of the world's most brilliant life and civilization, the Saviour of men is misrepresented as an angry deity about to consign a huddle of wretched sinners to smoking perdition but relenting upon the intercession of Mary Magdalene and saving them for her sake. What a travesty upon the true Saviour is this Roman Catholic sermon sculptured on yonder glorious church! And yet, by the way, those who put Jesus into Mary's place, and the Father into his place, and teach that God the Father will not save men for his own sake and for their sakes, but only for Christ's sake, might be embarrassed critics of La Madeleine.

"What think ye of Christ?" Is the Jesus of Galilee the Second Person of the Trinity? Is the Son of Mary the same who was "in the beginning with God"? Was the Christ of the ages the Jewish Messiah? Was Jesus the Christ? Has he left the earth? Is he with the Father? Is he the Jehovah of the Old Testament? Is he the immanent God? Is he the same as the Father or like the Father? Was he created? Is he in any sense subordinate to the Father or limited in knowledge or power? Had he a human father? Had he a human mother? Can he be divine if he had one human parent? May he not be divine if both parents were human? How does he save men? Is he an intercessor, a scapegoat, a vicarious sacrifice, a substituted victim? Is his salvation sure, or contingent? How is it applied to the soul of the sinner? Does he persuade God to save men, or make it possible for him to save them? Was his death necessary? Could not God have saved men without his death? Does he save men by his life, or by his death, or by both? None but a thoughtless zealot or one ignorant of the history and status of human thought can deny that these are real questions that have storm-tossed the theological seas in all the Christian centuries. The Person of Christ has furnished us with the grandest and the pettiest, the profoundest and the most whimsical, the most volcanic and the most tran-

quillizing of all the themes that have engrossed the thoughts of men. Do any claim that these are settled? If so, there are yet problems. Our new civilization is tossing new complications to the surface; and while we present Jesus Christ as "the same yesterday, and to-day, and forever," the Light of the world and the Lord of the earth, we are challenged to show his relation to these later problems. What has Jesus for society? What does he teach as to the rights of men? What has he for the poor, the rich, the laborers, the capitalists, the government, the home, the school? These are called practical problems. If it is not unnatural that theology should involve disputations and variant theories, surely we may agree upon what Jesus would have us do in the urgent and vital interests of our common life. It might even be urged that he who said, "I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness," must make his claim good in a fair and practical solution of the dark problems of human society. But here also is the Christ misunderstood, or at least variously understood. No man has yet spoken the commanding word, in the interpretation of Jesus Christ, which has brought all reasonable men to an agreement as to his teaching concerning the new social problems which have quite overshadowed the old theological themes. Nor does there seem to be any rapid progress toward such an agreement. There are those who make everything easy, and tell us just what Jesus would do in editing a modern newspaper or doing anything else. And at the other extreme are those who are so absorbed with the conception of the supernatural and spiritual relations of Christ to the transcendent God that they are scandalized at the thought of his having anything to do with civil or social affairs. Ecce Homo was a thoroughly candid and a learned attempt to know the mind of Christ. Whatever we may think of its theology, it is sympathetic and scholarly. But it has been bitterly assailed for finding Jesus Christ interested in ethical and social questions. Many men seem to think that nothing but theology is good enough for Jesus Christ, and to show him interested in anything else is degrading and profane. So good a man as Lord Shaftesbury considered it deeply dishonoring to the Master; saying, "It is

the most pestilential book that has ever been vomited forth from the mouth of hell." It is hard to understand such feelings as these, but they are sadly common. Good men have been so accustomed to the theological Christ that they cannot bear to think of him otherwise. So, as many who have not been attracted by the Christ of the creeds are discovering that he was a carpenter's son, a friend of the toiling masses, not spending his time with the theologians in the temple and the synagogue but with peasants, not sympathizing with the scribes and Pharisees but with publicans and sinners, saying, "Woe to you that are rich" and "Blessed are ye poor," going about doing good, feeding the hungry, opening the eyes of the blind, and comforting the sorrowing, it is no wonder that our age has developed a new Christ, or an aspect of Christ that has not been popularly recognized before. And as the minds of men grow more eager and independent more shades of opinion concerning the social and the industrial Christ appear. Some men turn with new interest toward him and the church. Others hail him and scoff at the church. Still others find the new Christ far distant from the old conception—of a radiant Being sitting at the right hand of the Father's throne with a sword in his hand and waiting to judge the earth. For them he is the hater of the rich, the smiter of thrones, the destroyer of the church and the other institutions of society. He is "Jesus the Demagogue," "the greatest of socialists." As Professor Peabody reminds us, Renan emphasizes this view. Jesus was like the modern labor agitator, attacking on the one hand the government, and on the other the prosperous. He was in one view an anarchist; for he had no idea of civil government, which seemed to him an abuse pure and simple. He believed that only the poor can be saved. His true disciples were the Ebonites. He openly preferred people of questionable lives. He was a socialist with Galilean coloring. He was a forerunner of the modern revolutionist, limited only by his environment. Another philosopher differs in his view thus: he understands the teachings in the same way but he rejects Jesus therefor. As Jesus was a pious anarchist his teachings are not fit for modern men. He says, "If Christianity is to mean the taking the gospels as our rule of life, then none of us are Chris-

tians, and, no matter what we say, we all know we ought not to be." Rudolph Todt finds socialism in the gospels but he remains Christian. Naumann is a Christian socialist, but of reverent and lofty views and passionately devoted to his fellow men. The Italian economist Nitti says, "Christianity was a vast economic revolution rather than anything else." Professor Herron extravagantly says, "The Sermon on the Mount is the science of society. It is a treatise on political economy." "An industrial democracy would be the social actualization of Christianity." These views are not cited as curiosities. They are realities. They are taking hold of men. These and many more are represented in every large American city. It is easy for us to dream in the theological world, but down in the world where men live things are going on. The socialistic Christ is recognized, if not worshiped, by multitudes of men that we are expected to reach with our view of Christ and win to him. Their children are in our Sunday schools and in the public schools. Our merchants are seeking them with bargains, and our politicians are so eager for their votes that they scarcely have eyes for anybody else. We may say that they are of the earth, earthy, but they quote Felix Holt to us: "We'll give you back some of your heaven and take it out in something for ourselves and our children in this world." A Christianity of dogma does not satisfy our intensely ethical and practical age, and is therefore met with hostility. We are thus advised: "These subtle distinctions and acrimonious theological differences are simply without interest to persons who are struggling with the tragic problems of modern poverty, social service, and political morality; and to such persons the Christian church takes on a look of unreality and misdirected energy, as though it were concerning itself with little more than what Coleridge called the problem of 'superhuman ventriloquism,' and existed only to exercise the ingenuity of its ministers and occupy the leisure of its adherents." Bewildered disciples may raise the cry, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." But this cry is all the more pathetic because it is not as satirical as it is intended to be. We have here a real issue, if not the transcendent issue, of our present-day

Christianity. Where is Jesus Christ? What would he have us to do? Many are saying, Lo, here! and Lo, there! We feel like uttering the prayer of the perplexed Jews: "How long dost thou hold us in suspense? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly."

There are two possible pathways in our quest. We may say that the Christ is a phantom: he has been now one thing and now another, according to the fancy of his biographer or his commentator. Many portraits have been painted, but they have shown features so variant as to be unable to be united. The realities are individuals; behind them is the phantom Christ. The Revelation does not reveal. As Jesus refused to disclose himself fully to his contemporaries, so he does to us, and must ever do. Others may yet describe him otherwise, and because there are many Christs there is no Christ. Or we may adopt the theory of the comprehensive type. Jesus was a Jew by birth but he belonged to the race. He lived in Galilee but he is at home in all the earth. He taught in Judea but he knows New York just as well. The concrete conditions of his life were not limitations. He was a cosmopolitan. He sympathized with the men he met and talked with, but no less with men of all ages. He touched local usages but he was not bound by them. He never allowed himself to be implicated in any little plot. He never permitted any temporal interest to complicate or confuse his age-long, universal plans. He taught, not as one personally involved in the ethical and social problems which he took up, but as one far above them, surveying with eagle eye the whole earthly panorama. His words and works were comprehensive of all earthly conditions. What George Matheson calls the "incorporativeness" of Christianity comes from this character of Jesus. He says: "Within the portrait of the Son of man are embraced the lineaments of all those antecedent faiths which he purposed to transcend. Here sleep the Brahman's sense of mysticism, the Parsee's sense of sin, the Buddhist's sense of sacrifice, the Confucian's sense of empire, the Jew's sense of holiness, the Greek's sense of beauty, and the Roman's sense of justice. Here repose side by side instincts hitherto deemed the most diverse and the most irreconcilable. Why is it that men are to come from the

east and the west and sit down in the kingdom of God? . . . In this central figure of biblical portraiture there is found a meeting place of reconciliation." Or, in the beautiful figure of another: "It is as if one stood at night watching the moon rising from the sea, and saw the glittering band of light which leads straight to him, as though the moon were shining for one life alone; while in fact he knows that its comprehensive radiation is for him, and for the joy and gladness of a world besides. So the unexhausted gospel of Jesus Christ touches each new problem and new need with its illuminating power, while there yet remain myriads of other ways of radiation toward other souls and other ages for that Life which is the light of men." The Master has furnished us with the key to this problem in his own favorite name. The Ultimate Christ is the Son of man. Through this recognition has run the progress of men toward the true knowledge of Christ. His divinity seems to have been quickly comprehended. But that the Son of God can be and is the Son of man has been a proposition of slow and painful development. The narrowness of men has made the difficulty. It is said that leading to an Austrian city there is a bridge in the parapets of which there are twelve statues of our Lord. One represents him as the sower, one as the carpenter, one as the good physician; others represent him as the prophet, the priest, the king, and still others in other characters. When the simple-minded country folk come into the city with their produce in the early morning they pause and pray before Christ the sower. A little later the artisan comes in to work at his bench, and he stops to pray before the statue of the carpenter. Later the poor invalid comes out from the city to drink a breath of pure air, and he pauses to offer a prayer to the statue of the physician. There is more than superstition here. It is a great and fundamental truth that each man worships the Christ which best interprets his own thoughts and best supplies his highest wants. The glory of Christ is that he can be all things to all men in the highest sense. The weakness of men is that they cannot cognize more of Christ than their own limitations permit, and that they are too prone to say not only, "The carpenter is my Christ," but "There is no Christ but the carpenter." The

sins and the follies of men have delayed the evolution. When early Christianity forgot the humanity of Christ and removed him to the skies a relapse to polytheism and idolatry ensued, and God called Mohammed to restore the ancient principle of Judaism, There is one God. Christianity was rebuked, and repented, and by a counter reformation from within came back to monotheism. By a similar removal of Christ from humanity the vast system of Mariolatry sprang up. Some one must speak to God for sinful men: who so effectively as the mother of his Son? By the ignoring of the humaneness of Christ the extraordinary phenomena of monasticism were presented; and when, after centuries of striking history, the monks began to learn that the follower of Christ must not flee from the wicked world, but remain among men to save them, monasticism declined. The Crusades would have been impossible if men had remembered the humanity of Christ. So would the persecutions, the religious wars, the sectarian strife, and the religious rancor that stain the record that Christians have made in the earth. On the other hand, all that makes the religion of our day active and vigorous springs from this vital principle: the winning of souls, Christian nurture, the Sunday school, missionary work, reforms, and the personal charities that redeem and bless. May we discover some of the traits of the ultimate Christ as the Son of man? They are discerned more and more clearly in the growing conception of him in the minds of men. Opinions differ here, and we may not nail down dogmas, but some things may be suggested. First, the ultimate Christ will smile upon the progress of men. He is not annoyed by change nor suspicious of reformers. The race, the Bible, the church, theology, science, government, and almost all other things, began small. It is God's plan to make things by process and not by fiat. So the follower of Christ will not only tolerate progress, he will advocate it and rejoice in it. Obscurantism and obstruction are coming to be recognized as the ugly sins they are. An influential journal has recently raised the question of the morality of adhering to the Authorized Version of the Scriptures when a truer version is at hand. It is high time that the assumption of illegitimate personal preferences in religion should be

challenged on moral grounds. These are no more permissible than others. In the spirit of Christ we shall not fight every attempt to advance his kingdom, but shall rejoice in changes and improvements and endeavor to lead in the grand march. It surely seems that the Revised Version of the Scriptures, revised interpretations of the same called the new theology, amplified and corrected church history, broadened knowledge of important origins, discoveries of great laws like gravitation and evolution, wonderful expansions of the arts and sciences, and the quickening of the social conscience are but the external manifestations of the living Christ in the world. He is the Author of all truth and all progress. They are his, and in them are fulfilled the words that he said: "When he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth." The Son of man is the representative of all men—all the men of all the ages. He is the Universal Spirit. There can be nothing narrow, little, petty, provincial, odd, local, accidental, or immature as essential elements of his religion. If they spring up at any time they must fall away. They may be held by the choice of individuals, if they serve temporary purposes, but they cannot be elevated to permanent seats. This is as true of doctrines as of all things else. Only the universal doctrines are essential to Christianity. Only the truths that can survive any and all attacks will be recognized by our Lord. No timid disciple need be anxious about any truth. It will live if it is fit to live. No truth has ever yet been lost from the world. If theology has lost anything, that thing is untrue. The Christ is a present Christ. His "second coming" is a presence, "parousia," and he has come. He cares for all his truth. He furnishes constant inspiration. Men have taught that inspiration once dictated words to holy men and then died away to a mere echo from the Judean hills. But we have not so learned Christ. Inspiration gave ideas and gives ideas. The present Christ whispers to his friends, and their hearts burn within them while he talks to them by the way. The holy man of old spoke for God and said, "Draw nigh to me and I will draw nigh to you." A holy woman of our day sang for God "Nearer, my God, to thee," and the Christian world, thrilled by the high emotion, recognizes the same inspira-

tion, by the same Spirit, in the selfsame idea. As it requires inspiration to recognize inspiration, we pray for the Spirit's help when we study the Word of God, or pray to him, and we receive it. In this we find the only test of true doctrine. God never gave to any man, presbyter or pope, nor to any council or conference, the right to decide the validity of any truth. He has reserved that as a prerogative of his own, and delivers his august communication to the only free agent in the world—the individual soul. This free soul, going into the temple to pray, forgets the traditions and formulas of past ages and the dicta of the men who are called rabbi and bishop and pope. Mindful of the presence of the living Christ, it is satisfied with his revelation. Some such confession as Bliss Carman's gives it words:

"One whisper of the Holy Ghost
Outweighs for me a thousand tomes;
And I must heed that private word,
Not Plato's, Swedenborg's, nor Rome's.
Let no tradition fill my ears
With prate of evil and of good,
Nor superstition cloak my sight
Of beauty with a bigot's hood.
Beyond the shadow of the porch
I hear the wind among the trees,
The river babbling in the clove,
And that great sound which is the sea's.
Give me the freedom of the earth,
The leisure of the light and air,
That this enduring soul some part
Of their serenity may share!
For I, my brother, so would live
That I may keep the elder law
Of beauty and of certitude,
Of daring love and blameless awe."

The ultimate Christ will be recognized as the divine Christ. And this concept will be larger as the minds of men are expanded. In the old day the divinity of Christ seemed to mean little more than the divinity of his flesh. Accepting the fact that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, they were content. But we see that this limits this transcendent truth to a mere physiological wonder, the manner of the quickening of a microscopic ovum in

the womb of a virgin! Thus the divinity of Christ is reduced to the virgin birth. It is only a question of his body, and that body was not ordinarily effulgent or magnetic or phantasmal. But our age demands more than this. As the soul is more than the body we regard more particularly the moral attributes of the Christ for his essential divinity. We see it in his dignity, his wisdom, his majesty, his power—more than mortal. Most of all we see it in his triumph over death and his glorious proclamation that because he lives we shall live also. We behold him victorious over a thousand enemies within and without the church during all the Christian centuries. We see him strong to-day in the high places of the earth, leading the van of civilization everywhere. We see him lifted up and drawing all men to him; and in these magnificent demonstrations, not of material but of spiritual force, we say with the centurion, "Truly this is the Son of God." In his divinity is his authority. Professor Briggs acknowledged three sources of authority in religion: the Bible, the church, and the reason. He went too far. There is but one authority in religion—the divine Christ, representing the supreme, eternal God. The Bible is to be tested and corrected by his teachings. When it varies in any part from these it is to be set aside. He calmly assumed this when he said, "It hath been said by them of old time" thus and so, "but I say unto you" otherwise. All the authority of the Bible is but the reflected authority of Christ. So with the church. When it utters his teachings or warnings it reflects his authority. When it swerves from him, or adds to him or subtracts from him, its words are empty. And the individual soul is the judge in every case. It enjoys the privilege and takes the responsibility. Those whom the Son makes free are free indeed. They need call no man on earth master, and no combination of men, ecclesiastical or political, can aggregate any authority over men's souls until a row of zeros aggregates mathematical value. Dr. Bradford's address as retiring moderator of the National Congregational Council stressed the great truth of "the continuous leadership of the Spirit," saying: "The seat of authority in religion is where the old Puritans always insisted it was to be found, in the spirit of man illuminated by

the Spirit of God. The ultimate authority is within. . . . This is the very quintessence of Puritanism, which began by affirming that every man may come into the immediate presence of the Almighty, and that he alone is Lord of the intellect and the conscience. . . . This is the fundamental doctrine of Protestantism and Puritanism." And yet, even while men are affirming this in word, they cannot comprehend its depths of meaning and they deny it in their deeds. In the ultimate conception of the Christ the fraternal spirit will have large place. Our day is made glorious by this rising light. The enthusiasm of humanity is ringing everywhere. Not so very long ago "humanitarian" was an heretical word. Now it has come to be well-nigh the dominant test of the church. We used to love our brethren in our own denomination—some of them; then we began to love some in other denominations, and at last we are coming to acknowledge that we are debtors to the Greeks and the barbarians, to the wise and the unwise everywhere. Jesus has not yet been proved to be a socialist, nor did he give us a sociology any more than he gave us a botany or a theology. But he did give us a religion, and that is a religion of service and sacrifice. The things that melt men's hearts and obliterate their rivalries and feuds and bring them together are under his blessing. The things that alienate and antagonize are under his curse. A few weeks ago the opening religious services of the year at Harvard University were held in Appleton Chapel. For the first time in his thirty-five years as head of the university President Eliot made the address. He said that there had not been a question there for twenty-five years about ecclesiastical organization or government or policy, because these have been the things that have divided Christianity deeply and cruelly. There had been no question of ritual there, for the same reason. For twenty-three years the Lord's Supper had not been celebrated. "It is infinitely pathetic that the Lord's Supper, instituted as a strong exposition of fellowship, should have proved the greatest divisive thing in religious history." Does anyone ask what remains of Christianity? "First," he says, "freedom remains; then faith and hope and love, and the greatest of these is love."

The trend of modern religion is away from the old divisive things, and toward the things that Jesus Christ made great in his ministry. This ministry was summed up in his name, Immanuel. He was the incarnate revelation of God to man. When we think of the great God we think of holiness, truth, love, life, and power. Therefore when we think of the ultimate Christ we think of the same things, with the added element of the human race brought into the external inheritance of them. As Christ shows to us the image of the invisible God, so we are to gain that same image. We may place what personal value we please upon the dogmas, traditions, ceremonies, creeds, and interpretations of the past, but the only great things in Christ's religion are life and love and truth and faith and freedom. These are living, shining, growing, triumphant realities. They appeal to all men in all conditions. The ultimate Christ is the universal and eternal Christ. He must be more than all trades, types, temperaments, and races. He must stand for all ultimate and universal principles. He must touch the saints and the martyrs, and also the philanthropists, the educators, the statesmen, the monarchs, the explorers, the preachers, the craftsmen, the housekeepers, the children, the invalids, and the prisoners. Gordon's idea of Christ is generously portrayed as the religious ultimate, but it should be written larger. The growing Christ is molding the whole of the growing life of man. Religion used to consist mainly of an hour or two of worship on one day of the week. Then it added what was called saving souls, but the crude and meager reality was far less than its name. Now we are enlarging our horizon as we recognize Jesus as the Son of man indeed. This means that not only worship, but education, politics, industry, social life, even our amusements, and all atmosphered with a boundless and all-pervasive benevolence, are necessary to his conception of religion. Love is the largest word in it, after personal holiness, and love is realized only in humanity. The rapid growth of this conception within a very few years is amazing. Men are seeking each other everywhere. What the church is not doing is attempted outside by the moving power of the Spirit of Jesus. Do we realize what the astonishing growth of fraternal organizations in our day means?

They now number almost eight million members in this country, and they are the flower of our active, social, and aspiring men. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association is another wonder. Within easy memory there was in Boston, for example, a small affair doing good work, but the subject of a good deal of jealousy and some pulpit strictures. About ten years ago it occupied a four-hundred-thousand-dollar building on Back Bay, and Boston wondered. Now that is too small, and the association is asking for not less than three millions of dollars for extension and endowment. They want a million dollars for a central building capable of accommodating six thousand members and two thousand in the classes. It is to contain dormitories, social rooms, gymnasium, class rooms, a restaurant, and a roof garden. The entire amount of property in association use in the United States is valued at more than twenty-six millions. This is modern religion. Then we think of hospital work, orphanages, asylums, schools, and colleges, and the mighty missionary operations of the churches, and we begin to see what is involved in the revelation of the Son of man. Edwin Markham may be enthusiastic, but he utters a probable prophecy when he says:

"The crest and crowning of all good,
Life's final star, is brotherhood;
For it will bring again to earth
Her long-lost poesy and mirth,
Will send new light on every face,
A kingly power upon the race;
And till it comes we men are slaves,
And travel downward to the dust of graves.
Come, clear the way, then; clear the way;
Blind creeds and kings have had their day;
Our hope is in the aftermath—
Our hope is in heroic men
Star-led to build the world again.
To this event the ages ran;
Make way for brotherhood—make way for man!"

Edward J. Jones.

Art. VI.—THE THEOLOGY OF A BUSY PASTOR

It is quite needless to say that the Hebrew lexicon is not the only book that gathers dust upon the dominie's shelves. Other books "go up higher" as the itinerant moves from place to place—up from the respectable level within reach of the busy worker's hands to the restful shelf just touching the ceiling—and there they stay undisturbed. Some of them are good books, some are said to be good, some are "no good." Charity that judges not, or indifference that thinks not, or subtle dishonesty that would be known by appearances solely—either one of these vicious virtues, or all of them combined, retains these books for a far-off judgment. So is it with the theology of which they treat. Much of it is good and ought to be brought back to a daily use; much of it is said to be good—and daring indeed is the man who would question it; much of it, thank God, is "no good" and never has been. Its speedy gravitation to a dusty lifelessness is proof that it has never known true vitality. "Dust thou art, to dust returnest, was not spoken of a (the) soul." All this, however, is not immediately recognized. During the first year of one's ministry, with the habits of seminary thought still fast upon him, one preaches, for example, on "The Intermediate State"; a little later he interprets John's Revelation, or thinks he does, though the cipher that may enable one to read that is yet to be found; a little later he vaporizes on "Sanctification," referring, it may be, to the gnomic aorist and the early pages of Wesley's Journal, written during his combative and more experimental period; a little later to Paul's eschatology; and a little later to Jesus Christ—and there he stays. For after a while a minister comes to know his people. As he stands up to preach he sees before him in almost every pew the "average man"—neither phenomenal saint nor fearful sinner, neither deep thinker nor shallow fool, neither emotional fanatic nor cold formalist; the average man—who reads little more than the daily newspaper, who studies to a logical conclusion, affecting conduct, few questions that have not to do with business, who means well and does fairly well, but who is neither so good nor so wise as he seems to be.

After a while he comes to know himself. He reluctantly admits that he is not a scholar, that his exegesis is largely the work of other men—"God's Irishmen," as Henry Ward Beecher called them—the commentators who dig the roots out of the way and lay the road for other men to walk upon. He sees men all around him who are able preachers, more energetic pastors, more persuasive leaders. He reads the Minutes of his Conference, therein to see himself quite fairly as "ithers" see him. He is nothing more than an average man dealing with an audience of average men. If he were a genius or a phenomenal saint, or if his people were remarkable for ability or sanctity, he might do differently. So, after a time, he comes to recognize with clearness his call in life. He is not commissioned by God to go forth as a teacher. The time was when he considered that he was sent to impart information to the people, to tell them how the tabernacle was made, or how the Pentateuch was written, or how Revelation could be reconciled with science; the time was when he thought he ought to read a new book a week that he might retail its contents immediately to a waiting people—but that time has passed. When he "became a man" he put away "childish things." The average hearer does not come to church aching to hear about the hangings of the tabernacle; as Mr. Moody once said, he needs to know nothing of a second Isaiah when he hardly knows that there is a first one. 'We are overrun," says the author of The Clerical Life, "with prophets nowadays and grotesque missions; but perhaps the most amazing prophet that ever claimed to have a mission from God is the preacher who rises to dispel the myths of the Davidic psalms, or explain the difference between the Jehovist and Elohist documents. Unload," adds he, "any useful Bible criticism on your classes and let the pulpit go free. Why should you forfeit the power of your preaching to be a sixth-rate biblical critic?" If the preacher were a genius and his people scholars, and his call in life to furnish information otherwise not obtained, he might bring down some of the books from the top shelf; but as things are, and as it seems it is divinely determined they shall be, he lets the dust gather and thanks God that no breeze disturbs it. Sooner or later the busy pastor comes to see that his one purpose in life is to

inspire his hearers to loyalty to the person Jesus Christ. Exactly who he may be is not the first question, whether he be God manifest in the flesh, or the Son of God, or the Highest among men. Loyalty precedes any clear decision as to Christ's deity; indeed, loyalty may continue without a decision of worth ever being reached. Exactly how we obtain knowledge of him is not the first question, either; whether it came through an inspired book, inerrant in its least details as well as its larger, or through a book written by honest men unaided in any unique sense by the Spirit of God. It is sufficient that we have such knowledge and that the fact of the life of Christ is undisputed. The dogma of inspiration, because of its misjudged importance, hinders rather than helps; indeed, all dogmas that have to do with the making of the Bible bewilder one if they are not shown to be secondary to the fact of the universally acknowledged historic Christ. Sooner or later the busy pastor comes to deal with his people as he would with his son just coming into manhood. "Put your trust in Jesus Christ, my boy," he says. "There is no doubt that he lived; there is no doubt that he died; there is no doubt that he rose again. Trust him. In time you will come to see who he is." Sooner or later one gets annoyed to the point of disgust at the emphasis given to so-called "belief." What is it all worth? What care I for the opinion of a man as to the nature of Jesus Christ, for example, who hardly knows enough to tell why he voted for one alderman rather than another; who cannot aid his growing boy in a simple problem in quadratics; or who says that one faulty statement in the book of Chronicles would overthrow his faith in the Redeemer of mankind? What care I really whether he say that he is a Unitarian or a Trinitarian? "Who was Gnostic, and what did he teach?" said a pompous examiner to a young man applying for entrance to one of our Conferences. What care I whether that examiner says he believes in the deity or the divinity of Jesus Christ? I may insist that as a teacher he keep to the beaten paths, but I would rather insist most vigorously that he never teach at all. "Believe him, my boy," I say. "Believe that he saves you from sin. How he does it I do not ask you to determine—and just now I would not have you ask me." "All that I know is, he can save

me to his own satisfaction," said a frank young fellow entering the New York East Conference a few years ago. So in time the busy pastor comes to magnify the present moment. 'Tis not what a man was yesterday, nor what he may be to-morrow, that is the first question; nor what he believes about his past or his future. What is he now? "You are before God, my friend," I say to a sinner seeking pardon. "What do you want of him? What do you offer to him? What would you be at this very moment if your deepest and truest wish could be gratified—saint or sinner? If saint, then tell God so, and, if you mean it, quit worrying and go about your business. God will look out for your past, and your so-called 'future' will never be reached. 'Take no thought for the morrow, for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself.'" Whether heaven is a ubi or a non-ubi—to quote the ponderous terms of one of our recently deceased bishops—is not a question of first importance. Whether hell is a ubi or a non-ubi is a question of the same sort. Said Dr. Frederick Upham to his son, after he had preached on his ninetieth birthday and in the sermon had paid his old-time respects to Unitarianism, Universalism, and Calvinism, after his son had laughingly said, "Father, don't you know that Calvinism is dead? Why punish it any further?"—said the aged minister, with his never-failing wit, "Don't you know, Samuel, that I believe in punishment after death?" Yet this same sturdy old saint, when met by a Universalist with a question as to some fact advanced in the sermon of the night before, replied, "My friend, if the torments of hell last only a fortnight I advise you to keep away from them." Whether there be a second probation or not, whether *αἰώνιος* 's age-lasting or everlasting, whether we dare to assert, or simply trust, or sadly deny "that good shall fall, at last, far off, at last to all," are not questions of first importance. Must I notice that my neighbor styles his church the "Universalist Church" or the "Church of the Redeemer"? He gives both names on the bulletin board by the side of the hospitable door. Which is the one that I am to think about as I go away, praying that "all may be one"? The important question, so far as time is concerned, is, What are you now? If Christ will that new revelations be granted in the future—that old promises

unfold into new beauty—or if he will that everything be carried out according to the programme arranged by the saints behind the creed—"what is that to thee?" You have the living present—act in it. Further, it is the will that is to be won, not the intellect nor the emotions. True, one's will is reached only through some accepted fact and follows the interest aroused by it; still, the fact need not be clearly defined nor the emotion especially ecstatic.

> "Enthusiasm's the best thing, I repeat,
> Only we can't command it."

It is loyalty, not love, that is to be sought. Love follows loyalty, rarely precedes it. Love is the fruit of the Spirit, and fruit in character as well as in fragrant nature about us follows a period of glorious life in bud and blossom and bloom. Love is too varied in its manifestation to be held up as the first consideration to the honest sinner asking guidance. It is shown by a kiss and tender caress by one, by a bit of uncomplaining, unadvertising patience by another. One man says at morn and noon and night that he loves his wife, yet falls asleep by her deathbed; another says nothing, and yet watches by her side for weeks without taking a full hour's rest. One man is John, another Thomas, another James. It is not well to approach men with a heavy emphasis on the fact of love. Not so, however, with loyalty. "Will you be true to him, my friend," I say, "whether you quiver with feeling or remain unmoved; whether you weep or wonder in all honesty what there is to cry about? Will you be true to Christ?

> What think ye of Christ, friend, when all's done and said,
> Like you this Christianity or not?
> It may be false, but will you wish it true?
> Has it your vote to be so if it can?
> Trust you an instinct, silenced long ago,
> That will break silence and enjoin you love
> What mortified philosophy is hoarse,
> And all in vain, with bidding you despise;
> If you desire faith, then you've faith enough.'

That's it: when all's done and said—'like you this Christianity or not?' What, down deep in your heart, where the 'thoughts and intents' are found, where character is traced, where prayers

are formed, where only one Guest has any right to stay—what, down deep in your heart, do you determine, if God grant, that you will be? Have you a desire, disguised and covered so that even you have rarely seen it, to find out that the world has been following a cunningly devised fable through the centuries?—or rather a sincere prayer to be assured that God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself and that you have the right to love 'what mortified philosophy is hoarse with bidding you despise'? Have you a sneaking wish that you might eat, drink, and be merry without the fear of a fiery future before you? or the calm courage that would follow Thomas as he followed Christ, if need be to a cross that prophesied neither victorious death nor triumphant resurrection? Could you say with him, 'Let us also go with him, that we may die with him?'" Loyalty is the word—Loyalty. "Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord," said Christ, "but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." One is wearied to the point of exhaustion by our "professions." "Don't you know," said a saint *ex officio*, "don't you know that I'm not responsible for anything I say in prayer meeting?" to a so-called sinner, who had heard his fervid declaration of readiness to make amends for any wrong he had done. No, he didn't know; but he learned very quickly, and went away to join in disgust a large class of men who had learned the same thing. "Say little, my friend, keep on saying little, but be something and do something; and pray down deep in your heart that better saints arise and more valiant deeds be done for the Leader you would follow even, if necessary, to the death." Isn't that about what you say after a score of years of busy work with saints and sinners? Meet your boy coming home from college and hear him saying, "Father, I'm not so sure as I was about some of the truths I've heard you preach, but of one thing I am sure: I honestly hope that all may be found as you say they are; and until I am shown that they are wrong I'm going ahead as if I were absolutely sure that they are right." Meet your boy saying this and then thank God for his honesty. So meet all men.

There are two other items in the busy pastor's working theology that are as large as any named—with the exception most surely of the first one. One is a belief in man's command of unseen forces,

the other a belief in a personal experience. Years ago one of the frank thinkers of our young men returned to his alma mater to deliver the alumni address, and took as his theme "The Minister's Need of a Belief in the Supernatural," or some such topic. "Belief in the supernatural"! Is there such a thing as *disbelief?* In all honesty, is there? Yes, and no. No, so far as sermon and creed are concerned; yes, so far as conduct during the strain of Conference week is concerned, or the moody melancholy of Blue Monday. "One thing," says Charles Kingsley in one of his letters, "one thing we must keep up if we intend to be witnesses for God—I mean the continued open verbal reference of everything, even to the breaking of a plate, to God and God's providence, as the Easterns do." Yes, and another thing, too: the continual open verbal reference to man's power to lay hold on forces above his own creation, or vision, or imagination. It is not of first importance, for example, how a man is justified or sanctified. The fact is one thing, and the sweep across his path of divine forces that have accomplished it. How it is done is quite another thing. Indeed, the average pastor gets so pestered and perplexed at times by the petty exegetes whose only "helps" are the "King James Version" and Cruden's Concordance, who have not even the saving grace of common sense to steady them, that he comes almost to say, "How one lays hold on the powers of God, or how they lay hold on him, is a matter of no consequence. It is enough to believe that they are within reach, and that an honest prayer makes an immediate connection." This fact one comes to accept with awe and with no question. He sends a message one winter's night across the continent to San Francisco asking a perfect stranger, in the name of Christ, to hunt up a wayward boy whose parents in the broad Scotch of their earlier days beg him pitifully to help. He speedily gets his answer. He learns that the boy is found, that he has been taken from a sick bed, carried to the cars, tenderly committed to the care of new-found friends, and started home again. A little later he sends a message to a point a bit farther away than San Francisco—at least he used to think it was; he sends a message to heaven and gets an answer just as surely. Until he can dispute the one he will hold on to the other. The wind blows at night

down the desolate city streets. He sees to his fires, enters again the nursery to see that the children are covered, turns once more to his book, and thinks of a night, centuries ago, when two men deep in conversation heard the whistling of the wind down some nameless street in the "Holy City." A pastor in one of our New England churches writes to the editor of the Zion's Herald: "When is another Wesley coming? Our hollow forms, our shallow life—O, how they need a prophet of the living God! My heart is very weary with waiting. I am preaching to the utmost of my power with only slight response. We must have a kindling of new fire. Faith is not dead. The old theology or the new theology, or anything that will save souls and get *experience* into human life." Let the pendulum swing back again. Many a bundle of sermons—yellow with age, so dear to those who inherit them that they dare not give them to sympathetic friends outside the charmed circle of home and surely cannot destroy them—many a bundle of sermons of our fathers has the word "experience" written large on every page. Let us learn to write it too. What the experience may be I surely cannot tell. What God may say—or not say—I do not know. All that I can say is this: "My boy, get alone with God; he will talk with you." And what I say to my boys, dearer to me than the life I live, I say to the convert who trembles at the altar or who talks with me in my study.

Most surely there are other items in the busy pastor's creed. It may be before this page leaves his home that he will climb to the dusty shelf and take down some old forgotten book and draw inspiration from it; so, it may be, he will broaden his creed in conversation with the next saint or sinner, though the chances are that he will find in the five articles named a working creed, ever living and glowing, as it may be two hundred years ago his Puritan ancestors (strange to say) found in the "five points" of Calvinism.

F. B. Upham

Art. VII.—SCOTTISH SCHOOLS AND THE FREE CHURCH CRISIS

The disruption in the Church of Scotland sixty years ago profoundly affected the whole educational system of the country. It was not a mere split among ecclesiastics and a testimony of the devout; it was a national protest against domination by the state over the individual and church conscience. The church desired to grow, and create new parishes to meet the requirements of a growing and shifting population. She also wished—that is, the active, moving element in her councils—to have her say in the settling of every individual minister in his parish; while the state denied her right to increase her parishes or to refuse to ordain any duly qualified licentiate who might be presented to a church by a patron. This patronage system was not in existence in William and Mary's reign, when Presbyterianism was permanently established in Scotland. It was one of the regrettable results of the union in Queen Anne's reign, by which an English majority could dictate to Scotland. When an English majority is found that will do this the results are disastrous. The Patronage Act of Anne's Parliament was the cause of the secession of the Erskines and their friends in the middle of the century, and an ill-advised burgher oath at the time of the Porteous Riots drove other good men out of the Establishment.

It is to the settlement of Scottish affairs in William and Mary's reign that we owe the parish school system of the country. Thenceforth the minister and the dominie were complementaries of each other in the parish. The extraordinary state of matters south of the Tweed, by which the school dame or rural teacher ranked with upper servants and entered the parsonage by the side door, was happily unknown in Scotland. In most cases the "schulemaister" had been trained wholly or partly at one of the universities, and was the minister's equal in social upbringing and learning. Indeed, these posts were convenient refuges for "stickit ministers"—licentiates who found that their gifts were not of a nature to ingratiate them with a critical congregation, or whose

doctrinal misgivings made them prefer a purely scholastic occupation. It will be remembered that both Carlyle and Edward Irving belonged at one time to the dominie class.

As a rule, it may be said that the Disruption leaders were men of the keenest educational activity, delighting in historical retrospect, and zealous for the instruction of the young in intellectual and moral acquirements of the best kind. To begin with, the moderator who rose from his chair in Saint Andrew's Church, and headed the grand procession that left the precincts of the national church forever on that memorable day in May, 1843, was Professor Welsh, of Edinburgh University. To Welsh more than to any other man Scotland owes her normal schools. His colleague, Thomas Chalmers, was in many respects the foremost educational force in the country. Andrew Gray, of Perth, was only one of several ministers throughout the land who had devoted themselves to the founding of schools to meet the intellectual needs of their parishioners. And these were all Disruption worthies. Abroad the whole mission force, without exception, had sympathized with the Protesters, and threw its lot in with them at the Disruption. Their work in foreign fields was largely educational, and necessarily so.

What is known in Scottish ecclesiastical history as the Ten Years' Conflict, the period immediately preceding the division of 1843, was distinctly an educational rally. Relying on her past excellent standing, Scotland had allowed her school equipment to fall behind the times, so that the scale of attendance, when compared with other countries, ranked low. It is stated that as many as two hundred thousand children of school age were growing up without regular school training. It was not the "Moderates," the party remaining within the church, who had educational zeal and conviction, but the eager "High-flyers." Had they not been forced into secession—and by an English parliamentary majority, it must be remembered—their activities might have gone largely into the founding of educational institutions. The task before them of building churches and manses was certainly a sufficiently onerous one, and no one could have blamed them had they left the school question in abeyance for the time being. But the incredible intolerance of the Established Church party forced them to act.

From the universities and normal schools downward many of the brightest teachers were evicted. In Edinburgh the faculty of the normal school went out in a body; and it was the same in the sister institution in Glasgow. These men had to be provided for. Two days after the Disruption Dr. Chalmers felt it necessary to declare himself on the question. "I am aware," he said, "and you may have heard, of some instances where not parish teachers (these required more time) but private teachers, most efficient teachers besides, have been dismissed from their employment, and turned adrift with families on the wide world, for no other reason than that they approve of our principles. Such cases, I think, fairly come within our cognizance, and it is our duty to provide for them. We can get teaching for schoolmasters."

His colleague, Dr. Welsh, made a similar statement a few days later. "Schools to a certain extent," he declared, "must be opened to afford a suitable sphere of occupation for parochial, and still more for private, teachers of schools, who are threatened with deprivation of their present office on account of their opinions upon the church question. Such individuals should be invited instantly to give in their names to the church, and provision should at once be made for their employment. Instances of tyranny, in most cases unmanly and in all unworthy, threats of expulsion from their situations, of withdrawing small endowments, of taking away scholars supported by donations, have been brought under the notice of the committee. They are the more deserving of attention on this account, that we have not only the case of cruelly injured teachers, but still more, perhaps, of the children who are to be put into different hands."

Many of the titled and other large landholders of the country were induced to use the law in an extreme way in order to harass teachers who had left the Established Church. For instance, at Fairlie, near Largs, on the shores of the Clyde, a school had been built by two wealthy and prominent Glasgow merchants on ground owned by the Earl of Glasgow. Both of these benevolent gentlemen came out with the church leaders and became members of the Free Church; so did the teacher, a Mr. Pinkerton. And yet the earl, taking advantage of the absence of a signed lease, gave

notice of ejection in five days. Happily Mr. Pinkerton held a written agreement requiring six months' notice before dismissal, otherwise he would have been immediately replaced by one more acceptable to his lordship. Across the estuary at Campbeltown there was an educational staff in the parish consisting of nineteen teachers of both sexes. All who could be thus attached received notice of dismissal. In all, two hundred and twelve teachers throughout the kingdom were expelled at this time and for the same ecclesiastical reason. Seventy-seven were parish school teachers, seventy-five served under the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, an organization in sympathy with the outgoing evangelical part of the church, and sixty were Assembly school teachers. In addition, nearly two hundred teachers of private schools were ejected by legal means, thus leaving a great company of faithful, well-equipped instructors without means of livelihood. Such treatment laid heavy obligation upon the new church organization, already hard pressed to find ways and means for meeting her more immediate wants. But she rose to the occasion. These teachers had made sacrifices for the sake of principle that compared with any, and the people at large knew this. A speaker at the General Assembly, held at Glasgow five months after the Disruption, gave them a deserved tribute: "We seek not," he said, "to depreciate the testimony borne by our fathers and brethren of this Assembly, or that which has given new occasion for thanksgiving and many prayers—the testimony from the banks of the Ganges; but, faithful as these have been, we can discover an element that gives even a purer character to that lifted up by the teachers of Scotland in their comparatively more obscure and humble walk of life. There was no visible necessity laid upon them as upon us to take up a self-denial testimony. They were not publicly committed. Their refusal of the testimony would not have been dishonor and apostasy. They had few or none of those advantages of mutual confidence by which one man strengthens the heart of another, and which we so largely enjoyed. It was a question resolved between God and their own consciences, decided by each man apart in the communings of his heart with the Word of truth, and in prospect of his final accountability to the God who gave it. Theirs has been

a testimony proceeding from faith unfeigned, and from a pure heart fervently."

A Perthshire minister, youthful and enthusiastic, took up the task of presenting the claims of the ejected teachers before the country, and asking for a response. Macdonald of Blairgowrie, better known as Dr. Macdonald of North Leith, where he was afterward minister for many years, formulated a scheme for the organizing of a school system which should more than provide for the ejected four hundred. His plan called for five hundred schools to be under Free Church management; and, before the close of this eventful year, 1843, he had secured the approval of the veteran Dr. Welsh. "The more I reflect upon your plan," wrote Welsh, "the more admirable it appears; and now that you have got the deliverance of the General Assembly in its favor, it requires only diligence and perseverance to insure success." This approval had been given by acclamation three days before, and Macdonald had been assigned to the work. This ratification by Dr. Welsh was like the handing over of the mantle of Elijah. The writer, who had done so much for the original normal schools of his native land, had only a few months to live; his career was practically over. But the younger man was destined to succeed in the new enterprise far beyond the expectations of his friends.

The sum Macdonald set before him as necessary to meet the requirements of the case was $250,000, which should go to aid in the erection of fifty schools, in the proportion of $500 to each school. Having donations mapped out in a graduated scale varying from $10 to $125, the indefatigable Macdonald made a lecturing tour of the whole country, and secured $35,000 in the capital, in Dundee $13,500, in Inverness $5,000; and so on proportionally. Then he crossed the border, and in London, Liverpool, and Manchester raised $10,000 with little difficulty. By May, 1844, when the General Assembly met in Edinburgh, he was able to report that $145,000 had been subscribed in Scotland alone, with $15,000 additional from England, mainly from the Scotch Presbyterians there. The appeal went to the hearts of the people. The lecturer was never allowed to lodge a single night in an inn, and in every case a minimum of $500 was subscribed at the first meeting.

At the close of the church year two hundred and eighty schools were in operation under the new system, and before another twelve months were over the committee could report over five hundred teachers at work. As another class of schools had been affiliated, which gave employment to nearly one hundred and forty teachers, the whole teaching staff of the Free Church amounted to six hundred and fifty. The scholars reported in 1847 as in attendance at five hundred and ninety-five of these schools numbered forty-four thousand. The committee could inform the Assembly of that year with some pride that already the number of children in attendance at the schools of the Free Church of Scotland might be regarded as equal in number to the attendance on the whole parochial schools of Scotland. One reason for the popularity of the schools was the quality of the men who manned them. The men who came out in 1843 were, as so capable an authority as Dr. Robert Smith Candlish[1] could affirm, "the *élite*, the very flower of all the educational bodies in all broad Scotland." He gave as a reason for their quality that the men of stanch Christian principle are, generally speaking, the men of intellectual power and energy. The very fact that they had been called upon to suffer gave them an enthusiasm and a heartiness that stimulated them to high attainments.

In 1869, after a quarter of a century's work, the committee could report, in response to a government inquiry, just two fewer than six hundred schools under their charge, two of them normal schools; manned by six hundred and thirty-three teachers and sixty-four thousand scholars. In elementary work their grade placed them ahead of any other schools in England or Scotland, as shown by the results of the examination determining government grants. The Free Church had spent in all since the Disruption $3,000,000 on her school system, more than a third of this sum having been laid out in buildings. The annual payments for salaries and equipments amounted to about $80,000.

The fact that both the normal schools are situated in the immediate neighborhood of two national universities has made it possible for the students to enjoy some of the benefits of the more

[1] A son of "Miss Smith, she has wit" of Burns's "Mauchline Belles."

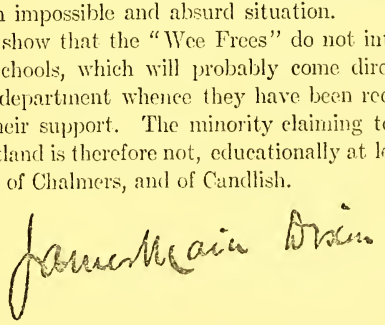
cultured institutions. Replying to certain objections made to the normal schools, on the score that they were antagonistic to the universities, Dr. Candlish, in his first report as chairman of the committee, expressed himself as follows: "I will just say on this point that the committee are far from desiring that your normal schools for teachers should ever take the place of or supersede attendance at the ordinary colleges or universities of Scotland. On the contrary, your committee are perfectly prepared to recommend, if the House will adopt the recommendation, that it should be a condition that anyone competing for your higher rates of salary should show that he has been at least one or more years in attendance at the literary classes of the university. But the committee beg to observe that attendance at the classes of the university has never until now, under any system of Scotland, been a necessary qualification, and we all know that the teachers, under the system that prevailed in the parochial schools, have been selected, excepting in some favored districts of the country, very much without regard to such a qualification." This close relation between the normal schools and the universities of Edinburgh continued to be nourished and strengthened. In the capital, for instance, the Free Church, now the United Free Church, Normal School is situated on the Canongate, in the historic Moray House, from the balcony of which the Marquis of Argyle looked upon his hated rival, the gallant Montrose, as he was borne to execution in the Grassmarket. It is but a short walk to the Tron, and thence south to the university, and few ambitious normal school men fail to register for one or more university classes.

In the early seventies the demand for a national system of education for Scotland took practical effect by the establishment of school boards throughout the country. The leaders in educational matters in the Free Church were in sympathy with this movement, and the church was soon able to relieve herself in great measure of responsibilities that she had assumed in the beginning with wonderful heartiness and generosity, and had continued to bear with conscientious zeal and alacrity.

The theological seminaries of the church hardly come under the same category as the national enterprises with which we have

just dealt. But yet they had at first a more general aspect. The tests that were demanded of university professors sixty years ago made it advisable that the Free Church should have, at least in her philosophy chairs, men who were loyal to her principles. Accordingly Patrick C. McDougall and Alexander Campbell Fraser were appointed to the chairs of Moral Philosophy and of Logic and Metaphysics respectively. Some years later the objectionable tests were removed; and as the chairs in the university fell vacant Professor P. C. McDougall became successor to the famous Christopher North (John Wilson) in 1853, and Professor A. C. Fraser, three years later, to the less famous but far more capable Sir William Hamilton. The latter still survives, having made a secure reputation as the interpreter of Berkeley and the biographer and editor of Locke. The Free Church College, which found a location in one of the choicest spots in Edinburgh, attracted an extraordinary number of students from abroad. Other colleges were founded at Glasgow, where Henry Drummond taught, and at Aberdeen, where Robertson Smith was professor of Hebrew—men whose reputation is international. By the recent extraordinary decision of the English Lord Chancellor the two hundred and odd students of the New College at Edinburgh have been ejected, with a staff of professors who stand in the forefront of theological learning and reputation to-day, to make way for a dozen or more ultra-conservatives who are quite out of touch with modern thought. The university has opened its doors to the ejected men, and the country awaits some action which shall bring the principles of equity to bear upon an impossible and absurd situation.

The latest reports show that the "Wee Frees" do not intend to touch the normal schools, which will probably come directly under the educational department whence they have been receiving three fourths of their support. The minority claiming to be the Free Church of Scotland is therefore not, educationally at least, the successor of Welsh, of Chalmers, and of Candlish.



Art. VIII.—MISSIONARY REORGANIZATION

The action of the last General Conference in appointing a Commission with instructions to consolidate the so-called "Benevolent Societies" of the church will very probably lead to the introduction of some important changes in the practical working of most of the societies concerned. The instructions given to this Commission do not, it is true, explicitly say that the societies shall be reorganized, but the changes ordered will inevitably involve a reconstruction at some points, and if the work of reconstruction is taken up at all it is not probable that the members of the Commission will be able to stay their hands till a change amounting to a practical reorganization is effected in the case of the leading societies. It is to be hoped that the Commission will courageously grapple with the responsibility which confronts them, and give the church two great missionary societies, thoroughly organized, and fully equipped for the splendid opportunities which confront us at home and abroad. As my personal service is connected with the work in foreign lands, it will probably not be expected that I should discuss questions of organization connected with missions in the United States, save as the interests of both fields shall be found to be identical.

First of all, the chapter on Missions in the Discipline should be set aside at a single stroke. It cannot be expunged by the Commission, but it has never been operative so far as its earlier provisions are concerned, and those parts of it which are of value can be incorporated into a new chapter or constitution by the Commission. A confusion of thought seems manifest in places as one looks through this chapter. At one point the Missionary Society is in evidence, and again it is the church which governs the situation. Indeed, one secretary used to say that there was no Missionary Society, but only the church at times acting under that name. This secretary was probably right to a certain extent, but if so, the time has come to remove ambiguity in the case, and hereafter teach our people to render unto the church that which belongs to the church, and to the Missionary Society that which

belongs to the Society. The Commission is instructed to provide for the church a foreign missionary society, and to transfer to this society such interests connected with our work in foreign lands as are now connected with the existing Society. The first step in such a procedure should be to determine what shall be the unit of organization. Beyond doubt it should be a local organization in each church. The present plan of appointing a committee on missions, and employing collectors, has never proved successful to any notable extent, and it is useless to depend on it any longer. It bears too much an appearance of imposing duty upon unwilling servants, and lacks the element of spontaneity which is vital in all forms of Christian service. In small churches, and in a few large ones, it may be difficult to secure an effective organization, but that the task does not involve any element of impossibility has been abundantly demonstrated by the two Woman's Societies.

After the local missionary societies, provision should be made for a district society. This should be a delegated body, representing the local societies within the several presiding elders' districts. The General Conference of 1896 made provision for a missionary secretary in each presiding elder's district, but owing to the comparative isolation of the office, and the want of a method in making the appointment, the measure has not resulted in as much good as it might have done, but where properly utilized the office has proved fairly effective. If backed by an organized district society, with an influential president, such a secretary could accomplish very much good indeed. Next in order comes the Conference Missionary Society. This is a disciplinary organization, and has been for many long years, but has seldom proved of any practical value, and may be regarded as little more than a nominal arrangement for securing a missionary anniversary at the session of the Annual Conference. Of course, it might be put to a better use, and in a few instances has been supplemented by provisions which have given it some little practical value, but among our people at large it is not generally known that such a society is provided for, or has any existence in the church. An incident of recent occurrence will illustrate this statement. A public speaker was asked by the senior Missionary Secretary to take his place at the regular

anniversary of a Conference Missionary Society. The Annual Conference which was in session was one of the largest in the church, and a very large audience filled the room in which the Conference met. When the speaker entered the room he saw a very large audience, but a vacant platform. No one seemed to be in charge, and the speaker went up on the platform and asked if the president of the Conference Missionary Society was present. At first no one could tell, but after a time it was discovered that he was not present. The secretary was next asked for, and after a time this official was discovered and came to the help of the stranger. Here was a great audience and a great occasion, but the "Society" which was supposed to have authorized the meeting did not seem to be aware of its own existence. In fact, there was no society in the case. A custom had been observed of holding a missionary meeting in connection with the regular sessions of the Annual Conference, but this custom would have been observed in the usual manner if no mention had ever been made of a Conference Missionary Society. Indeed, so completely has this so-called society dropped out of sight that seven Annual Conferences in the Northwest have ignored its existence, and adopted the following resolutions:

Whereas, The rapid growth, and hence imperative needs, of our mission fields make necessary a Conference and District organization, giving more careful attention and supervision to our missionary interests, and closer contact with the General Society; therefore,

Resolved, That we organize a Conference Missionary Society, and that one minister and two laymen from each district, named by the cabinet, in addition to the Presiding Elders and District Missionary Secretaries and the District Epworth League Presidents, who shall be ex officio members, shall constitute the Board of Managers of said Conference Missionary Society.

It will be very unfortunate if isolated or sectional movements of this kind are started in different parts of the country, but the only way to prevent such disjointed action is for the authorized Commission to take up the question promptly, and deal with it in such a manner as to meet the actual wants of the friends of missions in all parts of the country. Next to the Conference Missionary Society a slight recognition is given to the several General Conference Districts by the representation which

is given to them in the General Missionary Committee. This representation, however, is very indirect, at least so far as the selection of a delegate is concerned, and is not always satisfactory. The delegates to the General Conference from the several Annual Conferences in the district meet together, and put in nomination a candidate, who is usually one of their own number, and whose nomination is usually confirmed by a formal vote of the General Conference. The mere statement of the method of procedure will suggest to any intelligent reader certain doubts as to the practical wisdom of the plan. It often, and perhaps it ought to be said, usually, leads to a good selection, but in the past there have been exceptions, and on one occasion the General Conference summarily rejected the nomination reported to that body. But at best this slight function hardly does more than suggest that the General Conference District might easily be utilized to better purpose by giving it a formal organization, enlarging its functions, and making it a power for good in the great missionary movement of the times. What might be accomplished by it is illustrated in part by some of the great missionary conventions which are taking place throughout the church. In fact the agency set on foot a few years ago under the title of the "Open Door Movement" illustrates at once both the character and possibilities of the organization needed for missionary purposes in the several "districts" of the church. But the proposed District Missionary Society should not be limited in its functions to the mere routine duty of arranging for great missionary conventions. It should stand in a direct relation to the General Missionary Committee, and might with advantage to the work be placed in a special relation to certain parts of the work in foreign lands. It is no longer possible for the head office in New York to keep in close touch with every part of the constantly expanding work beyond the seas, and already indications may be observed of a willingness, and even a strong desire, on the part of individuals and churches to relieve the General Society of part of its responsibility by assuming, in whole or in part, the support of certain agencies in foreign fields. But this support will very often be made to extend very far beyond the mere payment of a fixed sum of money. A

striking illustration of this policy is seen in the case of the "Branch" organizations of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. The several branches not only are willing to support special interests, but a very generous as well as interesting rivalry is observed among them, as each branch eagerly tries to secure a share in the support of any work which seems full of special promise. The fact that the Missionary Society is already employing eight special secretaries, and that these men find abundant and very urgent work to employ their time, shows very clearly that the work of the Missionary Society is expanding rapidly, not only in its active operations in foreign lands, but in the direction of the operations which are inseparable from its financial support in the homeland. An era of missionary expansion has come, and the church must adjust her agencies to the demands of the times. Some reader will be startled at the mention of eight special secretaries, but a business agency handling an equal amount of money, and dealing with interests touching nearly all parts of the world, would probably employ eighty men where this Society employs eight.

After the District organization we next come to the General Missionary Committee. Organized many years ago, chiefly for the purpose of distributing the annual contributions of the churches, this body has steadily grown in numbers and strength until it has become one of the most notable official bodies in the church. It distributes very large sums of money; it deals authoritatively with great financial interests; it sometimes comes very near to the line of ecclesiastical administration; and it considers questions of boundary rights which affect the interests of empires-to-be. It sometimes makes, and possibly on rare occasions unmakes men. Its proceedings are widely read, and have done much in influencing opinion in the church. But while all this and much more can be said, it must be added that the General Committee has outgrown its functions, and in trying to do the impossible sometimes makes serious mistakes. When strangers attend a session of this body and see sixty able men, with a fair knowledge of business methods, engaged in distributing a million and a half dollars among claimants from the ends of the earth in an open session and acting strictly under the rules of parliamentary procedure they are often amazed

beyond measure. A dozen better methods might easily be devised for this work, but a worse method could only be found with difficulty. Various mistakes are sometimes made at these meetings. A motion involving a hundred dollars or less is sometimes debated for an hour, and soon after a motion to give ten, or perhaps twenty, thousand, is put through, under the previous question, with little or no debate. Of course the defects of the system have been seen and appreciated, but there never has seemed to be either time or opportunity for making a change. The time and way are now both at hand. The composition of the General Committee should be changed, and the method of electing its members should also be changed. The episcopal element is unduly large. Of the sixty-three members of the Committee very nearly one half are bishops or missionary bishops. The lay element should be strengthened and made to approximate more nearly to the number of ministers in the Committee. As it seems to be practically settled that our foreign Conferences will not hereafter be administered by nonresident bishops, there does not seem to be any necessity for the entire body of bishops to be enrolled as members of this General Committee, nor will it be necessary for all the missionary bishops to be present at every session. As to the functions of the General Committee, the chief, or at least the first to be mentioned, should be that of electing all the officers of the Missionary Society. If this change should prove to be the first step toward taking all elections, except possibly in the choice of bishops, out of the General Conference, so much the better. No careful observer can watch these elections without surprise that a people so practical as the Methodists have tolerated the present system so long. The procedure is made spectacular, and one would almost think it had been devised as a bait to the ambition of young men. So far as the effect is concerned, it is well known that men who have no shadow of hope of an election often use strenuous efforts to secure votes for the sake of the prominence which a candidature is supposed to give them. As for the effect on the general body of delegates, it is sufficient to call attention to the remark so often heard during the first ten days of a General Conference session: "You can't

expect them to get down to business till after the elections." The best equipped editors, the best secretaries, and the best business agents will not often be found under the present system. It may, of course, be easy to point to some special case in which the election has proved judicious in a very high degree, but the fact remains that the children of this world would be too wise in their generation to borrow this item of our economy from us. Nothing under the sun could induce the proprietors of the New York Tribune to allow the Republican National Convention to elect for a term of four years the editor of their paper. The reorganization of the General Committee and a new statement of its functions demand the most careful and prayerful consideration of the commission intrusted with this important duty. This Committee must long continue to be one of the most important bodies in the church, and if some of its present functions should be curtailed this would only lead to greater responsibility and more enlarged activity in other directions.

The organization of an effective board of managers is a question which involves some peculiar difficulties. The present board consists of sixty-four members, equally divided between ministers and laymen, together with the bishops of the church, who are ex officio members but are hardly to be considered as working members. Taken as a whole this board is an able body, but in its practical working it is not always found effective. Most of the members are busy men who can ill afford to spare the time for a careful consideration of the questions which are brought forward. The sessions usually begin at three o'clock, and by four o'clock requests for leave of absence begin to be heard. By five o'clock half the members have felt obliged to leave, and before six all have gone except five or six. The meaning of this is that in recent years the missions of the church have been enormously extended, and in consequence the business which legitimately belongs to the Board of Managers cannot longer be handled by that body without a change of method. The body is too large, and it is probable that a good many items of business are referred to it which might safely be left in the hands of the secretaries. The "Board Question" is one which troubles, or at least perplexes,

the friends of many missionary and other benevolent societies, and in our church the problem is no more perplexing than elsewhere. For the present it may suffice to say that only working members should be given a place on it, and that the functions of the body should be more distinctly marked out. It is probable also that its functions might be enlarged in some directions with advantage to various interests. It remains to call attention to one more change which is demanded by the growing responsibilities of the Society. A president and one or two vice-presidents should be elected to preside at the meetings of the Board and General Committee, and to represent the Society on all occasions where a president of such a society is expected to appear. Under present arrangements a bishop, with his residence in Chicago, has been president of the Society with its headquarters in New York. In his absence any other bishop may take the chair, but this is tantamount to saying that the Society has no president.

If some of the foregoing remarks may seem to reflect somewhat harshly on the general policy and administration of the Missionary Society it ought to be more than sufficient to reply that it has been the amazing growth, both of the Society and its world-wide work, which has called attention to existing defects. Agencies which sufficed for the situation as it was forty or fifty years ago are simply out of date now. For the hundredth time our missionary authorities may say, "Our success has become our embarrassment." The time—I will venture to say the set time—has come for thoroughly overhauling our missionary machinery and providing for the ingathering of the most splendid spiritual harvest which has gladdened the hearts of men and angels since the day of Pentecost.

J. M. Thoburn

Art. IX.—THE STRONGEST HOLD OF THE CHURCH

The Christian church is an institution of divine origin and authority, and therefore membership in it is a matter the most dutiful and responsible of any relation in life. The organic unity and life of the church, as a body of which Christ is the head, owe their existence to the word and will of God. Both the old and the new covenants were originally made with churches, or with individuals as members of those churches. The evangelical definition and idea of the church is of "that one mystical body of which Christ is the sole head, and in the unity of which all saints, whether in heaven or earth or elsewhere, are necessarily included as constituent parts." This idea nullifies all mere sectarian claims and pretensions and makes the real church invisible, and it makes the visible church a body composed of all true believers, whether of one denominational fold or another; and it also makes the ecclesiastical structure which shelters these saints a part of the divine plan for the training and culture of souls. In no other way can the church be viewed as "the body of Christ, the fullness of him that filleth all in all." The notion that the church is a mere organ of expediency or a human device, something like a fraternal lodge or a clubhouse, to be supported or ignored as men may choose, is one of the baneful and superficial conceptions of this modern age; a trick of the devil to ease conscience and to thwart Christ. No true American has so mean a conception even of his citizenship as this secular sentiment would imply. Loyalty to the constitution and enthusiasm for the flag are held to be patriotic duties, not optional whims. Yet there is not a nation or empire on earth whose constitution embodies so much of infinite intent, direction, and authority as the church of Jesus Christ. God himself founded the church. He framed its charter and appointed its solemn services. His manifold wisdom is centered in it and is to be made known through it, "according to the purpose of the ages which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord." Mere denominational polities are left to human judgment, but the agencies for spiritual development are the appointments of God. He gave "some to be apostles, some

prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers for the building up of the body of Christ." What God gave for man's good man cannot reject nor neglect without harm. It was upon the assembled church that the Spirit of God descended at Pentecost, and it was to the church that the Lord added daily such as were saved by pentecostal labor. The very first work of the primitive Christians was the organization of churches, and it was against these churches, as the citadels of the Christian faith, that the first outbursts of persecution were brought to bear. The enemies of God recognized the churches as the headquarters of the divine kingdom. Paul's epistles are addressed to churches, or written for churches, and his description of the ideal church is one of the most beautiful and suggestive things in the sacred writings: "Christ also loved the church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish." Can an expression more tender and forceful be sent forth in human language? "Christ loved the church." So, then, should we. No other institution on earth has so rightful a claim on our affection. Christ "gave himself for the church." So, then, should we. The spirit of sacrifice should underlie all other impulses and principles. Christ wishes the church "sanctified"—set apart for divine uses only; and "cleansed"—made free from all pollution. Christ intends to present the church to himself. It is the one earthly thing which, purified, ennobled, and made "glorious," he would forever take to his heart and call his own. The Saviour seeks a faultless church, "not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing." A spot differs from a clean record; a wrinkle differs from a perfect feature. Jesus wants neither spot nor wrinkle in his church. He notices the little things which would mar moral beauty and lessen the attractive power of his own ordained agency. He wants his people to be "without blemish." Such a people command respect and sympathy and gain a strong grip on the thought of mankind. Herein is the church's best hold. Inward cleanness and unblemished constituency, no defect in moral face or form, everything right with Christ—these insure a

rightful relation of the church to the world, exerting for her the highest influence for good and enabling her ever to exhibit the clearest proof of her benign mission and of her divine commission.

The fact cannot be ignored that in these later days many influential and scholarly people dispute the claim of the church to divine backing. The modern scientists of skeptical tendencies oppose the idea of supernaturalism in either sacred history or current religious life. They insist that miracles never happen, that matter is under fixed laws, that interruptions do not occur, that the ruling power of the universe is not a person, and hence that no revelation has ever come to man except such as he is receiving every day, that Christ was a high and holy character, but not a divine Saviour, save as all lofty characters are—in a word, that supernaturalism of every shade and quality is not a fact, but a fond and fanciful delusion of mistaken men. The scientists concede that Jesus was a great teacher, that the Bible is a marvelous book, that religion is an interesting study in human development, and that the church as a form of evolution has an important mission in the world. They concede that religious experience is real to those who enjoy it, that a high standard of life should be a universal aim, and that, while theology and creeds will pass away, enlightened men will still cling to all that is elevating in poetry, art, religion, and other elements which lie chiefly within the domain of the subjective mind. They insist that matters which have to do with the reasoning faculties and are subject to the laws of evidence are properly subjects for their investigations and must ultimately take their proper places among established truths or errors. It is not necessary to state more explicitly the attitude and purposes of science. Our concern is to determine the best method for demonstrating the God-given mission of Christianity, convincing men of the reality of sin and the recognized need of salvation, of the fact that the believer finds in the atonement a means of conscious pardon and in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit a blessed power to cleanse the heart and inspire to commendable action. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Fruit unto holiness is the best proof that holiness is real. An earnest religious spirit is the best demonstration that conversion is genuine. Passing

from death unto life is the indubitable evidence that Christ saves. Good works show strong faith. Christ at work is the best proof of miracle. The established Christian is the best proof of Christ. Christlikeness is the best proof of the Christian. "Going about continually doing good" is the best proof of Christlikeness. Argument alone will never silence the gainsayers. A devoted Christian life will put them to shame. To bring forth fruit meet for repentance is to prove that repentance is the door to pardon and peace. "The kingdom of heaven is within you," and it is a kingdom which the natural man, whether scientist, infidel, or worldling, can never enter without complying with the divinely prescribed conditions; and so long as such persons remain outside this spiritual kingdom they cannot know as to its laws nor pass intelligent judgment upon its nature and benefits. Within this sacred realm the experienced Christian is secure. He is superior to argument, opposition, ridicule, materialistic investigation, and scientific conclusion. He is on independent ground. One is his master, even Christ. No skeptic can reach him, and few will try. He knows whom he has believed, and he carries in his own heart the power and blessedness of a life hid with Christ in God. Let him make the most of his opportunity. Let him exhibit by word and deed the reality of his experience. Let him demonstrate that he has Christ put on, the hope of glory formed within by showing mercy and walking humbly with God. His exemplary life and well-directed zeal will convince even the adversaries that there are some things worth knowing and possessing which do not come within the compass of materialistic philosophy.

One thing is clear to churchmen and worldling alike, and that is that the gospel of doing good is incontestably accredited as the most godlike spirit and of the most humane character. Let this gospel be preached by Christians as by no other class or clan, and soon the God we serve will be enthroned in the universal human heart as the One most worthy of adoration. Such a practice growing out of such an experience I call the strongest hold of the church: 1. It has God behind it. "To do good and to communicate forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased." "If God be for us, who can be against us?" In the great civil war

Abraham Lincoln was asked whether he thought the Lord was on our side. "I don't know," he said; "I am more concerned whether we are on the Lord's side." As surely as there is a God we should be on his side; and if in being saved and saving others we are not on his side, then the whole trend of sacred teaching is misleading and the church is founded upon the sand. 2. It has deep-seated conviction under it. Spiritual experiences do satisfy the heart of man. They are the panacea for moral disease. Every man who finds them is sure that he has soul health. Experimental religion fits into moral condition as the natural eye fits into its socket. 3. It has world encouragement around it. The prosperity of the church is the glory of the nation. Men desire no union of church and state, but they do desire what is better—exalted manhood for high statesmanship. Gladstone, the devout Christian, saying his prayers and subduing his ugly temper, is the stuff out of which the ideal English statesman is made. Washington, the God-fearing churchman, is the trusted soldier whom Americans follow to victory and then revere as "the father of his country." The world's heroes have been God's servants. There is to-day no discount on a devout character for any position within the gift of man. No avowed infidel has ever reached the White House. No coarse blasphemer has ever become an American general in chief. The whole world fears to trust men who fear not God. Let the church, therefore, adhere closely and devoutedly to her mission of reforming the continent and of spreading scriptural holiness over these lands. The pulpit is best served when it most exalts Christ. The sermon is most eloquent when it melts hard hearts. The pew is most inviting when the poor are at ease in it. The altar is most sacred when washed by the tears of penitents. God and humanity are nearest together when mortals cry, "My soul fainteth for the courts of the Lord." Men can find pastime in clubs, money in business, fame in war, position in politics, fun in sports, death in dissipation, but they can find spiritual life only in God. This is not theology; it is everyday truth. It is not oratory; it is the plain bread from heaven that alone can prevent eternal starvation. And while the church, under God, is feeding her members on this heavenly bread let her also, in ways most

practical, demonstrate to the world the full original meaning and value of identification with her interests.

In the early church the privilege of membership signified a world of good. Brotherly love was manifested in tangible ways. The humblest worthy member was cared for both as to physical sustenance and social requirements. Businesslike methods kept every material interest in perfect order and created social conditions almost ideal. Insurance companies, fraternal orders, and social clubs were wholly unnecessary. The worthy poor were relieved, and the noble rich found in the church a satisfactory fellowship and a wide field for exalted activity. Church membership then meant as much to a worldling as American citizenship means to a foreigner now. It brought him into the enjoyment of something he could not find outside the Christian fold. And this condition of things ought as far as possible to be restored. Businesslike principles are needed in the church as nowhere else. Commercial order and financial integrity would put many a religious society on its feet. Pastors uniformly well supported would enjoy a self-respect and a fraternity regard to which many of them now are strangers. That bishop of ours who remarked in his Conference address that if some official members should transact the world's business as they do the Lord's business they would be discharged for unfaithfulness and perhaps imprisoned told the exact truth. It follows that neglect which would be criminal in commercial life cannot be commendable in church life. These reprehensible habits should be revolutionized and the business methods of the church should be made to harmonize with the highest ethical sense of the age. Such restoration would go far toward the installation of old-time prestige and power. The church must command the respect of men if she would sway their hearts and control their conduct. Responsible leadership in the church must be regulated by approved principles. Nothing can safely be left to chance or haphazard conditions. Take, for instance, the present glaring inequality in ministerial salaries. One pastor is favored with a big church and wealthy parishioners, and is enviously well supported; another serves a mission among the poor, and almost starves to death. Such a disparity of compensation is incongruous

and unchristian. It obtains nowhere else in human society. As Rev. E. F. Blanchard has so fittingly suggested, the government of the United States does not do business in this way. A postman in Polacktown gets as large a salary as a postman in Uppertendom. A colonel commanding a regiment of New York millionaires receives no larger salary than the colonel of Rough Riders from New Mexico. The brakemen of freight trains are as well compensated as the brakemen of limited flyers. All secular authority compensates employees for what they do, not for what they happen to gain by force of circumstances. Ought not church authority to learn a lesson here? Surely the efficient humble servant ought not to suffer in silence while a more exacting favored son revels in luxury. So long as he does so suffer the church is not "the light of the world."

We must in some degree bring back the fraternal spirit of the primitive church and adapt it to the conditions of our time. The Lord's work must be done by the Lord's men in the Lord's way. Grace, system, sagacity, common sense, and business zeal regulating the secularities of the church would restore to our communion very much of its pristine power and glory.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

Aubrey De Vere was in Ireland during the great famine of 1846, and was an active member of the Relief Committee. The discussions at the meetings of the committee disgusted him because all sorts of crude propositions were shot in on the spur of the moment, without reference to any general principle or to exact facts. Considering that De Vere was a poet and, by general testimony, the most purely poetic nature of his time, he appears as a pretty shrewd observer in some conclusions he drew from those large committee meetings:

1. People cannot really deliberate in public.

2. An agreement must always be virtually arrived at behind the scenes.

3. Great good temper and tact are quite as requisite as wisdom to effect public good.

4. A person of dignity and suavity is needed as an amalgam at such meetings in order to make the rest work together.

5. Petty jealousies sometimes determine the greatest questions.

6. When the public are present in numbers each speaker virtually addresses the public, or represents their views instead of simply speaking his mind.

7. When tired out men will vote anything to have done with the matter.

8. A meeting has the best chance of working well if practically governed by a single individual, who will feel his responsibility and be at the trouble of ascertaining what he would be at.

Last July Professor Masterman, writing on the Atonement in the Hibbert Journal, said: "We have left a long way behind the old ideas of . . . the imputing of a vicarious offering." In January, in the same Journal, John H. R. Sumner, of Grasmere, makes the following adverse comment:

> But have we left a long way behind *the facts*—the facts as *recorded by the evangelists* in their narrative of the grievous suffering and death of a voluntary victim? We have, too, as *facts* the express *assertion of the Sufferer* that the Son of man came

"to give his life a ransom for many," and the *positive declaration of Saint Peter* that "Christ also suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God." The suffering, then, is undisputed, and a definite purpose for it is assigned. That purpose is the conveyance to man of an inestimable benefit. These two—the suffering and the benefit resulting—are linked together. Can it, then, be maintained that the benefit would have been conferred without the suffering? and if the benefit had not been conferred, must not the condition of those for whom it was intended have remained wretched and miserable, unransomed, far off from God? Is it possible, then, to eliminate the idea of substitution, of a vicarious offering, from the contemplation of the events of the Passion? It is difficult to see how this can be. But there is no reason, while recognizing that eternal justice demanded the offering, why we should speak in language which attributes to the Deity "parts and passions," as an "angry God." In such a view, as has been indicated, of the cross and Passion of Jesus the Son of God—the most extreme, undeserved suffering, resulting in the most supreme blessing—may not some hint be found toward the understanding of that which is so frequently spoken of as the cruelty of nature? May not all undeserved suffering be part of an eternal law by which the greatest possible result and blessing is secured?

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE[1]

Out at ———, a few miles toward the mountains, there is no service in the churches to-day. There will be no sessions of its schools to-morrow. There are a few cases of diphtheria in the little town and the authorities are putting these restrictions on personal liberty to prevent its spread. Soon after the war the yellow fever broke out in New Orleans. The whole country was interested in stopping its ravages. From various parts of the nation supplies of all kinds, doctors, and nurses flowed in for help. So in Havana after the war with Spain. It was a pesthouse. We made it a health resort. It cost some valuable lives—like Colonel Waring's, of New York—and much money, but it had to be done. So we found Manila ravaged by the rinderpest, cholera, and bubonic plague. But its gutters were cleaned, its sewers constructed, disinfectants poured abroad by carloads, and now the city is as healthy in that respect as Denver. So we have battled with the smallpox. A prominent physician in Boston once told me there

[1] Desiring to print it at once and having no space for it elsewhere in this number of the Review, we make room among editorial discussions for this address delivered by Bishop Warren in Denver, last December, on the work of the most sagacious, practicable, efficient, and formidable movement as yet devised against the liquor traffic—the Anti-Saloon League, whose work we have repeatedly commended, and in support of which all Christian people ought to rally at once. The churches do not know how powerful they are. They are strong enough to beat back and strike down the liquor power whenever they go about it with unanimity and energy. District Attorney Jerome, of New York city, recently told a meeting of pastors that no Legislature and no governor would dare to disobey the will of the united religious and moral sentiments of the people expressed in clear demands and firmly supported. The crushing of the liquor traffic is within the power of the churches.

had not been a case there in ten years, and the younger doctors would not know a case if they saw one. The disease is as common as mumps or measles in unvaccinated countries. I see that the United States has begun a campaign for vaccinating 8,000,000 in the Philippines. They sweep through a whole town at a time, despite all opposition.

But a far greater evil than any of these—perhaps than all—afflicts this fair land of ours. I refer to the drink habit. First, it worse than wastes every year $1,172,563,232, very largely the money of poor and hard-working men. This is the estimate of the American Grocer, the organ of the liquor interests. Others equally reliable hold that it amounts to $1,500,000,000 per year. It is approximately 7-12 beer, 4-12 whisky, etc., 1-12 wine. So you see it is largely the poor man's waste. The ordinary expenses of the United States government, including the army, the far sailing navy, pensions, Indians, and all miscellaneous running expenses, are less than $500,000,000 a year. This does not include interest, or payment on the principal of the debt, or the Post Office department. In four months the bibulous capacity of the country would absorb it all. With tremendous sacrifice, expense, and toil the miners of the country annually extract from the depths of the earth and the frozen sands of Cape Nome gold and silver to the amount of $151,758,000. This would pay the drink bill about a month and a half. All the gold and silver mined in the United States from the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus till now would only pay the present drink bill about six years. We have nearly 200,000 miles of railroads in the country, nearly half of all in the world. They carry 600,000,000 passengers and a billion tons of freight in a year. Their entire receipts just about equal the drink bill. If we could stop all this drinking for eight months and turn over the proceeds we could pay the whole national debt in that time. But this waste of money is not the heinous item in the indictment against intoxicants. It frightfully depreciates the drinkers. The verdict of science and experience is that every drinker of intoxicants is a deteriorated being. When men of highest possible physical efficiency are wanted for the rigors of the north pole not a drop is allowed; for tropic heats not a drop, or for athletic field not a drop. Its discount is all the way from 10 per cent to 100, which is zero. Thirty-five years ago deteriorated, wine-drinking France was pitted against less-deteriorated, beer-drinking

Germany. O, it was most pitiful! Armies that had carried the eagles of Napoleon all over the continent were swept away like autumn leaves before a tempest, like children's sand forts before rushing ocean waves in a dozen battle fields in a month from Weissenburg to Sedan. Paris, with 200,000 soldiers inside, was invested by the same number outside. Seven desperate sorties proved that the besiegers were stronger at every point than the besieged could be at any. France, glorious France, fell not by bullets but by wine. It is a decadent nation to-day, no more to be reckoned on in the world's tremendous affairs except as a tail to some one else's kite.

But this is not the most heinous count in this awful indictment against drink. January 1, 1890, there were 82,329 prisoners for crime in the United States, and it cost $24,987,000 a year to maintain them. Experts charge from two thirds to nine tenths of the crime of the land to the drink. The incendiary's torch is lighted, the murderer's bludgeon swung, the assassin's knife whetted by the accursed drink. The Massachusetts Commissioner put on record his judgment that 96 per cent of adult criminals, 75 per cent of adult paupers, and 51 per cent of the insane are made so by drink.

Another heinous count in the indictment is this: It is one of those sins that curse the father and the children to the third and fourth generation. It has a frightful power in heredity. There was a man in Brooklyn—I could take you to his house when I lived there—he was prominent in business, in the social and church life of the city, hardly anyone more so. But his father had been a drunkard. All this man's brothers and sisters died of the inherited curse. His deterioration took the form of obstinate dyspepsia. He was in misery for a lifetime. A total abstainer himself, his children suffered for the sins of their grandfather. His daughter, a frail girl, died at nineteen of consumption; one son died of delirium tremens; one shot himself when he saw the delirium tremens coming on, and one fled to a part of the country where it was impossible to get drink. Seems this law of retribution to the third and fourth generation severe? The law of beneficence is written in the same sentence, "keeping loving-kindness unto a thousand generations of them that love me and keep my commandments." The law of sin exhausts itself in three or four generations; the law of blessing flows on for a thousand generations. Well might Mr. Lincoln say, "This legalized liquor traffic as carried on in the saloons and grog-

shops is the great tragedy of civilization. The saloon has proved itself to be the greatest foe, the most blighting curse, that ever found a home in our modern civilization. After reconstruction, the next great work before us is the prohibition of the liquor traffic in all the states and territories." What would be the effect? In the closing days of 1900 a person named Pearson was elected sheriff of Portland, Maine. There were 300 saloons. The first day he seized 61, and in a week closed every bar in the city. In six months business among retail merchants had increased 60 per cent, and he turned back 40 per cent of the pauper fund as not needed.

How shall it be done? What has been done? Not to go back beyond our day the Washingtonian movement pledged one half million abstainers in three years after 1840. The Sons of Temperance were organized in 1842; the Templars in 1845; the Good Templars in 1851. Father Matthew had a whirlwind reception in 1850. The Maine Law was enacted in 1851. Getting rid of the great curse of slavery absorbed our attention in the fifties and sixties. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized in 1874, and the Catholics were roused to new interest about the same time. But in spite of all these efforts the consumption of alcoholic drink per capita has steadily increased, with slight drops in years of hard times, till now we are consuming almost double the number of gallons per capita we were in 1880. Why is all this clear intelligence, this Christian and social influence, force of prohibitory law so ineffectual? First, because an army of 210,060, including 3,023 women as bar tenders, get employment, profit, and wealth from the business. They get so much wealth that they can pay licenses and fines, they can hire attorneys, bribe legislators, bully electors, and defy public opinion. They are conscienceless. They do not mind that they throw on the nondrinkers the awful burden of sustaining the wrecks of humanity that they make. Some protest against our army of 55,500 men keeping order in the world. But there is an army of 100,000 insane and idiots, at least half of whom are thrust upon us by this sale of intoxicating drink. They do not mind that they send 60,000—seven every hour of day and night to drunkards' graves. That they fill asylums with driveling idiots, and numberless homes with unmitigable sorrow. They deliberately set themselves to do this. One of the speakers in Columbus, Ohio, said this on "How to Build up the Saloon Business": "The success of our business is largely dependent on the

creation of an appetite for drink. Men who drink liquor will die, and if there is no new appetite created our counters will be empty as well as our coffers. The open field for the creation of an appetite is among boys. It will be needful, therefore, that missionary work be done among boys, and nickels expended in treats to the boys will return in dollars to your tills after the appetite is created." In the face of such a gigantic evil, so widespread, so profitable to those who are pushing it, what is to be done?

First, do not despair of victory. When the corner stone of Bunker Hill monument was about to be laid the great crowd pressed upon the platform to its great danger of overthrow. The president of the occasion begged the crowd to stand back, but he made no impression upon them. He asked Mr. Daniel Webster, the orator of the occasion, to speak to the people. He did so, but they answered him, "We cannot, it is impossible, Mr. Webster." "Impossible," cried Mr. Webster, "nothing is impossible on Bunker Hill; back with you." And back they went. So in view of the good sense, ability to know clearly and to do sublimely, I say nothing is impossible to Americans. Well, what shall we do? First, welcome every influence in the field. We need them all, home influence, Sunday school, public school, personal pledge, church work, newspapers, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, platform addresses, Prohibition Party, Anti-Saloon League. O for a thousand regiments to fight this all-prevailing curse! They would be none too many. There are many notes of cheer in our song. Many a watchman on the heights says the day cometh. First, 2,500,000 Sunday school teachers teach temperance to 26,000,000 pupils once every quarter, and especially on the World's Temperance Sunday in November; second, there is much less wine and liquor drinking at hotel tables and in the homes of the rich; third, 75 per cent of the employers of skilled labor and 50 per cent of the employers of unskilled labor require total abstinence on the part of their employees. There is reason for it. A watchman in a glass factory got muddled one night, and in the morning it was found that $12,000 worth of glass was spoiled. One hundred and sixty thousand miles of railroads of the 200,000 in the country, employing 1,000,000 men, prohibit the use of intoxicants by its employees. It is well. A fuddled brain in a minute may sacrifice twenty lives and a quarter of a million in property. Life insurance companies are recognizing that even the moderate use of liquor

shortens life. A tabulation of 124,673 cases by a great English company gives a shortening of 43 per cent of the expectation of life between the ages of 20 and 70. The expert accountants of the greatest company in Australia make it even more than this. The conclusions of science are all unanimous that the use of alcoholic liquors is evil, only evil and that continually. I am just back from Tennessee. The saloon is banished from all but eleven cities and they are sore besieged.

After a hundred experiments, none of them in vain, the agency for which I plead to-day is called the Anti-Saloon League. What is that? First, it is not a political party. It is not a third, fourth, or tenth party. If it were every other party in the field would jump on it with both feet. Yet it has to do with the political proceedings. Let me illustrate: I lived six years in Philadelphia. Slow as that city was reputed to be, it was rapid enough to have overtaken all styles of political corruption. It was impossible to vote for good men by either ticket, for they were not nominated. Then a committee of one hundred reputable citizens organized itself, and the first year they found one good, honest, true man in all the nominations. They publicly indorsed him in the papers over their signatures. He was elected by an amazing majority. The next year both parties sought to put up men that could secure such indorsement. They indorsed half a dozen regardless of party. All were elected. Soon the committee made the mistake of nominating a whole ticket. Then all parties united to defeat it. So the Anti-Saloon League indorses men for municipal affairs who will be true on the anti-saloon question regardless of their party affiliations. In this way all parties unite to redeem a town or precinct. This is as it should be. All possible forces are none too strong. But especially its work is to create, unite, and utilize all the anti-saloon sentiment in a city or state for immediate work. First to create. In Ohio in one year it printed and distributed 23,000,000 pages of temperance literature, six pages for every man, woman, and child in the state. It held 14,000 week-night mass meetings. It opened 8,000 churches for such discussions as this. It secured the passage of the best local option law yet enacted. It has banished the saloon from 3 counties, 4 cities, and 850 townships. One can easily see that all this requires our contributions. It is so generally successful that 39 states and territories have adopted its methods, and 400 persons are employed in this "business method of reform." It represents

not merely voting right on occasions, but eternal vigilance and ceaseless activity. Nearly every state and city has laws that limit the times, places, and persons to whom liquor may be sold. The Anti-Saloon League seeks to enforce all such laws. It is a good habit to acquire. Kill the one rattlesnake in the yard where your children play even if you cannot find the whole nest back of the hills. Once upon a time the whole Jewish nation in Persia was in peril of assassination by the decree of Haman. Beautiful Esther, a favorite in the king's court, might suppose herself safe from slaughter. But Mordecai sent word in to her, "Think not with thyself that thou shalt escape in the king's house, more than all the Jews." So she fasted and prayed, faced death, and saved her people. Favored citizens, blessed with all that wealth, refinement, culture, education, and Christianity can do, think not that you and your house shall escape. There are Hamans seeking your sons. Fast, pray, give, work, and God will bring deliverance.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE DEVIL

One who comes much into contact with the brightest young men from our best colleges will soon cease to feel surprise, however much he may experience regret, at finding that it is assumed as a matter finally settled that there is no such person as the devil. This is largely due to the fact that modern psychology professes to be able to account for all mental phenomena by the mind's own processes, thus excluding the necessity of positing a devil as an explanation of the moral evil ever present in the human heart. If what was once supposed to be the result of the devil's activity—the origin and perpetuation of moral evil in man—can be accounted for without the belief in the devil, then the chief rational argument for believing in the existence of the devil is gone.

There can be no doubt that the chief reason for the belief in the existence of intelligences with minds essentially like our own is that certain results demand belief in such existence. This is true alike of God, man, and devils. And it must be admitted that the rational argument for the existence of the devil is therefore much weaker than for God or men. We believe in the existence of other men than ourselves because we have means by which we can discover, as we think, that the laws of their thought are the same as the laws of our thought, and that they are actuated by the same

motives and are occupied with the same interests as ourselves. Essentially the same argument leads us to belief in the existence of a personal God. In the case of both God and men we find works outside of their operations in the human heart which point both to their existence and intelligence. But outside the human heart the devil has no works to show. If, therefore, his alleged works within the human heart can be explained without appeal to his operations there seems to be no call for his existence; his *raison d'être* is wanting. This is the sort of reasoning we have to meet.

The argument would be irrefragable if it could be proved that the phenomena connected with moral evil are explicable without diabolical influence. But it seems somewhat unreasonable in men who profess to hold communion with God and to recognize the operations of his Spirit in their hearts to claim that God is necessary to the explanation of their holy impulses, while the devil is not necessary to the explanation of their unholy impulses. If the doctrine that the powers inherent in the human mind are sufficient to account for all the phenomena of the mind, why apply this to the exclusion of the devil, and not to the exclusion of God, from the human heart? Besides, it is extremely doubtful whether all the phenomena can be accounted for without the supposition of a diabolical being. Even if we admitted the evolutionary theory of the origin of human sin the question arises as to how we shall explain certain facts farther down the line of development. Sinful disorders once in the heart, we can indeed explain all particular impulses and acts as a result of them. Sinful feelings and volitions, of whatever sort, would be but implications of the general disorder. But any careful observer must have noted that there are those peculiarities in human thinking, as distinguished from feeling and willing, that tend to evil. These peculiarities lend color to the thought of some gross deceiver's influence upon the minds of men. Reference is had here to certain phases of religious thought. There certainly is no inherent principle in the human mind by which it would more willingly go astray in its reasoning on the subject of religion than elsewhere. Yet, explain it as we may, there is a perversity in men's reasoning on religious subjects not found in other departments of thought. Men will doubt in religion on the basis of arguments that would be thoroughly ineffective in other affairs of life. Mystery will not paralyze activity in ordinary matters, but in religion it is often sufficient to produce such paralysis. The

doctrine that we must believe nothing we cannot prove, so often and so urgently enforced by agnostics, and so frequently accepted by others, is one that finds no place outside of religious thought. Legitimate enough indeed is the desire to avoid deception; and such a desire is felt in every realm of human interest. But the rules governing our cautious procedure in other domains are not, like those so often applied to religion, destructive of all possibility of life. The desire to live finds a way to activity regardless of all hindrances of thought; but though religion has been proved to be so fundamental a necessity of the human heart, the human reason will permit almost any hindrance to stand in the way of religion. To this writer there is no way of accounting for such a fact, so apparent to all careful students, except on the supposition that there is a being who loves a lie and to lead human beings into it. Since such a result can produce no beneficent result whatever the spirit that could prompt a being to secure it is just what we call diabolical. It is by no means a sufficient answer to this to say that men are perpetually reasoning incorrectly; for in all other departments of life than that of religion men correct their errors of reasoning and do not perpetuate them. In matters of religion one finds false reasoning handed down from age to age, and adopted, with all its paralyzing consequences, however frequently the error is pointed out. This is done by men otherwise sane and good. All the evidence points to an influence outside of these men leading them thus astray. The rational argument for the existence of the devil is therefore found not so much in moral perversity as in perversity of thought concerning God and holy things.

One of the favorite arguments against the existence of the devil is an illustration of this perversity of thought. It is often said, as though the utterance settled the question, that if there is a devil, then there is a fundamental dualism in the universe. Of course, no enlightened Christian can for a moment accept the idea of such a dualism. But the doctrine of the existence of the devil does not carry with it a fundamental dualism in the universe. In order to this that doctrine would have to maintain the self-existent character of the devil. While it might be difficult to say exactly what the Christian doctrine of the devil is, it is certain that it attributes to him no infinite attributes, but only great cunning and power, and a quality of practical omnipresence, though this last power is sometimes explained on the theory of a world of evil spirits

doing the bidding of their head. The general supposition has been that Satan and all his hosts are creatures of God, originally perfectly holy, but now fallen to a depth far greater than that of men. The whole subject carries with it difficulties exceedingly troublesome; but the doctrine of an eternal evil being is no part of the Christian doctrine. Yet the assertion of this dualism has persistently recurred as though it were true. In any other department of thought than that of religion the problem would be thought through before the assertion were made, and then it would not be made. On the other hand, in all the principal orthodox tenets the thinking has been so thorough that the essence of them survives in spite of all changes of thought in other departments, and they are found capable of adjustment to all newly discovered truths. The truth is always worth our search whether or not it possesses any apparent practical utility; but when the utility of the belief in the existence of the devil is desired it is well to point out that there is not only a theoretical but a practical demand for such a belief. The belief that whatever depths of depravity may exhibit themselves in human beings are capable of explanation by reference to the nature of the human heart tends to deprive us of one of the most impressive descriptions of sin. The sinfulness of the human heart is not rendered more odious by denying that the devil inspires it, and by affirming that specific examples of sin illustrate the depths of human depravity. The result of such a view is not to make men feel the need of a renewal of their moral nature. Rather is it to cause them to deny the enormity of their wicked acts. Men cannot endure the doctrine of their own total depravity, but seek some mitigation of it. If the sin cannot be attributed to diabolical inspiration men will not attribute it to their own evil natures, but deny its heinousness. This can be verified both by self-examination and also by the history of the doctrines of sin and of the devil, for faith in them rises and falls simultaneously. Wherever the doctrine of the devil is firmly held the consciousness of sin is deep and strong. And very naturally, since, as goodness is enhanced in the estimate of men by the thought that there is One perfectly good, so sin is debased by the thought that there is one wholly bad. To be like God is the highest hope of the aspiring soul; to be like the devil is his greatest fear. Thus the doctrine of the devil is seen to have both a theoretical, rational, and a practical justification.

THE ARENA

REPETITION IN THE DISCOURSES OF JESUS

A NOVICE in Bible reading, on comparing the text in Matt. 7. 11 with Luke 11. 13, will very readily reach the conclusion that there is a palpable discrepancy between these two evangelists. In Matthew we read: "If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?" In Luke we read the identical language of Matthew with the exception that Luke writes he will give "the Holy Spirit" instead of "good things." Again, if our supposed novice should read the text found in Matt. 6. 24, "No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon," and then turn to Luke 16. 13, he will read the same language, *verbatim et punctatim*, with the exception that Luke uses the word "servant" instead of "man." Here is a plain verbal discrepancy. How can these two evangelists be reconciled? These and many other such variations admit of very easy explanation when the attention of an inexperienced reader is directed to the fact that these two evangelists, while recording nearly the same words of Jesus, represent him as speaking on different occasions. The first verse quoted from Matthew occurs in the Sermon on the Mount, which was delivered during the first year of the Lord's ministry, and was repeated, according to Luke, in a discourse to his disciples on the subject of prayer during the third year of his ministry. The second verse cited from the Sermon on the Mount was also repeated, according to Luke, in a discourse to the disciples during the third year of his ministry. In assigning these dates we have followed the commonly received chronology of the King James Version. As we shall mention other instances of repetition by our divine Lord in his public discourses, it may be well at the beginning to indicate other sources of proof that he was speaking at different times, and often to different assemblies. By reference to any Harmony of the Gospels, such as Strong's, Robinson's, or Whedon's, found in the preface of his Commentary on Matthew, any reader will observe that the various occasions we mention are separated by distinct and sometimes by long intervals of time. The harmonists, let it be remembered, endeavor to arrange in chronological order all the events in the life of Christ recorded by the evangelists. A careful observance of the context in the gospels compared, where a difference of time, place, and occasion is often indicated, will afford the clearest proof of repetition. Assuming the unity and integrity of the Sermon on the Mount recorded by Matthew, and comparing certain passages with their parallels in the gospel of Luke, we find that these portions in Luke are repetitions from the Sermon on the Mount contained in other discourses subsequently delivered by Jesus. Neither Matthew nor Luke records the sermon in full. Luke omits in his briefer report of it,

found in the sixth chapter of his gospel, the "blessings" of Matthew, but records some antithetic "woes." Mark omits the sermon altogether, but he records a few of its utterances spoken afterward in other discourses. Besides the Sermon on the Mount, Mark omits likewise nearly all the parables of Jesus and most of his long discourses. For this reason proofs and examples of repetition in the teaching of the Lord must necessarily be taken mainly from the other two synoptics, Matthew and Luke. Reference has already been made to the repetition of Matt. 7. 11 in Luke 11. 13. It will be seen by reading the two evangelists consecutively that the Lord's Prayer recorded by Matthew in the Sermon on the Mount, 6. 9-13, and another paragraph on the subject of prayer, 7. 7-11, are repeated together in the separate discourse on prayer recorded by Luke in 11. 2-13. It may likewise be seen that the beautiful lesson on Providence recorded by Matthew in 6. 25-33, occurs in Luke 12. 22-31, as part of a discourse delivered on another occasion. That Matthew and Luke represent the Master as speaking at different times may be seen by referring to the dates assigned in the captions of these chapters in Bibles that contain chronological references; by consulting a Harmony of the Gospels; and especially by closely observing the contexts of the chapters compared, where a difference in time and occasion is usually noted. Not only do we observe the evidences of repetition from the Sermon on the Mount by comparing Matthew with Luke, but also by comparing one part of Matthew with another. The passage on self-denial found in the Sermon on the Mount, beginning, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee," is repeated in a discourse on humility, delivered afterward to the disciples when they came to Jesus, asking, "Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" Compare Matt. 5. 29, 30 with 18. 8, 9. The law of divorce contained in the Sermon on the Mount is repeated in the answer of Christ to the question of some Pharisees, who came to him while he was beyond the Jordan, "tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?" Compare Matt. 5. 32 with 19. 9. Other instances of repetition from the Sermon on the Mount might be given, but these will suffice for our purpose. Some of the parables of Jesus may have been repeated during his ministry, but if they were we have no positive evidence of the fact, except in one instance. By comparing the parable of the pounds in Luke 19. 11-27 with the parable of the talents in Matt. 24. 14-30 we observe not only a general analogy but much sameness of detail. These parables present different phases of the same subject, human responsibility. In the parable of the pounds the ten servants, who are presumed to be men of equal capacity, as they receive each a pound in trust, are rewarded according to their fidelity. In the parable of the talents the servants receive five, two, and one talent, respectively, according to their several ability, and the faithful ones receive each a reward proportioned to his capacity and fidelity. In each parable the unfaithful servant attempts to excuse himself, and receives his master's condemnation in terms almost identical. As to the times and places when and where these parables were delivered there can be no doubt. We learn from Luke 19. 11 that Jesus spoke the parable of the pounds as he was drawing near

to the city of Jerusalem on his last journey thither before his crucifixion. From Matt. 24. 3 we learn that the discourse which contains the parable of the talents was spoken some days after as he sat with some of his disciples on the Mount of Olives.

It is just as easy to point out repetitions of some of the aphorisms of our Lord. In all three of the synoptics this one, "Unto him that hath shall be given, but from him that hath not even that which he hath shall be taken away," follows the parable of the sower. In Matthew and Luke we see it also appended to the parables of the talents and pounds. Here are obviously three different occasions when the same aphorism was spoken. Take another of these proverbial sayings: "For every one that exalteth himself shall be abased, but he that humbleth himself shall be exalted." By reference to Matt. 23. 12; Luke 14. 11; 18. 14, it will be seen that this proverb was spoken on three different occasions: first, according to Matthew, when Jesus was addressing a multitude in Jerusalem; second, according to Luke, at a feast in the house of a Pharisee; and third, as a moral to the parable of the Pharisee and publican.

When the Word was made flesh he became subject to all human conditions. The Treasure of Divine Wisdom was contained in an earthen vessel. His hearers were generally insusceptible to spiritual truth. Their memories were weak, and their understandings dull. Jesus often reproved them for their moral and intellectual stupidity: "Are ye also yet without understanding?" Hence it was necessary to repeat often the same truths in the same language. Again, Jesus was subject to the limitations of human language. Words are signs of ideas, and they should be suitable vehicles for the ideas they convey. They should fit them precisely as clothes do the individuals for whom they are made. Too great a variety of words weakens or obscures the ideas they are intended to express. If it was necessary for Jesus to repeat the same truths it was equally necessary for him to use the same words. All teachers and speakers must necessarily repeat a great deal. Max Müller says, "True and right things should often be repeated," and there is a fine French proverb which says, "Repetition is the mother of education." A teacher is obliged to repeat very often the same lessons in the same language. Mrs. Susannah Wesley, when asked why she repeated a thing to a child twenty times, wisely answered, "Because nineteen times will not do." The popular lecturer repeats, it may be, for the hundredth time a lecture which is received with enthusiastic applause. The political orator repeats over and over the same speech during a political campaign. There should be no exception of the pulpit. A carefully prepared sermon, the result of much patient study and research, should be delivered often to different congregations. Accurate definitions, forceful arguments, striking illustrations and incidents, should often be repeated when the same subject is treated. Besides the benefit to the hearers, the preacher speaks with more ease and effect on account of the familiarity with his subject acquired by frequent repetition. Whitefield confessed that he preached a sermon with greatest effect when he had delivered it for the hundredth time. There may be a positive gain to preacher and hearer by judicious repetition. Of course no one will

understand us as recommending the repetition of a discourse so frequently as to render it stale and monotonous. A discourse may be substantially repeated, with such variations as are necessary to adapt it to different audiences under changed conditions. This was the method of Jesus, the Prince of preachers.

J. S. BRYAN.

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THE UNDISCOVERED BROTHER

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

So in every age, in every nation, and in every church there have been men—and truly great men—who were allowed to live and die like the "mute, inglorious Milton" mentioned in the poem a portion of which is quoted above. And doubtless there are even now in most of our Conferences a few men—and good men, too—whose real abilities are as yet unrecognized and whose earnest efforts are apparently unappreciated. They are the undiscovered brethren. The brother in question has not been discovered by his brethren; and the evidence is that programmes are gotten up for the various conventions, rallies, and special occasions without his counsel or coöperation. And he is undiscovered by his presiding elder, the evidence in this case being the grade of appointments he receives from time to time. In some instances the brother does not even know himself, is not aware of the number and value of the talents in his possession. He has no idea that he is in any way overlooked by his brethren, and never dreams that he is constantly kept on charges much smaller than he could easily handle. He has not been awakened to the fact that his eloquence would adorn any pulpit in his Conference and his erudition and ability edify the most cultured congregation. Now, on the principle "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise," the brother who is thus ignorant of his own greatness and just deserts may be happy in his work. The peaceful serenity of his life will be disturbed only as he may advance toward self-discovery. But such neglect of the wise precept of the pagan sage, "Know thyself," is indeed rare. In most instances the undiscovered brother has some time since passed the important stage of self-discovery, and is now in that restless, if not unhappy, state of mind which is the result of the un-Columbus-like spirit of his brethren and presiding elder—especially the latter. We do not have in mind one (however similar his state of mind may be) who *has been* discovered by his presiding elder and by most of his brethren, but who is not aware of the fact nor of the nature of the discovery—the man who has more ambition than ability, more self-love than sound sense; or who is known to possess eccentricities that make him ineligible for the more important charges. Such a brother may be likened unto a much maligned animal—the more prominent he becomes the more noticeable are his ears. But we have in mind the brother who has something more than usual ability and who is not self-deceived in his belief of what he can do if given the opportunity. Such a man was Dr. Gunsaulus, of Chicago. When a young man his Conference authorities, failing to discover him, kept sending him to very small appointments.

Finally, he said in so many words that he ought to have larger appointments; and when next appointed to a small charge refused to accept it, preferring to go out of the denomination for a larger field. The result proves that he knew himself better than did his presiding elder or his bishop. Such men, when undiscovered, are restive, and justly so. Although we must not be understood to recommend the course taken by Mr. Gunsaulus. We show a more excellent way.

The undiscovered brother we write of has pure aspirations. He seeks a larger field because he feels sure it will give him larger opportunities to do good. He knows, of course, that appointments have their material side, and like any normal Methodist preacher he is always willing to enlarge the sphere of his influence at better rates; but, deeper than this, he aspires to a so-called higher place for the reason that he believes it will give him a greater reach of power to bless his fellow men. And it is meet and right that he should thus aspire. But his aspirations do not appreciably affect the grade of his appointments. Aspiration is commendable, but is not sufficient to bring the undiscovered brother to the front. Then there is something which a few at least deem a more efficient remedy for ministerial obscurity, namely, manipulation. The brother must push and pull himself into prominence. We are compelled to believe that here and there a minister accepts and acts upon this principle. It is true that merit alone might wait a lifetime, and wait in vain, for recognition. Merit will enable one to maintain himself in a higher position, but to *obtain* said higher position usually requires something more. That something is said by some to be manipulation. This is certainly true among politicians, and if it be true to any degree among preachers "tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon." But there is something better for the undiscovered brother than either aspiration or manipulation, namely, honest, persistent, and vigorous efforts to do his whole duty and more in the appointment where he is. Viewed from the right standpoint, no man is ever bigger than the appointment he may be sent to. There is nothing small in the kingdom of God. Secretary Shaw said recently at San Francisco to an audience of young men: "For every dollar received as wages from your employer do two dollars' worth of honest work, and it will not be long before somebody discovers you." The same truth applies to the preacher, though it is not always so believed and practiced. For the undiscovered brother this is the royal path from his obscurity. It is possible, but it is rare that a brother who makes the very best of his present place should long remain hidden from eyes that covet the sight and knowledge of such as he. *Labor omnia vincit*, even the blindness and stupidity of presiding elders and bishops. Therefore, as a means of being discovered, now abideth aspiration, manipulation, perspiration, these three; but the greatest of these is perspiration.

WILLIAM CLARK.

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GOETHE'S INTERPRETATION OF MISERY AND OF THE CROSS

BEFORE Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was twenty-five years of age he had written two volumes, namely, Götz von Berlichengen and The Sorrows

of Werther. The first was a history of German Knighthood; the second, an interpretation of the feeling which existed in the European states after the infidelity and agnosticism of the earlier days. These volumes, especially Götz, attracted the attention of Karl August, who invited Goethe to make his home at the imperial palace at Weimar. The invitation was accepted, and he remained with the royal family for more than fifty years. Here he pursued his literary labors, and was considerably interested in politics, being German secretary of war during one period in 1815. Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship was written when Goethe was about forty-four. Faust was spasmodically produced during his whole life. The Sorrows of Werther and his Götz von Berlichengen were the stepping-stones to fame. After their publication he was the literary idol. In the Sorrows of Werther Goethe had so depicted the sorrows of mankind, so touched human nature as it is in its misery, that he was soon known in every home, whether of poet or of peasant. However, this book did much harm by stimulating suicide in the despondent. It was the physician correctly diagnosing his patient's malady but failing to leave a remedy. Thomas Carlyle says that in Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship "Goethe knows that the universe is full of goodness, that whatever has being has beauty." This is essentially Goethe's viewpoint. Contentment, with him, is to be found in viewing even misery and sin as good for man, rather than as a curse to him. He says: "But what a task was it, not only to be patient with the earth, and let it lie beneath us, we appealing to a higher birthplace; but also to recognize humility and poverty, mockery and despite, disgrace and wretchedness, suffering and death, to recognize these things as divine; nay, even on sin and crime to look not as hindrances, but to honor and love them as furtherances of what is holy." Such interpretation of misery and sin is natural, but not scriptural. It is the highest philosophy this world can produce, but it is not heavenly teaching. Why should one pass through swamps and sloughs simply to know their existence? There is plenty of good solid ground for our feet. Of what value is it in life to live miserably simply to know what misery is? If one, however, should live a miserable life full of suffering and trial for the sake of others, as did the Son of God, then this philosophy would be commendable. Goethe's life was a struggle after excellence in all things, but it was the natural man struggling without the assistance which comes from heaven in the Holy Spirit. He could many times have driven a dagger into his own breast. He understood misery, kept it to himself, and sought a philosophy that would relieve, never agreeing that a correct interpretation is given of life only by Him who said, "Come unto me." It seems a useless waste of soul and body to neglect this call from God and then try to work out the problem of life in wretched, miserable experiences—then turning again from these sad experiences and endeavor to formulate a philosophy of life from them. We prefer heavenly instruction. Thomas Carlyle again says that the best chapter that has ever been written on Christianity is found in Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship. Now what is its teaching? "'Permit me one question,' said Wilhelm: 'As you have set up the life of this divine Man for a pattern and

example, have you likewise selected his sufferings, his death as a model of exalted patience?' 'Undoubtedly we have,' replied the Eldest. 'Of this we make no secret; but we draw a veil over those sufferings, even because we reverence them so highly. We hold it a damnable audacity to bring forth that torturing cross, and the Holy One who suffers on it, or to expose them to the light of the sun, which hid its face when a reckless world forced such a sight on it; to take these mysterious secrets, in which the divine depth of sorrow lies hid, and play with them, fondle them, trick them out.'" Goethe would make the cross *sub rosa*. How different do the apostles act and teach. Hear Paul: "But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness." The very progress of the gospel depended on the preaching of the cross. The cross must be produced in this world. "Hold thou thy cross before my waking eyes" is not only the last thought of the Christian heart, but the first. The cross must be displayed before men's eyes that they may see the real meaning of sin. The death of Jesus must be placed upon every man's shoulders that he may behold crimes which sin will commit. The cross displayed constantly, in its redeeming love, is not alone the Christian's safeguard, but his hope of glory. The cross which was his stumbling-block to show him his sin becomes the power of God unto salvation from his sin. "God forbid," says the apostle, "that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." Goethe is in error. The cross must be brought forward continually.

The unspiritualized mind of the carnal man always rebels against the production of the cross, while he at the same time commends in high terms the general system of Christianity and classifies it with the world's great religions, of which he says there are several. In Goethe we find a representative of the highest type of unspiritualized manhood. Of his general character we may say the same that Father Taylor said of Ralph Waldo Emerson, "He is a lovely sinner." EDWIN HAMLIN CARR.

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THE ULTIMATE AIM OF THE STUDY OF MODERN LANGUAGES

WHY do we study modern languages? What is the ultimate aim which justifies us in spending years upon work in French, Italian, Spanish, German, or any other modern tongue? It is not conversational ability alone, important as that is. Surely the ear, the eye, the tongue must all be trained; the student who can read German but who looks blank when it is spoken, and whose vocabulary is limited to *ja* and *nein* and a few set phrases uttered in parrot-fashion, does not really know German. To know it he must be able to talk correctly and easily; yet that is not the great aim; it is essential, but not ultimate. Nor is the great aim a knowledge of what might be called the structure and the mechanism of a language, although one must have that knowledge. The student of French must know the syntax of the language; he must master it, but as a means, not an end. Of itself, it is but the skeleton of true knowledge. We seek the living thing. An appreciation of the literature, which brings with it a

conception of the character of the people, is a higher aim, though not the highest. The student who, as the result of earnest work, feels somewhat of the beauty and the strength of both style and thought in Wilhelm Tell, in Maria Stuart, in Nathan der Weise, in Faust, is far along in his study of German. To conversational ability and to a theoretical knowledge of the language he has added the literary element, which includes the power to think and to feel as Germans think and feel, and to see what is, to them, the meaning of life. For, sooner or later, all study resolves itself into a problem of life. Now, let the same student use his knowledge of German as a help to the understanding of his mother tongue. If that is English his appreciation of it should be the keener and his use of it the more intelligent because of his study of the cognate Teutonic language. Goethe said, "He who knows nothing of a foreign language knows nothing of his own." We may not accept that thought fully, but we can modify it to this, which we must believe: He who knows much of his own language must know much of others. Especially is it true that, to understand English, with its foundations deep in the Teutonic and the Latin languages, we need to understand French and German, the other modern languages of Europe, and, indeed, the classic tongues, as well, of the Indo-European group. More than knowing German is knowing English better because of the German. This leads to the ultimate aim, a comparative study of the literature of modern languages for the intellectual and spiritual meaning, for the life, that is in them. Literature, we know, "is born of life"; it is life itself; it is thought, feeling, passion, made permanent and universal. The great poems, as the Iliad, the Æneid, the Mahabharata, the Divina Commedia, Faust, Hamlet, are centered about human life. Because they deal with the elemental facts of life, they live themselves. When, by comparative study, we see the oneness, in spite of apparent differences, in the conceptions of life given by Hugo, Balzac, Lessing, Schiller, Goethe, Tasso, Dante, Browning, Shakespeare, we have reached the ultimate aim of the study of modern languages. Then we have a broader, a clearer vision of life than if we looked at it from the angle of our own language and literature alone. Then life itself means more.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB

THE MINISTER AT PRAYER MEETING

THE student of Christian institutions has not given sufficient attention, perhaps, to the prayer meeting and its place in Christian history. In the Scriptures there are hints of meetings for prayer, but the institution as we have it did not take its place fully until after the apostolic age. We read in the Old Testament that "they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and a book of remembrance was written." It was perhaps on some such occasion as this that they spoke to each other concerning the things of God. The Pentecost was a prayer meeting in its fullest sense. It was a gathering of a remarkable body of people who poured out their souls before God while they waited for the fulfillment of the "promise of the Father." The sacred narrative says: "And when they were come in, they went up into the upper chamber, where they were abiding; both Peter and John and James and Andrew, Philip and Thomas, Bartholomew and Matthew, James the son of Alphæus, and Simon the Zealot, and Judas the son of James. These all with one accord continued steadfastly in prayer, with the women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren" (Acts 1. 13-14). We have quoted from the revision of 1881. The margin of this revision suggests in place of Judas the "son" of James, the "brother" of James, as in the King James version. The matter to be noticed, however, in this connection is that apparently it was a prayer meeting composed of all the church. The presence of the women and of the brethren generally indicated that it must have been by some previous purpose or understanding that they were thus assembled, and the history seems to indicate that they continued in prayer, not perhaps all the time, but certainly at stated intervals, until the day of Pentecost, when they were all with one accord in one place, "and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance."

This meeting in its composition bears a striking resemblance to the ordinary prayer meeting, which is common to the whole church of Jesus Christ. The prayer meeting is not an institution of any particular denomination. All Christians regard the prayer meeting as one of the essentials of the Christian church, and only on extraordinary occasions is the formal prayer meeting displaced by anything else. The prayer meeting may be regarded, therefore, as the center of the spiritual life of the church. This does not for a moment diminish the proper estimate of the preaching service, where the people assemble together to hear the Word of God, to partake of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and to receive such instruction as comes from the Holy Word through the pastor of the church. But it is the place where, as such, the real spiritual forces gather. It is a place of heavenly communion where all kinds of people meet together —the cultured and the uncultured, the ignorant and the learned, those

who are able to give testimony in grammatical form and those whose speech is broken and whose language is lame. They meet together for one common purpose: to secure an increase of grace. The inner life is revealed there, it is so unconventional and unconscious. On other public occasions there is a certain frigidity, growing out of the formal character of worship, but here all are at ease, and each one is conscious that he is surrounded by brethren with the same difficulties, the same anxieties, similar sorrows, and the same faith. People who meet week by week in the same relations learn to know each other; they become acquainted with their deepest feelings. If they are languid, formal, merely perfunctory in their utterances or prayers, it becomes known to all around them; the prayer meeting is indeed the place where the people meet for the closest spiritual relationship.

Further, the prayer meeting is the center of the power of the church. There is power in the ministry of the Word. All who are familiar with church life know how moving and how impressive are the ministrations of the sanctuary. The sermon is the fruitage of the thought and heart life of the preacher, and is the presentation of the Word of God for instruction, for encouragement, for exhortation. Some of the mightiest influences have proceeded from the public worship. Faithfully preached and expounded, the Word of God maintains the vigor, the intellectual strength, and the onward movement of the church, but the prayer meeting is often the place where the revival is born. The pastor can notice the progress of his church toward a spiritual movement by the interest of the people in the place of prayer. The prayer meeting is like a leaven which permeates the whole body; it is like a fire driving the coldness out and bringing in the warmth of the Christian life; it is like a stream growing in force until it becomes a mighty river.

When the people of God are all aglow with love and life the prayer meeting is an inspiration whose influence none can measure. If such is its importance the minister's relation to it is of the utmost significance. He, under Christ, is its head, and he should regard the conduct of the prayer meeting as one of the most important duties placed upon him as the pastor of a church. It should have his thought, his prayers, his care. He will be as anxious that his prayer meeting shall be well attended as the preaching service. This he will not accomplish by publicly insisting on the attendance of the people or formally pushing it into prominence, as though it were the only thing requiring attention, but by so conducting the prayer meetings and so inspiring the people that they will be present almost involuntarily, without the consciousness of a desire to remain away. He must, therefore, make as careful preparation for conducting a prayer meeting as for the preaching of a sermon.

Only recently a layman, explaining the success of an eminent New York preacher, stated that he was able to conduct his prayer meeting in a way that enlisted the interest of all present, and consequently secured the attendance of many who would not otherwise have come to the place of prayer. The pastor's plans, therefore, should be laid as carefully for his week-day meeting as for the Sabbath. It would be well for the

minister also to have special subjects on which to speak at the different meetings, such as would awaken the interest and secure the profit of the people. It would not be unwise to have a programme in his mind covering three months in advance, but we doubt the wisdom of printing the programme or making it a matter of preannouncement. He should have no plan, however, which would make it difficult for him to change the subject when some incident, or some peculiar condition of the church, or some peculiar interest in his own heart should prompt him to do so. A stereotyped plan from which there is no variation is worse than no plan at all. We are simply trying to impress the thought that an orderly arrangement of a prayer meeting service as to its topics and method is worthy of the careful consideration of the pastor.

There should be also in the conduct of the prayer meeting a proper proportion between the different parts of the service. This, of course, will depend in a measure upon the number of people present, and upon their readiness to take part in the service. Granting, however, that there is a good attendance of men and women who could share in the service, the pastor should make a suitable proportion between the time occupied by his own remarks, in prayer, and in the testimony of believers. Sometimes the one only is employed to the exclusion of the other, and perhaps that is necessary. It is the thought of the writer that there is a tendency in our time to diminish the time allotted to the prayers of the people and to substitute exhortation, or Christian experience. It must always be remembered that the prayer meeting is the place where the people come to call upon God, and testimony should not be carried to such an extent as to withdraw the minds of those present from the supreme duty of the hour, namely, to wrestle with God in prayer.

It is not well, however, to have all the services alike. There are times when the service should be prayer without testimony, others when testimony should be predominant. The intent of this paper is to urge the importance of the prayer meeting as an integral part of the church life. The prayer meeting must not die. It must not even flag. Should the public worship on the Sabbath diminish in numbers, should the preaching fail in securing the proper attendance of the people, the church is not a failure, nor is it really declining, as long as the prayer meetings are well filled and the interest of the people in this branch of the service maintained. The subject of the prayer meeting is specially opportune at this time of the year, when so many people are looking for a baptism of the Holy Spirit and for a revival of God's work.

MELCHIZEDEK, THE PRIEST-KING.

In the seventh chapter of the letter to the Hebrews the author has reached a topic of the utmost importance, namely, the priesthood of Christ. It is a topic of great difficulty. The argument in our modern view is strange and needs careful study to appreciate its significance. It has been a constant inquiry among expositors as to who Melchizedek was. It is clear that he was a priest whose history and authority had a

meaning which at this distance of time may not be fully comprehended. There must have been something in Melchizedek and in his priesthood to command the reverence of so great a patriarch as Abraham. The materials for the study of Melchizedek are exceedingly limited. They are confined to Gen. 14. 18-20; Psa. 110. 4; Heb. 7. 1-4, 10, 11.

Dr. John Henry Hopkins, in the American Church Review, is represented in the Expository Times as saying: "If we consult the general run of commentaries we find that Melchizedek was a petty Canaanitish prince, who had preserved the faith in the true and only God in the midst of a number of other nations, all of whom were pagans and idolaters of the worst description; and that this Melchizedek was a priest of the Most High God as well as a king; also that the seat of his kingdom was Salem, afterward known as Jerusalem. When we are told of him that he was without father, without mother, without descent (or genealogy), without beginning of days or end of life, the explanation given us of these words is that no record is found of the name of his father or mother or ancestors, or of his birth or death. Yet we are required to believe that this petty ruler of a petty Canaanitish town, this Gentile of unknown genealogy, was spiritually so superior to Abraham, the friend of God and father of the faithful, that Abraham paid him the tithes in acknowledgment of his nearer approach to God, and received the blessing as the less is blessed of the better." Dr. Hopkins's short and emphatic comment is, "It is impossible."

The history in Genesis is so brief that we may justly claim that if all were known the homage of Abraham would be justified. We can hardly suppose that this particular history would have been selected with such high typical significance if it had not historically justified itself as suitable. We may therefore gather from these brief historical references something of the qualifications of Melchizedek which occupy so prominent a place in the argument of the epistle.

His name was significant—King of Righteousness—fitly representing the fundamental Old Testament conception of that term. It is one of the common words of the Old Testament. This word indicates his personal righteousness, and also his rule of righteousness. He was a righteous king. His kingdom was not a large one, but size does not necessarily constitute greatness. In the point of view of this suggestion he was a great king because he was a righteous king. When we look further into this historical reference we discover other characteristics applied to him of even greater significance. He was king of Salem (*βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ*). Two views of its location have been held. Salem, near Scythopolis, in Samaria, is one view; the other is that Salem was ancient Jerusalem. The latter is the more probable view, inasmuch as it conforms to the older traditions and also because Salem (שָׁלֵם) is the name of Jerusalem given in Psa. 76. 3. The place, however, is not important to the argument except in so far as it gives dignity to his kingdom. It is the name of the holy city, Jerusalem, held in such high reverence by all true Jews. Delitzsch says, "The situation of Jerusalem is perfectly suitable for what is recorded in Gen. 14. 17, sq." There is force, however, in the meaning of the phrase King

of Salem—King of Peace. A kingdom of peace in the midst of a hostile world is also a conception of great dignity. The tribal communities at that time were mostly at war. This person is designated as a peaceful king, perhaps also as a king whose rule was promotive of peace. This adds, we think, to the dignity of his position.

In Melchizedek there was also combined the dignity of the priesthood. The union of the kingship and the priesthood was not uncommon. He is also set forth as the priest of the Most High God. The meaning is not that he was priest of one who was highest among other gods, like Jupiter among the gods of Greece, but the priest of the supreme God. His dignity is further affirmed by the attitude of the patriarch Abraham toward him. He *blessed* Abraham, saying, "Blessed be Abram of God Most High, possessor of heaven and earth." This shows his superiority, and the acceptance of the blessing on the part of Abraham indicates his recognition of the priestly character of Melchizedek. There is another significant act in Abraham's attitude toward Melchizedek, namely, that Abraham, who at this time was at the height of his prosperity and had just done a benevolent act deserving the gratitude of Melchizedek, gives a tenth to Melchizedek. In the language of the passage under consideration he gave him "the tenth of the spoils." As shown in subsequent verses this was a recognition of the superiority of Melchizedek, and in so doing the dignity of Melchizedek's position as the priest-king is distinctly recognized.

The fact that Melchizedek was without recorded genealogical descent detracts in no way from his dignity as a priest or king. It is true that the Jews laid great stress upon pedigree. The silence of Scripture as to his genealogy is not intended to depreciate his dignity, but, as the whole context shows, to enhance it. The very solitude of his position is an indication of a unique character, not an inferior one. Westcott says, "Melchizedek stands unique and isolated both in person and history; he is not connected with any known line; his life has no recorded beginning or close." It is further said that he has neither beginning of days nor end of life. The meaning of this evidently is that there is no record in the Scriptures of his birth or death. Delitzsch says: "This clause is not adequately interpreted when only made to mean that no information is given either of the commencement of Melchizedek's official life by way of succession or termination of it by his death. The words are intended to express much more than this very limited sense."

The point we have endeavored to make is in contradiction to the statement of Dr. Hopkins as to the insignificance of Melchizedek, the priest-king. The conclusion at which Dr. Hopkins arrives, that Melchizedek "was none other than the Son of God himself, who appeared to Abraham in that visible form in which he afterward dwelt among us in the flesh," is not sustained by the history. It seems to us that he should not have failed to notice that, if the historical description in Genesis of Melchizedek was so insignificant that Abraham could not possibly have paid the reverence to him which is indicated in this passage, it would hardly be adequate to represent the incarnate Son of God.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

EXCAVATIONS AT KNOSSOS

No more thorough piece of work in the line of archæological excavation has ever been undertaken in any land than that now in progress under the direction of Mr. Arthur J. Evans at Knossos, once the capital of ancient Crete, in the Ægean Sea. Mr. Evans, who has already made himself a great name, a natural archæologist, carries on all his excavations on purely scientific principles. "Probably no digger has set to work on a prehistoric site with this scholar's profound and wide knowledge of prehistoric archæology in general, added to his unique knowledge of local antiquities. Moreover, his mastery of museum craft has rendered it possible for the *disjecta membra* of an ancient civilization to be repaired and reconstituted on the spot, and forthwith reproduced and published." Though the work on the island of Crete, and indeed at Knossos in particular, was begun several years ago, and though the most wonderful discoveries have already rewarded the faith, as well as the expenditure of time and money, of those at the head of the "Cretan Exploration Fund," the end is not yet, nor may we expect a final report for some time to come. But the discoveries of the past few years are a sufficient guarantee that the final report will be one of the most instructive in the history of excavations.

Crete by its natural position, lying about equidistant from Africa, Asia, and the mainland of Europe, and so near many important islands of the Ægean, was well suited to play an influential role in the trade, commerce, history, and civilization of the ancient world. Now, after the lapse of more than three thousand years, after we had grown accustomed to believe that the Homeric accounts of Crete, with its magnificent palaces, "hundred cities," and advanced civilization, were pure legends, without even a substratum of historic basis, there have been uncovered before our eyes the ruins of an ancient prehistoric palace, or, rather, ruins of a number of stately buildings, "beside which those of Tiryns and Mycenæ," wonderful as they were, "sink into insignificance." Here we have sure evidence of the most imposing structures, with innumerable rooms and chambers, of all descriptions and dimensions, "preëminently among which is the actual throne room and council chambers of Homeric kings. The throne itself, on which, if so much faith be permitted us, Minos may have declared the law, is carved out of alabaster, once brilliant with colored designs and relieved with curious tracery and crocketed arcading, which is wholly unique in ancient art, and exhibits a strange anticipation of thirteenth-century Gothic." The ruins of this royal residence of the prehistoric Cretan rulers bear eloquent testimony not only to the stage of civilization, but also to the unmistakable influence of this little island, now and for thousands of

years of so little importance, in the history of the nations. The palace and its dependent buildings, as the magnificent pile of ruins shows, covered a very large area. Mr. Theodore Fyfe has drawn a plan of the "Later Palace." This has been on exhibition at the Burlington House, London, and copies of it have been published by the Macmillans, and, by their permission, in some of the periodicals. The ground floor of this great Knossian palace shows that it was rectangular in form with a large quadrangle in the middle. This central court, about 150x75 feet, was flanked by extensive structures, whose outer walls had a frontage of about 300x400 feet. Numerous corridors lead into this court, and these in turn were connected with numberless rooms, most of them being square or quadrangular in shape. A large number of these chambers still exhibit, after a lapse of thirty centuries, some exquisite mural decorations and paintings as well as several finely executed pieces of sculpture. Such art treasures were not expected in Crete, especially as Grecian history has so little to say on the subject. Indeed, we had been taught that Greek civilization, having commenced on the mainland, gradually found its way into the islands of the archipelago. Knossos with its rich finds has forever silenced such a theory. Having yielded up its long and well kept secrets, it becomes evident that the march of civilization was in the opposite direction. This being so, the modern historical critic must reconstruct some of his "scientific" theories. Yes, it is an established fact that the architecture of the Greek mainland differs essentially from that of the island of Crete. The Knossian palace was not modeled after those of Tiryns and Mycenæ as described by Schliemann, Doerpfeld, and more recent writers. Knossos shows a superior style of art, far excelling that of the two cities just mentioned. This is a most interesting and instructive discovery, and the more we study Cretan art and architecture the more evident it becomes that this southernmost isle of the Ægean possessed a far older civilization than the cities of the Greek mainland—a civilization vying in age and achievements with that of Babylonia or Egypt. The pick and spade of the archæologist have shown conclusively that there were two clearly defined types of Ægean culture. This becomes apparent by two styles of architecture—a southern and a northern. Which is the older type? This distinction, without doubt, must be awarded to the southern islands. This being so, another question forces itself upon us, namely, whence the civilization of Crete? Had we nothing more than the style of architecture from which to draw our inference, it must be admitted that Crete is not indebted to the north, for Knossian architecture has very much in common with that of the great cities now in ruins in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. Attention was called to this fact several years ago by M. Pottier. This is also in harmony with the generally accepted opinion that the march of civilization has usually been westward and northward.

When we stop to think, there is nothing wonderful in this conclusion; indeed, both Thucydides and Aristotle accepted as undoubted fact the tradition current in their days that Minos, the great king of Knossos in Crete, was the "first monarch who established a naval power and

acquired what was termed by the Greeks the *Thalassokraty*, or dominion of the sea." Everyone familiar with Homer knows that the Cretans were reputed not only as a great seafaring people, but "apparently the only Greek people who at that early period attempted to compete with the Phœnicians as bold and adventurous navigators." It was but natural in view of the position of Crete that it should come into contact with the great commercial world at an earlier period than Tiryns, Mycenæ, or other ancient cities of the mainland, and that it should have acted as the common carrier between Asia, Africa, and Europe. What have been termed "the Kefti tributaries," represented on the mural decorations of Thebes, used to be regarded as Phœnicians. Now, however, since the ruins of Knossos have yielded up almost identical fresco paintings, many of our best archæologists think that the origin of the Kefti, with their peculiar dress and *coiffure*, must be sought in Crete rather than in Phœnicia. Nor must we fail to mention the large number of inscriptions found in Crete. These are chiefly clay tablets, and in more than one style of writing. This last fact is a positive proof of a long period of civilization. All these are from prehistoric times, and are as silent as the Sphinx. Not one has been deciphered.

These and the architectural discoveries have necessitated a restatement of Grecian chronology. We can no longer begin with the "Mycenæan period," at its height about 1500 B. C., for we know full well that this was preceded by the Cretan period. Mr. Hogarth, a well-known authority in archæology, calls attention to the above fact in an instructive and interesting article in the Quarterly Review, London, to which we are indebted for several suggestions. He cites an item published in a recent volume of the Hellenic Society, regarding the ruins of a palace in the island of Melos, of a purely northern type, like those of Mycenæ and Tiryns, but built "above two strata of house-remains." Here the three styles were so clearly shown as to leave no doubt of their relative ages or origin. While the palace on the surface was distinctly northern, the ruins under its foundation were quite as distinctly southern. From these discoveries it is clear that Crete exerted a controlling influence not only over many of the Ægean isles, but that its dominion extended even to the mainland. Let us again quote Mr. Hogarth. He says: "The architectural features may fairly be assumed to indicate a great fact in prehistoric Ægean politics, namely, that the island area was originally under the dominance of a Cretan civilization, and that only in the latest prehistoric time, if at all, was the center of gravity shifted to the Greek mainland." How and when ancient or prehistoric Crete was subjected can only be a matter of conjecture. That there was a dynastic change before 1200 B. C. is evident from the style of buildings, decoration as well as writing, but whether the island was first subjected by some power from Asia or Europe cannot be answered with our present light. The immense quantity of pottery unearthed in Crete enables us with comparative ease to study the progress of the people for many centuries. We go from the rudest specimen, step by step, to a very high type of art—and all of Cretan origin and superior to anything found in any other Grecian ruins.

Some of our leading archæologists, learned in Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek antiquities, willingly admit that Crete has yielded up objects dating back, not only to the sixth and fourth, but even to the first, Egyptian dynasty. Nay, more, Messrs. Evans and Hogarth assure us that there are numerous "human artistic remains on the Ægean older than any Pharaoh." It is also interesting to read in the last report of Mr. Macalister's work at Gezer, published in the Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund (January, 1905), that he had received a visit from Mr. Currelly of the British School at Athens, fresh from excavations at Palaiokastro in Crete. These two archæologists spent some time in comparing notes, and reached the conclusion, based upon some pottery, that ancient Gezer too had communication with Crete. The editor commenting upon this says: Several important analogies between Cretan and Palestinian culture as exemplified at Gezer have been brought to light.

The Candia Museum, so rich in Cretan antiquities and classified in "orderly sequence from first to last," offers unusual opportunites to the students of comparative archæology. Here we have numberless specimens from the earliest part of the stone age, through the neolithic and chalcolithic periods, down to the great Roman conquests; these are classified with great accuracy in periods and subperiods. The comparing of these objects with similar ones found in Egypt and elsewhere makes a chronological system more easy. It is thus that Mr. Evans makes the early part of the Minoan period—when metal tools were first used in the construction of buildings, when pigment was introduced, and when decorated pottery was forcing its way into the markets of the Cyclades—to synchronize with the sixth Egyptian dynasty; and in the same way the middle Minoan age, with its elegant polychrome pottery and imposing architecture, is made coetaneous with the eleventh dynasty. Many changes took place in Crete about 1500 B. C. Though still the arbiter of fashion and dictator in art and architecture throughout the Ægean, Knossos began to show signs of decay. In the course of time the capital was removed, and art and architecture were neglected, so that Crete fell into the rear line, where it has remained to this day. So complete was this decay that the world remained in comparative ignorance of its ancient greatness for three thousand years. Even ten years ago it was taught that Tiryns and Mycenæ have produced the highest type of Ægean art and culture. Now, however, we know better. The ruins of Knossos have thrown the above cities into the background. Mycenæ, great as it was, when compared with Knossos "appears provincial." Henceforth our standard of Ægean domestic architecture must be taken from the magnificent "piles of Knossos and Phæstos, with their many stories, their flights of stone stairs, their tiers of corridors, their light-wells and windows, their sanitary contrivances, and their elaborately engineered systems of drainage." It is greatly to be regretted that not a line of Cretan inscriptions has yet been deciphered so as to throw light upon the religion and literature of the Eteocretans or the original inhabitants of the island. Who will be the happy discoverer of a bilingual text which may serve as a key to unlock the doors of Crete's glorious and commanding prehistoric past?

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT

Paul Wernle. The great apostle to the Gentiles has fallen into disfavor with not a few theologians of a certain type. They claim that he took the simple message of Jesus and covered it over with a garment of theories all his own, and that as a result Christianity as known to history has been patterned much more closely after the ideas of Paul than after the teachings of Jesus. As a result Paul has as many enemies among moderns as he has among his contemporaries, though on entirely different grounds. Generally speaking, it may be said that the things for which Paul was criticised in his own day are the things the modern man admires in him, and the things which were accepted readily in his day are those for which he is disliked now. Wernle regards the modern treatment of Paul unjust. Not that he will accept all Paul's teachings, for he too is modern; but that he thinks the importance of Paul decidedly underrated by many. In a recent pamphlet, Was haben wir Heute an Paulus? (What is Paul to Us of To-day?) Basel, 1904, Helbing & Lichtenhohn, he comes to the defense of the great apostle as against the modern assaults on him. He defends his style on the ground that, difficult as it is, it is the style of a man who feels himself overpowered by something very great and is trying to express to others the deep thoughts of his own soul. As a man Paul was independent of all but God, proud in the best sense, enthusiastic in the advocacy of his beliefs, and ready to sacrifice all for his Lord. But Wernle prizes Paul especially on account of his religious conceptions. These are, first, his idea of the Christian as the child of God. For the majority of mankind in all ages religion is a heavy load rather than a joy. Paul turns this about. The true Christian lives in the most delightful relationship to God as Father. Prayer is the most natural function of his life. He prays as often as he has anything to say to God, whether of thanks or of petition. He is borne up by a joyous, unbounded confidence in God. The second is his conception of religion as the religion of the Spirit and of freedom. For the majority of Christians religion is law—a law regarding beliefs, ecclesiastical ceremonies, and ethical requirements. With Paul all this was done away. The true and blessed life of the children of God begins when one awakens to a sense of freedom in the spirit. The third is his conception of religion as love. This checked all enthusiasm which terminated in self-satisfaction, and drove men to Christian communion in the broadest sense. The fourth is the idea of religion as a spirit of desire for a better world. To this he gives expression in many passages (see Phil. 3. 12-14; 1 Cor. 13. 8-12; Rom. 8. 17-25; 1 Cor. 15. 53, ff., 57; 2 Cor. 4. 16, ff.; 5. 6-10; Col. 3. 1-4; Phil. 1. 21, 23; 3. 20, ff.). The fifth is the place he gives Jesus Christ in the Christian life. We are children of God through Jesus Christ the Son of God.

The Spirit which impels us is the Spirit of Christ. Our life of love is the consequence of the love of Christ by which he died for us. Our hope for the future rests on the belief in the resurrection life of Jesus. There is nothing which has worth or significance for our life for which we are not indebted to Christ. The sixth is the place he gives to conversion. Paul will ever be justified in holding that there are two kinds of lives, a lost and a saved, and that the latter is not the consequence of the natural life, but that in the struggle, the break, and the shattering of our very being the higher life originates. If Wernle is right, about everything we have prized in the teaching of Paul is as valuable to-day as it ever was.

Heinrich Bossermann. Mention has been previously made in these columns of the disputes concerning the Lord's Supper. Bossermann holds that it is something more than a theoretical question among the Germans, and that a reform is needful in order to restore the use of the sacrament, which is now much neglected. Instead of the idea promulgated in the German catechisms, that in partaking of the Lord's Supper one partakes of the body and blood of Christ, the people must be taught that the ceremony is one in which the participant appropriates to himself Jesus Christ. This is more than the vivid revival in thought of the memory of Christ's life and death; for he is more than an historical personage, he is still an effective, living power, and that as a person not a mere influence. The Lord's Supper is therefore a memorial of Jesus Christ in which we should renewedly participate in his high thoughts, in the greatness of his self-sacrifice, and in his unfathomable love which led him to offer himself for us. If properly received the Lord's Supper helps one to feel that Christ really lives in him, and that he has in truth taken him to himself afresh. The value of the rite depends upon the manner in which it is celebrated. It must be so conducted as to appeal to the understanding and to quicken the receptive attitude. This attitude does not consist in an artificially produced sorrow for sin. The right attitude is that of a receptive soul that seeks after God and that expects in Jesus Christ peace and power. The idea of the forgiveness of sin does not belong to the Lord's Supper in any sense in which it does not belong to the gospel in general. 1 Cor. 11. 27-29 has been erroneously interpreted as suggesting a special penitential preparation for the Lord's Supper, and this interpretation has largely increased the neglect of the sacrament. The first Christians knew nothing of such a preparation; but they went to the sacrament with a joyful sense of thanksgiving for the gift of redemption. We celebrate the Lord's Supper not because of a commandment, but because we feel an inner need of the strengthening of the religious consciousness, and because it is an ancient custom worthy to be honored in the observance. Bossermann thinks that it will be necessary to change the form somewhat by fixing certain occasions for the rite and giving up the whole time to it. He also recommends having the congregation seated instead of having them go forward to the altar.

This will both shorten and solemnize the ceremony. He thinks it will be necessary also to dispense with the common and to introduce the individual cup. From our standpoint most of the suggestions of Bossermann are most acceptable. There can be no doubt that the conception of the Lord's Supper as an eating of the blood and body of Christ is meaningless from the religious point of view. The spiritualization of the rite is essential to its religious value. He is right also in thinking that the religious feeling involved is not essentially different from what one experiences in any other religious service; and that the more religious one is in this sense the more likely one will be to participate in it. No doubt, also, many are kept from the Lord's Supper by the use of the common cup, and many who are not kept from it are filled with thoughts of the filthiness of the custom rather than with the thoughts the ceremony should arouse. It is doubtful, however, whether he does not minify the sense of sin appropriate to the occasion.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Luthers Stellung zur Heiligen Schrift (Luther's Attitude toward the Holy Scripture), by Karl Thimme. Gütersloh, 1903, C. Bertelsmann. This book is interesting because it pertains to a great man and to an ever new-old theme. The author treats of Luther's view of The Saving Power of the Scripture, The Authority of the Scripture, and The Grounds of Subjective Certainty that the Scripture is the Word of God. Thimme rightly holds that Luther believed a saving power to reside in Scripture, and also that he believed in the divine origin of the Scripture. But he believed in this before he had experienced its power, and yet after experiencing it his belief in its divine origin rested upon a personal knowledge. This can mean only that he accepted the doctrine of the divinity of the Scripture at first on the ground that this was the current belief, and that the belief became his own by his own experience. This enabled him to identify the ideas "Scripture" and "Word of God." But it would be an error to suppose that Luther was in accord with his time in the belief that the Word of God could be experienced only in the form of Scripture: for he believed in an immediate contact of the Holy Spirit with the human spirit, without any intermediate means such as the words of the Scripture. While Luther came gradually to accept the Scriptures as the sole authority in matters of faith and practice, still he could and did accept creedal statements of the church on the ground that what had always been taught by the church could not be an error and might not be doubted without spiritual danger. Thimme thinks that Luther's adherence to the method of allegorical interpretation was so feeble as not to indicate any great dependence upon the church which upheld that method. But nothing less than a spirit of dogmatism could have led Luther to interpret John 1. 19-28 as referring to the New Testament function of preaching, or the Jordan as the Holy Scripture. Luther did not, as Thimme thinks, accept as his principle of interpretation the plain

words of Scripture, as understood by the application of the grammatical-historical method. But in spite of Luther's belief in the authority of the Holy Scripture in general he did criticise it unfavorably in some respects. Luther had an eye for the individuality of the biblical writers, and this went so far sometimes as to shake his faith in the divine authority of their writings. But the criticism of individual books of the New Testament was not based on modern critical principles. It is doubtful whether Luther applied the historical criticism at all in our modern sense of the term. He did seek after a certain support for his views among the fathers, and he laid great stress on the idea of the apostolic; but it was from the dogmatic point of view, not with the purpose of learning from them. So also his rejection of James as an "epistle of straw" was from the dogmatic-religious, not the historical, standpoint. It contradicted Paul (apparently), and it made too little of Christ, to be worthy a place in the New Testament collection. If this criterion were applied to the whole Bible there would be a general clearing out of that splendid religious and sacred library. But it is one thing to say that a book, judged by this criterion, is not fit for a place in the canon, and it is another to say that all scriptures must be estimated as to their binding authority according to their harmony with the teachings of Christ. This last we must do.

Der Kampf der Weltanschauung (The Divergent Views of the World and Their Struggle for Supremacy). By Wilhelm Schmidt. Berlin, 1901, Trowitzsche & Sohn. The author rightly maintains that one's view of the world is something more than an indication of one's intellectual state. Each thinking man must have a view of the world, consistent or inconsistent, and this world view cannot be learned, it must be thought out and fought out for oneself. It has to do with our inmost feelings as well as with our outward conduct. The author does not so much attempt to set forth a world view which shall meet all demands of mind and heart and life, as to take up and portray and criticise several of the most pretentious and best known of those world views. The first of them is that of Auguste Comte, the apostle of Positivism and the Religion of Humanity. Schmidt dwells with special fondness on the extravagances into which Comte's system ran. The most prominent of Comte's followers do not regard these as essential features of their master's philosophy or religion; but Schmidt thinks that the system itself does not satisfy the desires it arouses and that thus we have the remarkable phenomenon of a bond of union between the positivist world view and a wild mysticism. In treating the second of these views of the world, materialism, he takes Büchner as the type. It can scarcely be said that Schmidt either adequately portrays or refutes the materialistic philosophy, though for all practical purposes, and especially for the nonphilosophical reader, his treatment is satisfactory. The third world view is the Hegelian monism of Strauss. Schmidt thinks that Strauss well illustrates the logical consequences of the Hegelian philosophy in that he

simply carried out to its natural outcome in his Old and New Faith, in 1872, the principles laid down in his Life of Jesus in 1835—in other words, that Hegelianism naturally ends in materialistic monism. The fourth world view is that of Feuerbach. Schmidt is not altogether satisfactory here, though he points out clearly the connection of Feuerbach with Hegel and also in what sense Feuerbach discovers in anthropology the secret of theology; and he rightly says that man never was fool enough to project his own wishes into the plan of personality and then turn and worship and sacrifice for them. Fifth in order comes Darwin, and Schmidt points out that judging from passages in Darwin's own works the great investigator saw no contradiction between theism and evolution. This was probably true when Darwin wrote the Origin of Species. Later, however, Darwin became agnostic, though he never became an atheist. Besides, the conception of theism held by him was never the only one tenable in connection with evolution. When he comes to Haeckel Schmidt has no great difficulty in showing that the author of The Natural History of Creation left the solid ground of scientific fact and that it was this which made him, contrary to Darwin, a practical atheist, parading under the guise of monism. Less known is the world view of Julius Hart, with his dualistic monism, and it may be passed by here. The eighth and last world view presented is the Neo-Kantian as presented by Albert Lange in his History of Materialism. Space cannot be given for a portrayal of the discussion of this system. Its merits are recognized, but it fails to meet the demands of mind and heart. Lange has not succeeded in finding the true way out of the materialistic into the idealistic view. It is regrettable that Schmidt did not do more of constructive work.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL

Church Erection in Berlin. Fifteen years ago there were in Berlin 1,500,000 Protestant inhabitants, and for their accommodation but 37 church edifices. In several parishes there were to one church 80,000, and in some cases as many as 140,000, souls. Under the vigorous and inspiring leadership of Herr von Mirbach there have been raised during that period for church erection 31,000,000 marks, and there have been actually built in greater Berlin 55 churches. This is, of course, a great relief of the situation, but it still leaves but 92 churches, with a population vastly increased over what it was fifteen years ago.

A Japanese Buddhist on Christianity. At the Second International Congress for Universal History of Religion, held in Basel the latter part of August and the early part of September, 1904, an address was delivered by Kaikioku Watanabe, a teacher in the Buddhist high school in Tokio, in which he gave utterance to the remarkable idea that a union

of Buddhism and Christianity in Japan is approaching. One could wish for fuller reports of what he said. But it is encouraging to note that he affirmed that new Japan had learned most from Protestantism; that in the attempt to cope with and adapt the ideas of Europe Japan had passed first through skepticism which Buddhism had been unable to prevent, and that the outcome had been the belief in the necessity of religion; that while Christianity and Buddhism were at first enemies a spirit of tolerance had grown up; and that Buddhist scholars are gradually adopting Christian, and Christian scholars are adopting Buddhist, views.

A Recent Exchange of Sacred Relics. The Roman Catholics still believe in the value of relics of the saints. The cathedral at Cologne was in possession of the precious relics of the three wise men which were at one time brought from Milan. At a recent meeting of distinguished Romanists in Cologne the Cardinal Archbishop of that see gave to the Cardinal Archbishop of Milan parts of the bones of the wise men taken either from the forearm or from the neck. These are regarded by Roman Catholics as of great value, and the Milanese feel that they have secured the return to their city of a precious treasure. And we are in the twentieth century!

Demand for German Pulpit Reform. It is being recognized that the German pulpit is behind the times. Consequently a number of treatises of recent date deal with the necessity for reform. All of these recognize the defect, but they differ in the remedies suggested. The less thoughtful of the writers think that the trouble is that the subjects treated in the pulpit are not timely. The more thoughtful see the remedy in a scientific study of the contents of the New Testament, in the light of a well-founded psychology, with a view to the discovery of the New Testament elements applicable at the present day to human life.

Missionary Zeal in Holland. Once a year the Hollanders of all the various Protestant bodies hold a missionary festival. Last year it was held in the open air on the eighteenth of June, which day the Hollanders always celebrate. Some idea of the size of the gathering may be had from the fact that five special trains were required to bring the more distant attendants, and that four stands were erected, from which eighteen different addresses were delivered. A peculiarity of the gathering was the fact that social themes formed the basis of three of the addresses, one of the speakers claiming that no one had a right to engage in foreign missionary endeavor who was not actively employed in efforts for social betterment at home. Home missions as well as foreign missions were considered from various and varying standpoints.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

THE big International Quarterly (New York) presents in its January number a dozen articles of pith and moment by prominent and competent writers in Europe and America. Emil Reich, lecturer on History at London University, writing of "The Present State of Europe," says that the stability and very life of the Russian empire depend on its maintaining successfully the national ambition for expansion. Extension of empire is the ideal of the reigning dynasty and of the nation, and Russia has been expanding steadily by successive conquests of new territory ever since the days of Ivan the Terrible, in the sixteenth century, when she already held vast territory and had great stretches of Siberia in her grip. As long as Russia successfully expands the home government is safe, says Professor Reich; but if the Russians see that the national appetite for, and pride in, expansion is not being satisfied by the Czar's government, then they will ask why they should continue to submit to be ground under the iron heel of a despotism which does not show itself able to maintain Russia's prestige by extending her conquests. Then we shall see anarchy becoming uncontrollable, though no real revolution—for between the privileged nobility and the peasant masses there is no revolution-making *bourgeois* stratum. The desire for revolution will be there, but the means will be lacking; the unorganized forces of revolution will be there, but minds capable of organizing and leading successful revolution will be wanting. The brains and power will be preëmpted and monopolized by the government for its service and defense against revolution. If Japan shall prove entirely victorious and Russia's imperial ambition for extension be roughly halted on every side, then the Russian government will be assailed by plots and bombs and riots and assassinations. The only safe course for the Czar is to prosecute the war successfully or interminably. This is for his government almost a matter of life and death. Despotism must continue to be victorious, else it will not long be quietly endured. Close after Russia's humiliation in the Peace of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin came the assassination of Alexander II; and M. de Plehve's murder was the immediate concomitant of the reverse the Russian army suffered at the hands of the Japanese at Ta-tsi-chao. Russia is a power which has staked its all upon armed aggression; which depends for its very existence upon trampling annually a few more miles of territory into subjection; a nation built on military despotism, a nation always at war or on the eve of war. Thus for its subjects it is a curse, and for neighboring nations a thieving and murderous menace. Professor Reich points out the insincerity and faithlessness of peace talk among the nations of Europe. How much faith the Powers have in peace is shown in the volumes of smoke belching continually from their gun factories, the tramp of drilling armies, the bustle of arsenals, the building, equipping, and victualing of fleets. The nations of Europe show little con-

fidence in humane resolves and peaceable professions, and are busy making ready for the imminent day of war. So says a European student and teacher of history.——Eight letters, all but one of them written to Georg Brandes, are given in the January International Quarterly, as samples from a volume soon to be published of Letters of Henrik Ibsen. Their quality may be guessed from a few disconnected extracts: "Everything which I have created as a poet had its origin in a mood and a situation in life; I never created anything because I had found, as they say, 'a good subject.'"—"When I was married my life first became filled with something serious. The first fruit of this was a long poem. The fuller fruit of it was a book which caused much talk in Norway. The only one at that time who approved of the book was my wife. She is just the kind of person I am in need of—illogical, but possessed of a strong poetic instinct; of a broad and liberal mind, and an almost violent hatred of all that is petty."—"The important thing for an author is not to be unconditionally glorified, but to be understood."—"In my opinion no one has sinned more against the established conventions of beauty than Michael Angelo; but everything he has created is beautiful nevertheless, because it is full of character. Raphael's art has never really warmed me; his personages belong to a time before the fall of man. The Southerner desires absolute beauty; while for us Norsemen absolute ugliness may be beautiful by reason of its inherent truth."—"The costly thing about keeping friends is not in what one does for them, but in what one, out of consideration for them, refrains from doing. In that way many spiritual shoots and much growth are dwarfed. There are years behind me in which for such reasons I did not succeed in becoming myself." When Brandes was beginning to recover from a long illness Ibsen wrote him: "For the immediate future you must plan nothing. You must give both thought and imagination an indefinite vacation; you must lie quietly and be ennobled; for that is just the blessed thing about such illnesses—the way one passes out of them! A glorious time awaits you when you begin to regain your strength. I know this by personal experience; all evil thoughts departed from me; I wanted to eat and drink only what was simple and delicate; all coarse things, it seemed to me, would soil me. It is an indescribable condition of thankfulness and well-being. When you have grown strong again you shall do what you *must* do. A nature such as yours makes no choice." In 1870, when the twenty-years empire of Napoleon the Little was overthrown, Ibsen wrote: "The old illusionary France is broken in pieces, and with one bound we are in a new era. Heigh-ho! how the ideas and idols will tumble around us! And surely it is about time. Up to the present we have been living on the crumbs from the revolutionary table of the last century. The old ideas need new expositions. Liberty, fraternity, equality are no longer what they were in the days of the guillotine. I hate the politicians because they only want special and superficial revolutions—revolutions in the external life, in political methods, and in the forms of government. But that is all mere trumpery. What is needed is a revolution in the soul of man." When Mill's book on Liberty appeared, Ibsen commented on its "narrow wis-

dom" and said, "I cannot conceive of any future for the Stuart Mill tendency."——Professor James H. Hyslop writes of "Philosophy and Modern Life" in a strain not very encouraging to philosophy, nor, indeed, to anything or anybody else. In the heart of his essay we come upon a repetition of that gross and glaring grammatical blunder which, though often reproved, still persists even in educated circles—the misuse of "whom" in place of "who." This university professor writes: "People want honesty and moral earnestness in men *whom* they insist *shall be* in the position of both master and servant." Whom shall be! We are tempted to add that people also want, in any man who undertakes to write about philosophy in a critical and dogmatic way, sufficient clearness of thought and power of mental analysis, as well as knowledge of grammar, to keep him from putting the relative pronoun in the objective case and form, as if it were the object of the intransitive verb "insist," thus leaving the poor ill-treated little verb "shall be" to make its unhappy choice between having no subject at all or else submitting to accept as its subject the objective "whom," which the established rules of grammar positively prohibit and declare to be impossible. That so many educated men should be found near the foot of the primary class in elementary grammar is a mystery. (Just here we call attention in parenthesis to another common error, the using of the verb "demean" in the sense of degrade, instead of using the proper word, "bemean," which is free from ambiguity and is etymologically justifiable. The primary significance of "demean" is "to manage," "to conduct," or "to treat" a matter. Its secondary natural and allowable sense is "to behave" or "to conduct" oneself, which meaning is indicated in the nouns "behavior" and "demeanor." The third meaning, given it by popular use and even included among dictionary definitions, is "to degrade," "to debase," "to lower" oneself. But this use of the word "demean" creates ambiguity not always cleared up by the context, and is etymologically unjustifiable, having arisen from a false etymology which erroneously connected it with the adjective "mean." To demean oneself means simply to behave or conduct oneself—in a manner good or bad, properly or improperly, as afterward indicated. To bemean oneself signifies, clearly and unambiguously, to lower, to degrade oneself—precisely that always and never anything else.) Professor Hyslop makes it appear that Philosophy, between the demands of the scientific class on one side and those of the religious class on the other, is put in a very painful predicament; and he fails to make clear to us how Philosophy is to escape from the pinch and pain of that alleged predicament. He says that men who are interested chiefly in physical science, industrial activity, and commercial advantage have no interest in Philosophy. This class worships *practical* materialism, and, if it were intellectual enough to philosophize at all, it would adopt *philosophical* materialism as its theory. This class cares nothing for the serious questions of a cosmic order or purpose, is indifferent to spiritual principles and the higher uses of the intellect, and cannot be expected to patronize or support Philosophy. Consequently, the only class that can be expected to sustain an interest in Philosophy is the religious class, which alone shows

any interest in the large, high problems of the universe and the associated questions of God, Immortality, and Ethics. It is on this earnest and serious-minded class that the universities must rely for any substantial aid in supporting the philosophical curriculum. And the only class of people, Professor Hyslop thinks, who are entitled to any admiration in modern civilization are those who cling to the ideals for which religion has always stood. Religion has been and will ever remain the repository of man's ethical aspirations and of the enthusiasms which have done most for the human race. In support of the assertion that only morally earnest men care for Philosophy or its great problems, it is pointed out that no man cares anything about the existence of God for merely explanatory purposes, but only for moral interests. "The primary conception which gave Christianity its power, after its purely social and ethical impulses were forgotten, was not its belief in the existence of God but its doctrine of a future life, and the belief in God was wholly subsidiary to this. Its dispute with Greek philosophy did not at first turn on this last question, but on the incarnation, miracles, and immortality. When skepticism, however, began to encroach upon the belief in a future existence, then theology and philosophy sought an indirect support in the arguments for the existence of God. In default of facts to prove immortality directly, they thought it easier to show its rationality or even probability by invoking confidence in Providence, whose existence they assumed could easily be proved. But this merely shifted the argument over from one issue to another and was simply a change of venue for skepticism, which took up the challenge at that point and landed in the conclusions of Kant. Faith having defined, must needs accept the issue and suspend its belief in immortality on the fortunes of the argument for the existence of God. All the moral and emotional interests centering about the former were transferred to the latter controversy and aroused the passions of debate, not because it naturally invoked any animosities, but because human hope and aspiration will resist to the last ditch. If man had had any rational assurances of a future life without presupposing theism he would never have attacked atheism with such passion. Hence the only real human interest in the existence of God was that preconception of his character which was supposed to offer some guarantee for faith in a personal existence beyond the grave. If God had been conceived after the manner of Greek philosophy as mere power it is most probable that the human race would have treated his existence as did Epicurus, namely, refer him to the intermundia where his existence might be admitted and his providential relation to the world denied. But when his existence was taken as a pledge for a moral interest in man, all the passions that center about the desire for a continued existence after death were sure to be active in behalf of theism." Professor Hyslop does great injustice to our modern philosophers when he describes the philosophic thinking of the present age in the words with which Carlyle described Coleridge's philosophical discoursings: "Talk not flowing anywhither like a river, but spreading everywhither in inextricable currents and regurgitations like a lake or sea; terribly deficient in definite goal or aim—nay, often in logical in-

telligibility; *what* you were to believe or do, on any earthly or heavenly thing, obstinately refusing to appear from it. So that most times you feel logically lost; swamped near to drowning in this tide of ingenious vocables, spreading out boundless as if to submerge the world." Hermann Lotze's impressive and pathetic lament over the neglect of philosophic studies and of the supreme human problems in his day is reproduced: "Philosophy," said Lotze, "is a mother wounded by the ingratitude of her children. Once she was all in all; Mathematics and Astronomy, Physics and Physiology, not less than Ethics and Politics, received their existence from her. But soon the daughters set up fine establishments of their own, each doing this earlier in proportion as it made swifter progress under the maternal influence; conscious of what they had now accomplished by their own labor they withdrew from the supervision of Philosophy, which was not able to go into the minutiæ of their new life, and became weary of the monotonous repetition of insufficient counsels. And when every offshoot of investigation which was capable of life and growth had separated itself from the common stem and taken independent root, it fell to Philosophy to retain as her questionable share the undisputed possession of as much of all problems as remained still inexplicable. Reduced to this dowager's portion, she continued to live on, ever pondering afresh over the old, hard riddles, and ever resorted to in calm moments by those who held fast to a hope of the unity of human knowledge."

——In the same number of the International Quarterly, Bliss Carman writes on "The Purpose of Poetry." Speaking of the relation of literature to religion, he says: "A book of meditation or of hymns may be extremely devout in sentiment without possessing any of the values of literature. Because very often it takes a certain set of ideas for granted, without caring very much whether they are the largest and truest ideas or not; and also because it makes no effort to be fine and distinguished in its diction. It may be entirely worthy in the fervor of its sentiment, and yet be quite unworthy in an artistic way. With great religious books this is not so. Works like the Psalms, or passages of Isaiah, or the poetry of Job, or Tennyson's Crossing the Bar, are first of all religious in their intention; they are meant to play upon our emotional nature; but they do not stop there; they are cast in a form of words so perfect and fresh that it arrests us at once, and satisfies our love of beauty. At the same time they accord with the most profound and fundamental ideas about life and nature that humanity has been capable of. They satisfy the mind and the æsthetic sense, as well as the spiritual need. It is because of this threefold completeness that we class them as pieces of literature, and not merely as records of religious enthusiasm. Depth of religious feeling alone would not have been sufficient to make them literature, any more than clear thinking and accurate reason alone could have made Plato's book a piece of literature." Carman also says: "If art and literature are devoted to the service of beauty, no less are they dedicated to the service of truth and goodness. In the phrase which Arnold used to quote, it is their business to make reason and the will of God prevail. So that while literature must fulfill the obligations laid upon it to be delightful—to

charm and entertain with perennial pleasure—quite as scrupulously must it meet the demands for knowledge, and satisfy spiritual needs. . . . It is the prime duty of art and literature to make happiness, to give joy and encouragement, to urge and support the spirit, to ennoble and enrich life; and the one way in which literature can be most immoral is by leaving the heart depressed and sad and hopeless, uncertain as to the final issue between good and evil, justice and iniquity, gladness and sorrow." Speaking of Browning, Carman writes: "His great preëminence as a poet does not rest alone on the profound philosophy to be found in his work, nor exclusively in his superior craftsmanship, nor only in his generous uplifting impulse and the way he rouses our feelings, but rather on the fact that he possessed all these three requirements of a poet in an equally marked degree. In contrast, the work of Poe or of William Morris does not exhibit this fine balance. To begin with, their mentality is too slight. Neither of them shows any large and firm grasp of the thought of the world, such as Browning showed; and that is why the wizardry of Poe and the luring charm of Morris are not more effective than they are."

Set together in the heart of the Hibbert Journal, January, 1905 (London), are three remarkable articles, which, though entirely independent in origin, should be, as the editor suggests, considered as forming a group. Each of them is a cosmic study. The first, and most beautiful, is "The Warp of the World," by Newman Howard, of Aberdovey, a study of the significance of music as one of the harmonies of the universe, correspondent with other cosmic harmonies—the rhythms of life, of the elements, of geometry, of stars and vortices; one and all of them pointing to higher hypercosmic and supernatural harmonies—the moral harmonies of a rightly regulated spiritual life, wherein lies a music as rigorous as the music which is traceable in audible sounds and through the motions of the stars, the elements, and the flowers. To quote from this sublimely suggestive article is as difficult as it is desirable. Of the effect of the noblest music in producing the emotional state out of which faith is born, the writer says: "One whom we knew long since, a man not highly educated in music, told us that under the potent spell of music he no longer doubted the high destiny of the soul—he knew himself immortal. Another, who was a most ill-shapen and pitiable cripple, wholly wrecked save that his noble intelligence was intact, hobbled away from hearing a Beethoven symphony exclaiming: 'I have heard that music for the fiftieth time. You see the thing I am; yet with this music in my soul I go down Regent Street a god.'" Chiefly the article is a study of the spiritual analogues and prophecies of music. And one of its prophecies is a future life. Historically, it is said, music and immortality were conceived at the same stage of human advancement, and by a like intuition. As the physical sense demands harmonies and is offended at discords, so the moral sense demands and postulates a life beyond to solve and heal the hideous discords of this life's inequalities and injustices. "When Æschylus looked from the crags of Caucasus to a compensating life

beyond his torture; when Socrates, confiding in the eternal justice and the voice of conscience, saw life beyond the hemlock cup, they both followed a moral instinct and solved the discords of earth-life by an intuition which runs before reason to a goal as sure as any that reason can reach." A future life is the only x which can square the inequations of this life. The second article in this group of cosmic studies is from the mathematical standpoint, and comes from Dr. C. J. Keyser, Professor of Mathematics in Columbia University, New York city. He begins by naming some of the presuppositions of the doctrine of evolution which are now paraded as axioms of science, and of them he says: "As for myself, I am unable to hold these tenets either as self-evident truths, or as established facts, or as propositions the proof of which may be confidently awaited." In his article Professor Keyser deals as a mathematician with "the universe and beyond," and reasons for "the existence of the hypercosmic." From Euclidian and other geometries which live and act in space conditions he argues into sight a moral and spiritual geometry which studies and discloses the order existent in higher, supernatural, hypercosmic realms. The last article in this group of three cosmic studies is by that most efficient scientific champion of spiritual realities, Sir Oliver Lodge. While taking the form of a criticism of Professor Haeckel, under the title of "Mind and Matter," it is in effect a look at the universe from the standpoint of physical science. Sir Oliver administers some just and healthful reproofs to Haeckel, and sets the materialist straight at various points. Here is one of the admonitions of this man of science to scientists in general: "If a poet, witnessing the cloud-glories of a sunset, or the profusion of beauty with which snow mountains seem to fling themselves to the heavens, in districts unpeopled and in epochs long before human consciousness awoke upon the earth: if such a seer feels the revelation weigh upon his spirit with an almost sickening pressure, and is constrained to ascribe this wealth and prodigality of beauty to the joy of the Eternal Being in His own existence—to an anticipation, as it were, of the developments which lie before the universe in which He is at work, and which He is slowly tending toward an unimaginable perfection—it behooves the man of science to put his hand upon his mouth, lest, in his efforts to be true in the absence of knowledge, he find himself uttering, in his ignorance, words of lamentable folly or blasphemy." As to man's position and progress in the universe, the following is part of what Sir Oliver has to say: "We are a part of this planet; on one side certainly and distinctly a part of the material world, a part which has become self-conscious. At first we were a part which had become alive; a tremendous step that—introducing a number of powers and privileges which previously had been impossible, but that step introduced no responsibility; we were, indeed, no longer urged by mere pressure from behind, we were guided by our instincts and appetites, but we still obeyed the strongest external motives almost like electro-magnetic automata. Now, however, we have become conscious, able to look before and after, to learn consciously from the past, to strive strenuously toward the future; we have acquired a knowledge of good and evil, we can choose the one and reject the other,

and are thus burdened with a sense of responsibility for our acts. We still obey the strongest motive, doubtless, but there is something in ourselves which makes it a motive and regulates its strength. We *can* drift like the animals, and often do; but we can also obey our own volition. How these powers arose, one after the other, is a legitimate problem for genetic psychology, but to the plain man it is a puzzle. Long ago it was accounted for by pictures of apples and serpents and the like; but, however accounted for, the facts are there in man's history. The truth imbedded in Genesis is deep; in essence it is the account of man's awakening from a merely animal life to consciousness of good and evil, no longer obeying his primal instincts in a state of thoughtlessness and innocency—a state in which deliberate vice was impossible, and therefore higher and purposed goodness also impossible—it was the introduction of a new sense into the world, the sense of conscience, the power of deliberate choice; the power also of conscious guidance, the management of things and people external to himself, for preconceived ends. Man was beginning to cease to be merely a passenger on the planet, controlled by outside forces; it is as if the reins were then for the first time being placed in his hands, as if he was allowed to begin to steer, to govern his own fate and destiny, and to take over some considerable part of the management of the world. The process of handing over the reins to us is still going on. The education of the human race is a long process, and we are not yet fit to be fully trusted with the steering gear; but the words of the old serpent were true enough: once open our eyes to the perception and discrimination of good and evil, once become conscious of freedom of choice, and sooner or later we must inevitably acquire some of the power and responsibility of gods. A fall it might seem, just as a vicious man sometimes seems degraded below the beasts, but in promise and potency a rise it really was." From his criticism of Haeckel, and his study of man's destiny in the light of human origin and progress, Sir Oliver Lodge rises to this most noble conclusion uttered with the tone of firm conviction: "No one can be satisfied with conceptions below the highest which to him are possible: I will not believe that it is given to man to think out a clear and consistent system higher and nobler than the real truth. Our highest thoughts are likely to be nearest to reality: they must be stages in the direction of truth, else they could not have come to us and been recognized as highest. So also with our longings and aspirations toward ultimate perfection, those desires which we recognize as our noblest and best: surely they must have some correspondence with the facts of existence, else had they been unattainable by us. Reality is not to be surpassed, except locally and temporarily, by the ideals of knowledge and goodness invented by a fraction of itself; and if we could grasp the entire scheme of things, so far from wishing to 'shatter it to bits and then remold it nearer to the heart's desire,' we should hail it as better and more satisfying than any of our random imaginings. The universe is in no way limited to our conceptions: it has a reality apart from them; nevertheless they themselves constitute a part of it, and can only take a clear and consistent character in so far as they correspond with something true

and real. Whatever we can clearly and consistently conceive, that is *ipso facto* in a sense already existent in the universe as a whole; and that, or something better, we shall find to be a dim foreshadowing of a higher reality. That is my creed, and, optimistic though it be, it seems to me the only rational creed for a man of science who, undeterred by any accusation of dualism, realizes strongly that our entire selves—our thoughts, conceptions, desires, as well as our perceptions and our acts—are all

> 'but parts of one stupendous whole,
> Whose body Nature is, and God the soul.'"

From reading these three studies of the universe and of man, one of them from the standpoint of the musician, another from the viewpoint of the mathematician, and the third from the position of the man of science, one rises with silent awe, beneath which is a deep feeling of solemn joy.

One of the best of the family magazines is Lippincott's Monthly (Philadelphia). Each issue contains one complete story, which in the February number fills nearly half its pages. In addition there are six short stories, with several essays, in one of which Eben E. Rexford writes of "The Use of Growing Plants for Table Decoration"; in another, Professor Albert Schinz, of Bryn Mawr, discusses the propriety of the difference made between married and unmarried women in the titles given them, as Mistress and Miss, Madame and Mademoiselle, Frau and Fräulein, Signora and Signorina; whereas in the case of men no such distinction is made, all men being addressed alike as Sir, Mister, Monsieur, Herr, or Signor. The proposition under discussion for years, especially in Europe, is to abolish the title "Miss," and address all women as Mistress, Madame, Frau, etc. Among the protestants against "Miss" have been such unmarried women as Clémence Royer and Harriet Martineau, who claimed for themselves respectively the title of Madame and Mistress. The latter lady used to say to those who called her *Miss* Martineau, "I am no schoolgirl." The discussion, after going over the origin, history, and meaning of the different titles, concludes its reasonings by saying, "Let all women, married or unmarried, be Mistress, Madame, Frau, Signora, as all men are Mister, Monsieur, Herr, Signor." Dr. Charles G. Abbott writes somewhat poetically of a glorious, glittering Alpine morning, "When frost encrystals every leafless bough, and every withered blade of grass sparkles as if with diamonds." Regarding the beauty of the sunlit ice crystals, in their manifold forms, he says that scientific knowledge does not destroy or diminish the poetry of things, and quotes: "There is no more exquisite poetry in the world than that which lies in certain departments of science, and there is nothing more poetic in science than a garden of these frail, strange, exquisite ice plants, composed only of frozen dew, arranging itself in leaf and flower forms and glittering like burnished and frosted silver in the sunlight of an Alpine morning." The last twenty pages of Lippincott's Monthly Magazine are filled with bright bits of wit and humor in prose and verse.

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Sermons Addressed to Individuals. By REGINALD J. CAMPBELL, Minister of the City Temple, London. 12mo, pp. 328. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.25.

More nearly than anything hitherto published this volume makes us understand why crowds go to the City Temple to hear R. J. Campbell. His visit to this country did not shed much light on that question, and his printed sermons have fallen short of explaining it. But the eighteen sermons now lying open before us are unique; every one of them came into existence because some one asked for it, or some actual life-story suggested it, and every sermon bore immediate fruit in blessing received and acknowledged. A short account of the origin of each is prefixed to every sermon, which throws light upon it and quickens the reader's interest. No one of the sermons shoots in the air, for every one of them is fired at a real individual and a near-by situation. It is sharpshooting, taking aim at a mark and hitting it. Here is the account prefixed to the discourse on "The Misuse of Divine Power": "This sermon was an attempt to reach some successful commercial men who were among the casual hearers at the City Temple. Worshipers they were not, for their estimate of Christian character had somehow become sadly vitiated. A friend sent me a line saying that a group of these commercial men were in London and would be at our Sunday evening service. The bow was drawn at a venture, and not in vain." In this sermon he talks straight to the business men before him: "The thing to be feared to-day is not wrong religious notions, it is moral flabbiness. The thing to be most dreaded is not religious intolerance, it is that men will not live up to the moral standard which conscience feels to be the best. The danger to-day is that men cease to care about certain offenses against righteousness; the danger is lest fineness of feeling be at a discount; the danger to such men as you is, I am afraid, that you neglect the higher duty in pursuit of lower things. You are guilty of deliberate sin against what is written in letters of fire on every man's heart, the moral standard of Jesus Christ. . . . Let me tell you a story of what happened in the study of a well-known Edinburgh preacher one Monday. The day before a certain commercial man noticed in church that this preacher seemed like one discouraged, was not up to his level, and failed to deliver his message with his usual power. The kindly layman decided that he would cheer and encourage his minister. So on Monday he called on the preacher and said: 'Years ago, under the inspiration of your ministry, I made up my mind to do two things. First, I would read a new book every week to keep my soul from being fossilized by the things with which I have to deal day by day. But, secondly, I made up my mind that I would not be merely passive amongst the men with whom I have to deal, but if I could bring any man to the better life by my example, by my

invitation, it should be done. I have never posed as being a man of preëminently worthy religious character, but now and then I have invited a friend to come with me to church to listen to you. I thought I would come and tell you this morning that last night you gripped a man's conscience and changed a man's life, and I think God must be glad for what you did.' The minister listened gratefully to this bit of good tidings brought by his parishioner, and was glad along with God. There must have been in his eyes a mixture of light and dew. Then it was the minister's turn, and he opened a drawer and took out a dozen or twenty letters which he showed to his visitor. They were letters written by commercial men to the minister, telling how they had been led to church by this identical layman, and had heard the truth which changed their lives. And the letters said it was not merely his invitation, but his life, that brought them to church; they felt this business man's sincerity, his goodness, his real worth, his true Christian character, although he seldom talked lip-language about Christ. This, O business men, is the kind of example I commend to you." The last sermon in the volume is on "Truth in the Inward Parts." It arose from a letter received by the minister of the City Temple from an educated man who was on the point of ending his own life. He had gone wrong, had forfeited a position of trust, had lost the respect of his friends, was shunned by his relatives, was a burden to his family and to himself. His letter to the minister closed thus: "If my epitaph were written it would be: Here lies one who trifled with life, who had abundant opportunities for usefulness and honor, who might have been a power for God, a blessing to humanity, and a witness for righteousness, but who was none of these because he lacked—Inward Truth." At the first service after receiving this letter the minister took it for his subject and preached to this lost and hopeless man, declared to him the love and mercy of God and Christ's readiness and power to save. The man was there, and after the service came to the minister, his hard, bitter, despairing heart all broken into trembling penitence; catching, like a drowning man at a straw, at the minister's word of hope; asking if it were possible for him to be saved. Half a dozen strong business men, members of the City Temple, offered him help toward a new start and an honest life, which he is now living and helping others to begin it. Defining the difference between the merely superficial morality of custom and expediency and the honesty which is deep in the inward parts, Mr. Campbell uses this illustration: "When I was in Scotland I went to the Observatory at Paisley. I saw there an instrument for measuring earthquakes, a seismological register. A solid block of stone twenty-four feet long was thrust lengthwise down into the earth. Away down deep it went into the ground, isolated in the vacuum carefully preserved on every side of it. On the top of this buried column a delicate instrument was poised, which actually wrote with a pencil a record of the vibrations and oscillations that were taking place in every part of the globe. Said the gentleman in charge, 'If an earthquake were occurring in Japan its motions would be written here as accurately as if we were in Japan on the very spot to measure them.'

'And what about the rumbling here in Paisley?' I asked; 'you have noises and jarrings right here in your own streets: are they registered by your instrument?' 'No,' was the reply, 'we do not trouble about little vibrations on the surface. We measure from the depths.' It is not the outward professions and motions that most correctly report a man's nature, but the hidden motions of desire and purpose in the inward parts. Truthfulness and sincerity in the center alone can insure right conduct; character precedes life. Make the heart right, and the rest will take care of itself." Preaching on "The Law of Retribution," Mr. Campbell quotes from John Ruskin's address to the students of a military college: "I have no patience with people who talk of 'the thoughtlessness of youth' indulgently. I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age, and the indulgence due to *that*. When a man has done his work, and nothing can be materially altered in his fate, let him neglect his task and jest with his fate if he will; but what excuse can you find for thoughtlessness and willfulness at the very time when all future fortune hangs on your decisions? A youth thoughtless! when his whole career depends on the opportunity of a moment! A youth thoughtless! when all the happiness of his home depends on his self-mastery and control of his passions now! A youth thoughtless! when his every act is as a torch to fire the laid train of future consequences, and when every imagination is a fountain of life or of death! No! young men, be thoughtless in *any* after years, rather than now—though, indeed, there is only one place when a man may be safely and blamelessly thoughtless—and that is his deathbed. No thinking should be left to be done there." Our quotations have conveyed little idea of the directness of these sermons. Every one of them is aimed at an actual present individual, that individual a type, doubtless, of many others; every sermon is a wrestle to save, a tug to lift somebody out of the pit. The preacher of them goes into the breakers after the shipwrecked, in as dead earnest as the captain of a life-saving crew on a storm-beaten coast.

The Religion of the Incarnation. By EUGENE RUSSELL HENDRIX, D.D., LL.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. 12mo, pp. 271. Nashville, Tenn.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Price, cloth, $1.

Vanderbilt University has a fund of ten thousand dollars contributed by Colonel E. W. Cole and his widow to provide for a perpetual lectureship in connection with the Biblical Department of the university, the scope of the lectures to be restricted to the defense and advocacy of the Christian religion. The particular theme and lecturer are determined by nomination of the Theological Faculty, and confirmed by the Board of Bishops of the Southern church. Bishop Hendrix gave the lectures in 1903, which are published in the volume before us. The lectures are most appropriately dedicated to Bishops McKendree, Soule, and McTyeire, whose bodies rest side by side in the campus of Vanderbilt University. The subjects of the six lectures are "The Fact of Christ—The Historical Basis," "The Masterpiece of the Holy Spirit—The Doctrinal Basis," "The Great Companion; or, The Immanent Christ," "The Life-Giving

Christ; or, The Eternal Atonement," "The Lordship of Christ," "Spiritual Gravitation; or, The Ascended Christ." The point of view and the guiding thought of Bishop Hendrix's treatment of his subject may be inferred from a statement in the "Foreword": "The religion of the Incarnation is the religion of Humanity, for religion is the bringing to its utmost best of the best that is in us. Does not the tendency to a religion of humanity which has now and then appeared, especially in our own day, need direction rather than suppression? Christ is the true realized religion of humanity, as it is he who alone can turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to the fathers with all the high affections of our nature. He alone can solve all the perplexing questions as to the possibilities or even permanence of our race. Faith in humanity can never rise higher than faith in its Head. He who hath assumed our nature is our Spokesman, our Advocate with God and man. Only a clearer vision of what Christ is can give us the needed vision of man as God intends him to be. 'Because as He is, even so are we in this world' (1 John 4. 7). Less than a divine Christ means less than a redeemed race. Only the Saviour of men can become their exemplar. To this end was the Son of God manifested that he might destroy the works of the devil. Without that manifestation or incarnation, both true religion and true ethics were impossible. Moses's prayer, 'I beseech thee, show me thy glory,' found the same answer on Horeb and on Hermon. It was the light of the knowledge of the glory of God shining in the face of Jesus Christ." The Religion of the Incarnation receives from the hand of Bishop Hendrix a strong and illuminating presentation. What impresses us most in these pages, more even than their reasoning force or polemic power, more than the range of literature friendly and hostile in sight of which they are written, is the intellectual and spiritual glow and fervor which make the pages bright and warm all through. These increase through the volume and are at their best in the closing lecture on "Spiritual Gravitation," of which the following is a part: "The greatest of all discoveries in the history of human thought is the discovery of the need of revelation. What science cannot discover God reveals, for Christ is that revelation. Men purspe their investigations until they ascertain by the help of a sufficient number of facts what they call a law of nature. It is really a law of God. For the world is not ruled by law, but according to law. When we find out one of God's laws or ways of working we should uncover before it, for we have discovered the footprints of God. God has been along that way before us. So it was when Newton was about to verify his calculations which were to prove the law of gravitation. An overwhelming awe seized him as he realized that God was about to make known to him a secret unknown to any other being. When that law was tested it not only explained the moon's orbit around the earth, due to the attraction of gravitation, but it explained every orbit in the heavens, whether of planet or satellite, the attraction of material bodies being proportional to the sum of their substance and inverse to the square of their distance. No distance has yet been found so great as to annihilate this principle of gravitation. Neptune,

the outermost of all the planets, its orbit being 2,800,000,000 miles from the sun, was located and discovered by this law, as men knew just where to look in the heavens for some unknown body whose influence on the planet Uranus had been known for sixty-five years, since its irregular movements could not be explained by the gravitation of any known bodies. This wonderful law of physical gravitation is applicable throughout the universe, for, despite the fact that distance diminishes its force, no distance has yet been found so great as to show exemption from the operation of this law. Now the moral law is just as real and as universal as this great physical law. The same test applies to each. You break the law of gravitation and it breaks you, but no more certainly than does the moral law if you break it. Christianity no more damns or punishes those who disregard and despise it than does gravitation. In the one instance the result may appear sooner in broken limbs or a hopelessly mangled body. But the fatal results of broken law appear in both soul and body. The saddest of human sights is 'the dead who have not died.'

> 'There are shroud and flower and stone
> To hide the dead from our sight,
> But these are ghosts that will not be laid—
> That come betwixt us and the light.'

But they first came between their own better selves and the light, the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and illumines every step of the way to heaven. They have trifled with the law of gravitation; they have rejected the Lord of Glory, who said, 'And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.' Man alone among earthly beings is subject to this higher law. What more ghostly resident in nature than the sense of right and wrong? Who can account for it on natural or physical grounds? Mozley in his great work on Miracles said: 'Man is alone in nature; he alone of all the creatures communes with a Being out of nature; and he divides himself from all other physical life by prophesying, in the face of universal visible decay, his own immortality. . . . Man while in this world is placed in relations with another; which is a supernatural relationship with nature. . . . So far from the two worlds standing totally apart, human reason itself places them in connection; and this connection naturalizes a miracle.'" Bishop Hendrix quotes the terse and significant words of President Eliot concerning religion and the universities: "Universities exist to advance science, to keep alive philosophy and poetry, and to draw out and cultivate the highest powers of the human mind. Now, science is always face to face with God; philosophy brings all its issues into one word—duty; poetry has its culmination in a hymn of praise; and a prayer is the transcendent effort of intelligence." On another page we find those manful words of David Livingstone, when somebody condoled with him on his loneliness in Africa: "I am not alone. Christ said that he would be with me always. That is the word of a gentleman of strictest honor. And there's an end of it." Bishop Hendrix has set a standard which future lecturers on the Cole foundation will not find it easy to surpass.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE

Songs of the Sea Children. Pipes of Pan. No. III. By BLISS CARMAN. 12mo, pp. 182. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

Songs from a Northern Garden. Pipes of Pan. No. IV. By BLISS CARMAN. 12mo, pp. 121. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.

Our readers are not unacquainted with Bliss Carman. Of him Jessie B. Rittenhouse, in her volume The Younger American Poets, writes: "In one mood he is the mystic, dwelling in a speculative nebula of thought; in another, the realist, concerning himself only with the demonstrable; and hence his work discloses a wide range of affinities. He is not a strongly constructive thinker, but intuitional in his mental processes, and his verse demands that gift in his readers." "Songs of the Sea Children" is a book full of the music and the bloom and all the mighty ravishment of Spring; full of youth and love and rapture at the beauty and the wonder of the earth and the sea and the heavens. Every springtime when the swelling streams go down through the deep grassy floor of the meadows and the gold-fish and the turtle bask at their water-doors, and the river and the little leaves all know the good of spring, then man's heart is made glad with a new invoice of joy, his veins are flushed with pleasure, and his senses wake to new thrills. But to the poet supremely April and May are an ecstasy. His soul is like a harpstring in the wind. He thinks he knows the meaning of a sunset, the tenor of a star, the twilight's consolation, the phrase for morning light, what the rustling grasses whisper to the breeze, what tune the little pipers by the brookside play upon their reedy flutes, and what the whippoorwill is saying to the dark hills. In the poet's sweet delirium the hillside flower is a live Oread, the sea is a lotus of Indian blue, the earth a wide sunflower turning its face to the sun, and the flashing meteors racing down the slopes of the night are glittering Bedouins of space riding through the gloom. Anywhere the poet can see dryads dancing, fauns frolicking, and Persephone gathering her flowers. Bliss Carman says that he saw once with naked eyes a star at midday burn distinctly like a gleaming spar in the blue opal of a winter noon. Another man, who is now a bishop, once wrote a poem to the planet Venus, plainly seen at midday by him and his friend through the round opening in the middle of the Pantheon's dome in Rome. The stars have a mysterious power to set the poets going in their fine frenzies. They shine above many of Carman's pages. "In the kingdom of Boötes, Mirac answers to Arcturus, 'All is well' "—so our poet tells us. The prayer which the stars move him to offer is not very positively religious:

> "Lord of the vasty tent of heaven,
> Who hast to thy saints and sages given
> A thousand nights with their thousand stars,
> And the star of faith for a thousand years,
> Grant me, only a foolish rover
> All thy beautiful wide world over,
> A thousand loves in a thousand days,
> And one great love for a thousand years."

The Songs of the Sea Children dwell far less on religion, even of the pagan sort, than on Aucassin and Nicolette, Abelard and Heloise, Tristram and the dark Iseult, Lancelot and Guinevere. Yet here is a trace of trust:

> "I am a child. A thistle-seed
> On the hoon wind is more than I,
> Yet will the Hand that sows the hills
> Have care of me too when I die."

The Songs from a Northern Garden seem to us better than those of the sea children, notwithstanding a newspaper critic finds fault as follows: "We suspect that if one could get at Bliss Carman's set of tools, so useful to the poetic artist, he would find them a little rusty. In his Songs from a Northern Garden Mr. Carman is as musical and picturesque as ever—nay, he is too musical and too picturesque. Like that Burdock who 'never left anything out, as he wrote only for his own pleasure,' Mr. Carman finds it hard to forego a pretty image or a sweet cadence, however far it may lead him from the path pointed out by the original poetic impulse. He captures many fine phrases, like—

> 'That's master thrush. He knows
> The voluntaries fit for June,
> And when to falter on the flute
> In the satiety of Noon;'

but there is in the present volume no poem so perfect as half a dozen that could be found in any one of Mr. Carman's earlier collections, while the rill of neo-paganism that ran through those here threatens to inundate the page with a kind of fluent amorism that leaves one dazed and unconvinced. How much a poet may gain in virtue by renunciation can be learned in no way better than by reading Gray's Elegy with and without the lovely stanzas which the self-denying ordinance of his taste bade him reject." In The Church of the Leaves it is intimated that some long-ago forms of faith are venerable outgrown shells wherefrom the radiant life has fled; but it is felt that Christ is not outgrown nor gone—he who walked at twilight in Gethsemane, breathing his prayers beneath the listening boughs, still walks the shadowy forest aisles and tunes the trembling litanies of the leaves. "The pines are his organ pipes, and the great rivers are his choir." "More manly than our manliest" is He "who is more God than man." To our "Brother of Nazareth," whose perfection bids us forego the good to attain the best, the homage of this prophecy is offered: "In the far unfretted years, the generations shall reach the measure of Thy heart, the stature of Thy mold." Bliss Carman tells of the sermon he heard at Saint Kavin's Church, in which it is made plain to him that the love of the worldly-wise is folly in comparison with the faith taught

> "By Him who rose and bade
> His friends be not afraid,
> When peril rocked their fishing-boat at sea—
> Who bade the sick not fear,
> The sad be of good cheer;
> And in that hour they were made whole and free."

Hearing that sermon, Carman turns from the skeptic's half-blindness and cries, "Trusting my senses, shall I doubt my soul?" And he says that when the sermon ceased in benediction, and the congregation like a murmur rose, resuming his journey he put his heavy pack once more upon his back and found it light as any thistledown that blows. Listening above the Gaspereau to tides and winds, and the creatures with wings and with fins, Carman overhears things which make him surmise and conclude that beyond the dark door that swings outward, the exit of soul from this earth, we shall find "immortality, knowledge, survival of soul." Above the Gaspereau he senses the rising sap and the resinous smell, the silence of patient trees, the sob of the tide turning home, and the wind going down the orchard to the dikes and out to sea; and sings of them thus:

"The tread of the sap is wont to go mounting so well,
Round on round with the sun in a spiral, slow cell after cell,
As a bell ringer climbs in a turret. That resinous smell
From the eighth angel's hand might have risen with the incense to swell
His offering in heaven, when the half-hour's silence befell.

"Behold, as the prayers of the saints that went up to God's knees
In John's Revelation, the silence and patience of trees,
Our brothers of orchard and hill, the unhurrying trees,
Shall go out to the stars with the sound of Acadian seas,
And the scent of the wood-flowers blowing about their great knees.

"To-night when Altair and Alshain are ruling the West,
Whence Boötes is driving his dogs to long hunting addressed;
With Alioth plumb over Blomidon standing at rest;
When Algol is leading the Pleiades over the crest
Of the magical East, and the South puts Alpherat to test
With Menkar just risen; there will come, like a sigh from Earth's breast
The first sob of the tide turning home—one distraught in his quest
Forever, and calling forever the wind in the west."

Bliss Carman's nature-mastery sings in his personifying verses to the spring rains:

"Across the purple valleys,
Along the misty hills,
By murmur-haunted rivers
And silver-gurgling rills,
By woodland, swamp, and barren,
By road and field and plain,
Arrives the Green Enchantress,
Our Lady of the Rain.

"What foot would fail to meet her,
And who would stay indoor,
When April in her glory
Comes triumphing once more—
When adder-tongue and tulip
Put on their coats of gold,
And all the world goes love-mad
For beauty as of old.

"At every year's returning
The swallows will be here,
The stalls be gay with jonquils,
The dogwood reappear;
And up from the southwestward
Come back to us again
With sorceries of gladness—
Our Lady of the Rain."

In Lippincott's Monthly last January this bard of nature listened on the coast to the roar of the winter sea:

"Hark to the trampling thunder and long boom,
The long unscansioned and mysterious rote
Whose cadence marked the building of the world,
The old reverberant music of the sea!"

Bliss Carman has not lost his audience; rather, it grows; and it is both hungry and expectant for his better and his best. It wants to believe "the best is yet to be."

Fragments of Prose and Poetry. By FREDERIC W. H. MYERS. 8vo, pp. 211. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The contents of this book are selected by Mrs. Myers from writings left by her husband. First are six autobiographical chapters written by himself, beginning with his ancestry and ending with his final conclusions upon life and destiny. It is rather a biography of the inner life than of outward events. It runs through Hellenism, Christianity, Agnosticism, ending in the credulities and superstitions of modern spiritualism, not of the crude sort, but of the kind represented by the Society for Psychical Research, of which Myers was a zealous and enthusiastic member. After the autobiographical part we have obituary notices, which he wrote upon the deaths of his friends, Edmund Gurney, Professor Adams, Louis Stevenson, Lord Leighton, Mr. Gladstone, Ruskin, Henry Sidgwick, and G. F. Watts. Then come sixty poems on a variety of subjects, but quite uniform in tone and style, filling nearly a hundred pages. The chief interest is in the autobiographic part, which is comparatively brief, only fifty pages. Most of us first knew the name of Frederic W. H. Myers by seeing it in connection with two extraordinary poems, entitled "Saint Paul" and "John Baptist," the greatest things he ever wrote. Needless to say that his positively Christian days were his best days, and his writing in those days was by far his strongest and noblest. Indeed, there is ground for the opinion that all he ever produced that has any hope of remembrance was in the time of his unspoiled and undiluted Christian faith. In that good time he wrote like this: "The moral evidence in favor of Christianity becomes, as soon as the will is subjected, quite overwhelmingly strong. I, even I, poor beginner as I am, can almost say already that I *know* Christianity is true. How do I know? How do I know that Virgil is a great poet? I may not be able to convince J—— of it, and yet how plainly I perceive that this is because of his deficiency and dullness. How do you

know that Bach was a great musician? You cannot prove it to me; but how sure you are that it is because the musical sense is wanting in me, and not because you are a victim of your subjective fancies." It was not for long that Myers tolerated the agnostic view. It filled him with bitter scorn of life, anger at destiny, and deliberate pleasures of the passing moment as the only realities. The forlorn anguish of it quickly became intolerable. Its contradiction soon rose out of the center of his soul. He testifies that agnosticism was sometimes a dull pain borne with joyless doggedness, and sometimes a horror so appalling that the soul grew dizzy and the world spun madly round—a shock of panic making a nightmare in the glare of day. He knew the bitterness of which Romanes, after a similar experience, wrote: "I confess that with this virtual negation of God the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness. . . . When at times I think, as think I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine and the lonely mystery of existence as I now find it—at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible." To the mind of F. W. H. Myers everything turned on whether life and love survive the tomb. And that they do was a conviction he held in nearly all the stages of his history. He grew more positive about it and more joyful in it the longer he lived and studied and searched. This was part of his reasoning: "If there were indeed a progressive immortality, then were the known evil of the universe so slight in proportion that one might trust in a possible explanation which should satisfy every soul. But if there were nothing after death, then no argument could reconcile man's moral sense to the fact that so many innocent creatures have been born to pain which was unmerited and which is never to be requited." Early in life Myers tried Hellenism for a brief moment to see what could be gotten out of it; but, after trial, he reported that it furnished a mental stimulus but exercised no moral control or influence. He calls his final faith a development of the attitude and teaching of Christ. He emphasizes Christ's insistence on inwardness, on reality; Christ's proclamation that the letter killeth but the Spirit giveth life; and Christ's summation of all righteousness in sheer love to God and man. He counts as no mere metaphor the description of love as the characteristic energy of the spiritual world. He affirms that Joy is the aim of the universe, and that joy is the product of Love and Wisdom. Love is the way to gladness. He holds Christ to be the revealer of Immortality, absolutely unique. He hopes Science can get hold of some cosmic facts which will furnish scientific proof of immortality, of the survival of spirits after the dissolution of the flesh, and of the existence of a world of spirits close around us with which it is possible to have actual and intelligent communication. And this explains his ardent interest in the Society for Psychical Research. Near the end of his life he wrote: "Both to my mother and to myself, from somewhat different standpoints, the future life is so certain, and the goodness of God and of the universe a matter of such profound trust, that a transition from this world to that cannot in itself seem a cause for mourning." He is fully sure that those who have followed good and not evil

will enter, after death, on endless and unimaginable happiness. And in the joy of that conviction he looks, he says, upon earthly scenes with different eyes: "All that lies around me breathes beauty and repose. The evening sun gilds this fair garden; the children play like leverets on the lawn; from my window I see quiet tilth and pasture beyond a girdling belt of flowers." He has the feeling which another expressed by saying: "Thy world is very lovely, O my God; I thank thee that I live." He knows that this temper is in disaccord with that of Buddha, of Cleanthes, and of Marcus Aurelius. He refuses to subordinate all cravings for a personal future to the welfare of the universe as a whole. He cherishes what Schopenhauer calls "the passionate affirmation of the will to live." He says the only hope for the universe lies in the very thing which makes the only hope for him. He declares that the universe cannot advance to moral glory or any kind of welfare over the crushing of individual hearts; that there must be salvation for the individual or the universe is damned. His nature imperatively craves a personal, unbounded, future career of life and joy. And he will not be a Stoic or a Buddhist. He expects the universe to satisfy the longings it has raised in him. With this great trust he will go out and stand alone under the vault of night, looking up along the solemn starlit avenues and gazing on Arcturus and his sons, all unafraid. And he closes his brief autobiography with these words of reverent gratitude: "The king shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord: exceeding glad shall he be of Thy salvation: for Thou hast given him his heart's desire, and hast not denied him the request of his lips; he asked life of Thee, and Thou gavest him a long life, *even for ever and ever*." Myers saw G. F. Watts, the artist, in his old age sitting among the symbolic pictures which he painted in his later years, and says of him: "He seemed to me to have become himself a sacred symbol, and I should scarcely have wondered if he had vanished into a mere spirit while I gazed on him. He stood, as it were, unconcernedly in both worlds, the seen and the unseen, the one as present to him as the other. For such a man what we call death is reduced to a mere formality." To some such man Myers once wrote:

> "Not even in death thou diest; so strong to save
> Is He who walked unharmed the stormy wave;
> Thy life from earth by hurrying surges driven
> Wakes unbewildered in the courts of heaven."

In a poem entitled "The Genesis of a Missionary" Myers tells of a man who had seen evil days and had sinned violently, and known the pang of guilt and the horrors of remorse and shame, and afterward turned from it and fled for his life to God and gave himself passionately to the saving of others, calling men urgently to repentance and salvation. These are the closing verses of the poem:

> "Therefore on many a coast his cry was heard,
> On many ears his earnest warning broke;
> Yea, with his utterance he strangely stirred
> The hearts of many folk:

"Fast chained he held them in divine surprise,
Deep things of God he wisely spake and well;
Strange glory on his face, but in his eyes
The memory of hell."

Science and Immortality. By WILLIAM OSLER, M.D., F.R.S. 16mo, pp. 54. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

This is The Ingersoll Lecture for 1904 at Harvard University. We cannot imagine Catherine Ingersoll or her father finding much pleasure in utterances so cold and depressing. It certainly is not the kind of literature intended to be produced and circulated by the five thousand dollars they left to found the lectureship on the Immortality of Man. How much time and labor the lecture now before us cost, we do not know; but the service it renders to the cause it was engaged to support is not large enough to justify the lecturer in taking his pay. Reading this lecture is something like watching the ashes of a dying fire; only in the final pages does so much as a thin flame of faith flicker up out of the ashes. Dr. Osler is familiar with surgical cases where the operation is scientifically performed and is called successful, although the patient dies from not having vitality enough to rally from the shock of the surgeon's treatment. Dr. Osler's lecture reminds us of that kind of an operation. On the question of immortality, he says the only enduring enlightenment is through faith. "Only believe" and "he that believeth"—these are the commandments with comfort. But even the scientific student must acknowledge the value of a belief in the hereafter as an asset in human life. He must recognize that amid the turbid ebb and flow of human misery, a belief in the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come is the rock of safety and of comfort to which the noblest have clung. He must confess the incalculable sweetness of such a belief to those sorrowing for precious friends no longer here. He must own with reverence and gratitude the service rendered to humanity by the great souls who, having lived nobly, have departed this life in sure and certain hope of a better. He cannot help seeing that this high faith makes for all that is bright and joyous and wholesome and strong in life. Cicero said he would rather be mistaken with Plato than be in the right with those who deny the life after death; and Dr. Osler adopts that as his own confession of faith. He quotes and seems to adopt the words of Sir Thomas Browne: "A dialogue between two infants in the womb concerning the state of this world might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next, whereof, methinks, we yet discourse in Plato's denne—the cave of transitive shadows—and are but embryon philosophers." But they who have got no further than the dim light which shone in Plato's cave are pagans, not Christians. A greater than Plato is here, and we rest not upon science or Cicero, but upon the word of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, who spoke as never man spoke and said, "I am the resurrection and the life;" "Because I live ye shall live also." Dr. Osler's predecessors in the Ingersoll lectureship were George A. Gordon, William James, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Josiah Royce, and John Fiske.

Notes for the Guidance of Authors. 16mo, pp. 66. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, paper, 25 cents.

This complete little manual contains all instructions necessary for the guidance of those who wish to submit manuscripts to publishers. Here are full directions about the preparation of a manuscript—one of the most important is that *no manuscript should ever be rolled*, since sheets which have been rolled are an affliction and a nuisance to everybody who is obliged to handle them. Here is information about securing copyright; about forms of agreement between author and publisher, about bindings, covers, and cover designs; about proof-reading, with the signs used in correcting proof. Here are J. S. Cushing & Co.'s rules for spelling, punctuation, and style, with a list of words the spelling of which is agreed upon by Worcester and Webster, another list of words as to which the dictionaries differ; with a list of preferred forms of miscellaneous words and of compound words; with directions as to the division of words, the proper use of capitals, of commas and semicolons and colons, of quotation marks, of titles, of forms of the possessive case, of the use of "O" and "Oh." The entire manual is valuable, and all editors and publishers will gladly join in urging all writers to buy it.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

Aubrey De Vere. A Memoir Based on His Unpublished Diaries and Correspondence. By WILFRID WARD, Author of The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman, Problems and Persons, etc. 8vo, pp. 428. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $3.50.

A very pure, delicate, winsome, and yet positive and candid nature is here set forth in a volume of exceptional attractiveness. In it also are mirrored many of the most significant public events of his time and many of the people of note in literary, political, and ecclesiastical circles. It is not a mere portrait but to some extent a panorama. Aubrey De Vere was descended from the sixteenth Earl of Oxford. The family home was at Curragh, in Ireland. Aubrey's tutor, failing to arouse in him any interest in mathematics or the classics, pronounced him an idiot and recommended him to cultivate his moral faculties, as his intellectual were nonexistent. But after a time the lad became interested in English poetry and showed a retentive memory and critical appreciation of a high order. As a boy he had a keen and exquisite perception of the beauties of nature and of literature. At Trinity College, Dublin, he was deep in metaphysics, with Kant and Coleridge for his admirations. That was at a time when, as Stuart Mill tells us, Benthamite or Coleridgian described every thinking youth. Coleridge's Aids to Reflection was De Vere's nourishment. This profound book he loaned once to a gay and fashionable lady, who took it to her room after breakfast and brought it down at lunch time, saying that she had read it, thought it a very pleasant book, found nothing difficult in it. When Whately, the great logician, was made Arch-

bishop of Dublin, De Vere characterized him thus: "He certainly possesses all the inferior faculties in a combination and perfection almost miraculous; whether he possesses the higher faculties in any degree is a question I cannot decide." In a letter to his friend Hamilton, the Irish astronomer, is this glimpse of their vacation pleasures: "Do you remember our dinner at the Waterfall, our pæans to the torrent, and our gradual inebriation, produced, I believe, by the spray and mist, which had as powerful an effect on our spirits as if they had exhaled laughing gas instead of common air?" From Coleridge, De Vere learned to regard Christianity as the expression of the universal mind of regenerate man, as something resting on wider and deeper experiences than belong to the life of one individual, and as a reflection of the infinite mind of God. When De Vere first visited Rome and studied Roman Catholicism at the seat of its power he wrote of it thus: "This Church contrives to stamp its own peculiar character on everything and everybody its influence can reach. From the humblest cottage hearth to the haughtiest council chamber it makes its influence felt, and the effect of *that influence is to weaken every other tie of human life*, domestic, social, or national, in order to make the ecclesiastical bond be all in all. This priestly power is the most complicated and complete *imperium in imperio* that ever was invented, and might well excite the envy of the old Egyptian flamens and augurs if they could come to life again. One has only to use one's eyes while walking about Rome to see the visible representations of these three constituent elements of the Papal Church: first, the old Roman element—the instinct of War and Law; then the Greek instinct of Art and Enjoyment; and thirdly, Priestcraft—the spiritual supremacy of the few and the servile condition of the many, maintained by keeping the people always ignorant and always amused. . . . It preserves among the masses of the people a childlike spirit of submission to its authority, along with a childish ignorance and more than childish indulgence of impulses and passions." This accurate description of the Papal Church and its influence was written by a man who was friendly to it and who afterward fell under the spell of its fascinations. At Cambridge he observed the men of the famous "Apostles' Club," and wrote of them thus: "They are full of irony and have a manner of playing with theories and putting thoughts into a fanciful combination and making them go through evolutions like troops at a review. It is amusing, but sometimes not less than profane." Later he wrote against them in words justly applicable to some flippant critics of to-day: "Are you not, one and all, utterly profane and unclean? Are you not ironical persons toward things revered? Is not your creed that everything is something else, and your practical code to try everything and hold fast that which is bad? Is not your devotional code to burn incense to a many-sided and always-revolving kaleidoscope, and to raise an altar to your own center of gravity? Is not your very orthodoxy heterodox, and your resolve not to learn anything from tradition but to throw it all away? I distrust you much, and the reason is your cynical impudence." On this Wilfrid Ward judiciously comments: "Theology must not, like an intellectual dilettant, spend its time in taking up one theory after another, but

must pursue its task of guiding men, holding a consistent path, though such a course involves a refusal, even at the bidding of able critics, to make constant intellectual experiments in other directions than that of the course which has heretofore been judged on the whole wisest and in the interest of the most fundamental truths." In a letter to his friend Hamilton is this beautiful passage concerning that consensus of the church which makes the Christian tradition: "Humanity is made in the image of God, and therefore to see Divine things *humanly* is to gaze at them in a mirror of God's making. These human views must be really and broadly Human, not the eccentric fancies of individuals, but the views which the Church, the great representative of renewed and reintegrated Humanity, has traditionally held and maintained. The Church is symbolically the mother of us all, and is extended over all times and places. Her tradition excludes the eccentric fancies of particular times and places, while it unites the clear rays of intelligence flowing from all times and places. The mind of the Church is as one great Human mind reflecting the Truth in symmetrical shape. The consensus of the Church is the Truth unified in one great Human-Divine body of thought in the mind of Humanity—the Star of the Epiphany suspended in the firmament of Finite Intelligence—which gives us the best light we are capable of receiving and will last till the new heavens and new earth are made." With equal beauty De Vere writes of the church's purpose "to cleanse and consecrate the whole world and its life, to plant a cross on every pine-girt ledge, an altar by each river's lilied edge—to leave unconsecrated no spot of earth, no point of time, no thought within the mind, no feeling of the heart; but to bring everything under the control of Love and Duty, wherever her hallowing dominion broods." When De Vere first became acquainted with Wordsworth he wrote of him thus: "I have discovered that he wears a coat and not singing robes, and gets hot and dusty, just like other people, but this does not lessen the respect I have always had for the old Druid. He is all that an admirer of his writings should expect, the kindest and most simple-hearted old man I know. He talks in a manner quite peculiar; as for duration, it is from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same; as for quality, it is a sort of thinking aloud, a perpetual purring. He murmurs like a tree in the breeze, as softly and as incessantly. He is by nature audible as well as visible, and goes on uttering his inmost being just as a fountain continues to flow or a star to shine. At first I was struck by the extraordinary purity of his language and the perfection of his sentences; later I was charmed by the exquisite balance of his mind and the orderly sequence of his thoughts." He tells us that Wordsworth once said: "I feel and lament my own unworthiness, but the feeling of penitence is so lost in contemplation of our Saviour's character that I seem to remember my own shortcomings no more." He heard Dr. Pusey preach—"a long, sweet, solemn sermon, that was like the reverie of a saint." De Vere once found Tennyson in low spirits. Somebody had written in Fraser's Magazine of "the foolish facility of Tennyson's poetry." Somebody else had written a favorable review of him some part of which had angered him. He was much

irritated, and said he could not stand the chattering of clever critics, nor the worry of society, nor the trouble of poverty, nor the preying of the heart on itself. He complained of growing old, said he cared nothing for fame, and that his life was all thrown away for want of a competence and retirement; said nobody had been so much harassed by anxiety and trouble as himself. De Vere listened, and told him that what he needed was occupation, and a wife, and orthodox principles. After Tennyson's marriage De Vere writes: "The poet's wife is a very interesting woman—kindly, affectionate, and above all deeply and simply religious. Her great desire is to make her husband more religious, and to conduce to his growth in the spiritual life. She will succeed, for piety like hers is infectious. I already observe a great improvement in Alfred. His nature is a religious one, and he is remarkably free from vanity and sciolism." In Rome De Vere met Browning, and their conversations on the problems of religion were prolonged to the small hours of the morning. When De Vere afterward expressed fear that his talk had tired Browning, the poet replied: "I was grateful and not tired by the hours you gave me. The free exercise of the soul's instincts is always interesting to me. *I am never tired of sunrises.*" De Vere expresses surprise at the theological intolerance of certain Broad Church Anglicans, who were "so innocent of theological knowledge that they might be expected to be as free from theological animosities as an oyster is secure from gout in his toes." Wilfrid Ward tells of the admiration R. H. Hutton and Aubrey De Vere had for each other. He had them twice to breakfast with him. After the first, when De Vere had gone, Hutton said, "What a wonderful man that is; what simplicity and purity of character! *I wish I were more like him.*" On the second occasion, after breakfast, when Hutton had gone, De Vere said, "What a wonderful man! How unworldly and single-hearted! *How I wish I could be like him!*" After Hutton's death, in 1897, De Vere wrote of him to Wilfrid Ward: "His high religious fortitude and submission in suffering indicate that he must have been living under a very high grace from God. His change from Unitarianism to a belief in the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the Atonement, was a greater change than is made by a Protestant becoming a Catholic." The loquacity of some people in presence of scenes of nature or works of art greatly annoyed De Vere; and in rebuke of it he once wrote in praise of silence: "The old silent seer, Numa, used to say, 'The Muses are not nine, but ten.' He named the tenth 'Tacita—Silence.'" Once after looking at pictures of some of the old saints he said, "Their faces can sometimes give us better counsel than our own logical processes." "A self-made man who never forgets his maker," was his description of a purse-proud person, newly rich. Miss Mary Anderson took De Vere driving in Hyde Park, London, and writes of him thus: "Though old in years, the peace of his spiritual life has left his face unfurrowed. His color is fresh, red and white, his eyes young, clear and blue, and his smile that of a child. All this youthfulness contrasts curiously with his gray hair and tall, thin, stooping body. One of his great charms to me is his carelessness of externals. When we drove in the park together in an open victoria at the height of

the fashionable season I was in my smartest gown and bonnet, while he held up an old faded cotton umbrella to protect his eyes from the sun—it was green with age and one of its ribs had fallen in with age. But he clung to it as he clings to his friends in their sickness as in their health, in their poverty as in their riches." Edmund Gosse writing of De Vere as he seemed at eighty-three says: "He had an ecclesiastical air like that of some highly cultivated old *abbé*, with a sort of distinguished innocence, a maidenly vivacious brightness, very charming and surprising, and mingled with a tender grace." We close our notice of this beautiful biography with the following extract from the writings of Aubrey De Vere: "Docility is an initiative form of faith. Through it we come to Christ as little children; and in the Christian the child ever lives on in the man. The will as well as the mind is the seat of faith. Discernment belongs to the mind; submission belongs to the will. Accordingly, that only is really heresy which includes the act of the will; and conversely a belief that does not include the submission of the will is unprofitable even when it chances to be soundly orthodox. . . . The knowledge which comes from on high includes properties distinct from those that address the intellect, just as light possesses other qualities—chemical, magnetic, and vital—besides those that address the eyes. Such knowledge is capable of constituting an instrument of living communication between the Creator and the creature. . . . This knowledge elevates and exercises all the virtues. Coming from the heights, it sounds the depths, and presupposes submission in the act of recipiency. It carries God with it in every ray. He it is who exists and shows himself in those beams, sacramented in light. And this knowledge is capable of expanding into the Beatific Vision." We cannot refrain from one more: "The spirit of contention, which usually spends itself not on the central fundamentals of the Faith but upon the accidents or nonessentials, ignores or obscures the essence of Religion. It gives neither glory to God nor peace to men. It bickers on every hearth, sows dragons' teeth in every field, inflames youthful presumption, and envenoms age. There is no greatness which the spirit of controversy cannot reduce to littleness. When favorite texts have become the intrenched camps of controversialists it fares ill with the Scriptures. These disputers may know the Bible by heart; but the Word of God exists not for them. Never once can they wander through its infinitudes with the reverent eye of the seer, with the simple wonder, the loving delight, the blameless curiosity of the child. For the love of the Truth they have substituted the joy of contention. . . . Knowledge and love must go together. To love a divine Redeemer we must know that he *is* Divine; and the battle of the Church for centuries has been to refute the errors that assail his Divinity. Such warfare must always be going on. On some far border of the Christian empire there will always be irruptions of new barbarians; and they must ever be repelled lest they should reach the home and hearthstone of the Faith. The battle for Truth must last till its last foe is repulsed. The luminary that lights that battlefield is the Mystery of the 'Word made flesh.'"

Marjorie Fleming. By L. MACBEAN. 12mo, pp. 202. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.40.

"The best book ever written about a child" was the sketch of Pet Marjorie by Dr. John Brown, author of Rab and His Friends, the best ever written about a dog. Dr. Brown's sketch is included in this volume. Marjorie was a precocious Scotch child who was born over a hundred years ago in the old town of Kirkcaldy and died in the ninth year of her age. Not till her tiny form had lain half a century in the churchyard at Abbotshall was any printed mention made of her. Now she has a place in the Dictionary of National Biography, hers being the briefest life, and she the tiniest person, recorded therein. The charm which captivated Sir Walter Scott and made him the fascinated friend of Pet Marjorie still lives on after a century and makes us like to read her little life-story and her wonderful diaries, now published more fully in this new volume. Her journals cover three years of her life. She never learned much about spelling nor about punctuation, though she writes, "Isa is teaching me to make simecolings, nots of interrigations peorids & commas &c." In her queer little diary religious reflections are mixed up with all sorts of things: "The Divil is curced & all his works. 'Tis a fine book Newton on the profecies. I wonder if anothor book of poems comes near the bible: the Divil always grins at the sight of bibles: bibles did I say? nay at the word virtue. An annibabtist is a thing I am not a member of; I am a Pisplikan just now (in Edinburgh) & a Prisbeteren at Kirkcaldy my native town which though dirty is clein in the country; sentiment is what I am not acquainted with though I wish it & should like to pratise it. I wish I had a great deal of gratitude in my heart & in all my body. The English have great power over the franch; Ah me peradventure at this moment some noble Colnel at this moment sinks to the ground without breath;—& in convulsive pangs dies; it is a melancoly consideration. Love I think is in the fasion for everybody is marring; Isabella teaches me to read my bible & tells me to be good and say my prayers and everything that is nesary for a good caracter and a good concience. Exodus & Genesis are two very good books as all the bible is I am sure of it indeed I like the old testament better than the new but the new is far more instructive than the old. Persons of the parlement house are as I think caled Advocakes Mr. Cay & Mr. Crakey has that honor. Mr. Banestor's Budjet is to-night I hope it will be a good one. The Mercandile Afares are in a perilous situation sickness & a delicate frame I have not & I do not know what it is but Ah me perhaps I shall have it. The childish distempers are very frequent just now. Tomson is a beautifull author & Pope but nothing is like Shakepear of which I have a little knowledge of; The Newgate Calendar is very instructive Amusing & shews us the nesesity of doing good & not evil Sorrow is a thing that sadines the heart & makes one grave sad & melancoly which distresses his friends and relations The weather is very mild & serene & not like winter; A sailor called here to say farewell it must be dreadfull to leave his native country where he might get a wife or perhaps me, for I love him very much & with all my heart, but O I forgot Isabella forbid me to speak about love. I wish

everybody would follow her example & be as good & pious & virtious as she is & they would get husbands soon enough, love is a papithatic thing as well as troublesom & tiresome but O Isabella forbid me to speak about it. St. Paul was remarkable for his religion & piety he was in a great many periels & dangers. Many people that are pretty are very vain & conceated. Mereheads Sermons are I hear much praised but I never read sermons of any kind but I read Novellettes and my bible for I never forget it & it would be a sin to forget it or my prayers either of them. Mary Queen of Scots was a prisoner in Lochleven Castle The Casawary is an curious bird & so is the Gigantic Crane & the Pelican of the Wilderness whose mouth holds a bucket of fish & water Fighting is what ladies is not qualyfide for they would not make a good figure in battle nor in a dual Alas we females are of little use to our country & to our friends, I remember to have read about a lady who dressed herself in man's cloths to fight for her father, woman are not half so brave as her but it is only a story out of Mothers Gooses Fary tales so I do not give it cridit, that is to say I do not believe the truth of it but it matters little or nothing. Isabella this morning taught me some Franch words one which is bon suar the interpretation is good morning. I like sermons better then lectures; Joy depends on thou O virtue, Tom Jones & Greys Elegey in a country churchyard is both excelent & much spoke of by both sex particularly by the men. Personal charms are nothing if the hart is not good & & virtious, A person may be pretty & not good & dutiful to her parents; People who steal & murder bring eternal damnation in the next world upon themselves as well as unhappiness in this world. Adam & Eve dissabayed God. If any mans wife marry another while her husband is yet alive everybody will hate her & she shall be the object of there deristion & there disgust. Bishop Sandford excels Mr. James in preaching Lying is the high road to theft & murder King John is a beautiful play & so is Richard the 3 I never saw a play acted in my life. Anybody that does not do well are very miserable & unhappy & not contented." The above is part of the journal this little maid wrote in Edinburgh one winter when she was six years old. Its charm is in its sweet simplicity and the fragrance of a human mind in bud. Here is her account of a walk she took in the springtime: "Mr. Crakey & I walked to Crakyhall hand in hand in Innocence & matitation sweet thinking on the kind love which flows in our tender hearted mind which is overflowing with majestick pleasure No body was ever so polite to me in the hole state of my existence. I am enjoying nature's fresh air, the birds are singing sweetly the calf doth frisk & play & nature shows her glorious face the sun shines through the trees it is delightful." Only the next day after this, poor Marjorie seems to have had a sorry time with herself: "I confess that I have been more like a little young Divil than a creature for when Isabella went up the stairs to teach me religion & my multipliction & to be good & all my other lessons I stamped with my feet and threw my new hat which she made on the ground and was sulky and was dreadfully passionate but she never whiped me but gently said Marjory go into another room & think what a great crime you are committing, letting your temper get the better of

you, but I went so sulky that the Devil got the better of me, but she never whipes me, but I think I would be the better of it and the next time I behave ill I thinke she should do it, she is very indulgent to me but I am ungrateful to her." Not long after comes another shameful confession: "Yesterday I behave extremely ill in God's most holy church for I would never attande myself nor let Isabella attand which was a great crime for she often tells me that when to or three are geathered together God is in the midst of them and it was the same Divel that tempted Job that tempted me I am sure but he resisted satan though he had boils & many other misfortunes which I have escaped. I am now going to tell about the horible and wretched pleage that my multiplication gives me you cant conceive it—the worst is 8 times 8 & 7 times 7 it is what nature itselfe cant endure." And the dear little woman goes on with her struggles: "My religion is greatly falling off and my character is lost among the Breahead people, I hope I will be religious again but as for regaining my character I dispare of it. O what would I do if I was in danger & God not friends with me? Everybody just now hates me & I deserve it for I dont behave well. I am going to turn over a new life & be a very good girl. Isa has giving me good advice which is that when I feal Satan begining to tempt me that I flea from him & he would flea from me. Many people say it is difficult to be good but is they will not try. The best way to be good is to pray to God to give us assistance if he gives us his assistance I can say that I will be good & we should never mind punishment if it is to do us good & it is better to have punishment if it is to save us from brimston & fire." And again she mixes things up: "Isabella & Miss Isabella Craford walks to Baronbugal & jump with filisity over wals & fences, Life is indeed prasious to those who are good because they are hapy & good indeed, Remorse is the worst thing to bear & I am afraid I will fall a marter to it; I have thrown away many advantages that others have not therefore I think I will fall a victim to remorse." At Braehead she slept with her cousin Isa Keith. She writes of her visit there: "I came here as I thought to enjoy nature's delightful breath it is sweeter than a fial of rose oil but Alas my hopes are disopointed, it is always spiting. Every Morn I wake before Isa & Oh I wish to be up & out with the larkies but I must take care of Isa who when aslipe is as beautiful as Viness & Jupiter in the skies." Marjorie's sensitive conscience on the whole more than counterbalanced her occasional ill temper, but the poor little mite suffered much mental anguish. Her penitence was remorse and took on a deeper darkness from the stern Scottish theology of that gloomy time. This is how she writes in her diary: "God almighty knows everything we do or say & he can Kill us in a moment." But she is not indifferent to the vanities of this world. Hear what the little seven-year-old tells her journal: "Regency bonnets are become very fashionable of late & everybody gets them save poor me." She notes one advantage some animals have over us: "Climbing is a talent which the bear excels in and so does monkey apes & baboons." Here is her comment on herself: "I am very strong and robust & not of the delicate sex Nor of the fair but of the deficent in looks, People who are

deficient in looks can make up for it by virtue." She has much joy in her love for Isa: "I went into Isabella's bed to make her smile like the Genius Demedicus or the statute in ancient Grece but she fell asleep in my very face at which my anger broke forth so that I woke her from a very comfortable nap. Some days ago Isabella had a terrable fit of the toothake and she walked with a long shift at dead of night like a gost and I thought she was one She prayed for tired natures sweet restorer bamy sleep but did not get it, a gostly figure she was indeed, enough to make a saint tremble it made me quever & sheke from top to toe but I soon got the better of it & and next morning I quite forgot it Superstition is a very mean thing & should be dispised & shuned." When her father went to Edinburgh to see her during her visit there, she devotes to him a poem of six lines which ends with this filial tribute: "Honest and well behaved is he, & busy as a little bee." Industrious little father! The year before she died she was at supper at Sir Walter Scott's in Edinburgh. The company had all come—all but Marjorie; and all were dull because Scott was dull. "Where's that bairn? What can have become of her? I'll go myself and see;" and as he was getting up, the bell rang and in came Duncan Roy and Dougal carrying the covered Sedan chair. And when its top was raised there sat Marjorie in white, her eyes gleaming, and Sir Walter bending over her enamored; and he lifted her up and marched to his seat with her on his stout shoulder, and set her down beside him. The flower of cultured Edinburgh were present, and in the center, admired of all, were Scott aged thirty-eight and this wee maid aged seven; *both* of whom were to live in literature for a hundred years and more.

MISCELLANEOUS

A Short Introduction to the Gospels. By Ernest De Witt Burton, Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago. 12mo, pp. 144. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Price, $1.

Whoever desires to study the many problems that arise in relation to the authorship, origin, and purposes of the four gospels will find them discussed in this book candidly, carefully, and thoroughly, not with destructive but constructive aim, by a student who has read widely, and yet stands strongly by conservative, but not too conservative, opinions. He finds that there is good reason to believe that all these gospels were written by the men whose name they bear; that their purpose was instructional and not controversial—except in the case of the fourth gospel, which was written in view of certain errors of the later apostolic age, though even this is not in any strong sense a controversial book.

The Apostles of Our Lord. By Rev. J. G. Greenhough, M.A. 12mo, pp. 278. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, $1.50.

It is remarkable how little is known about the twelve men who founded the church of Jesus Christ. This author has undertaken the task of making these men stand forth not as names only, but as individ-

uals, each having his own personality and character. He has succeeded better in his task than one would expect; and has given an interesting and helpful book for all who desire to look into as well as upon the Scriptures. Additional chapters are given on "The Primacy of Saint Peter," treated, of course, from the point of view of Protestantism; and on "The Apostle Born Out of Due Time," that is, Saint Paul.

The Teaching of Jesus Concerning God the Father. By ARCHIBALD THOMAS ROBERTSON, D.D. 16mo, pp. 182. New York: The American Tract Society. Price, 75 cents.

"Back to Christ" is the motto of some scholars in our time, who think that the "gospel according to Paul" was almost a perversion of the gospel as given by Christ. This author takes us back to Christ, and undertakes to find what was the teaching of Christ concerning God the Father, himself God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. He does not undertake to find any new or misunderstood teachings of Christ, but is in full accord with the general view of orthodox criticism. Having shown the teaching of Christ, he then proceeds to show that this is in accord with the teachings of Saint Paul and Saint Peter. This is the third of a proposed series of handbooks on the teachings of Jesus.

The Philippian Gospel; or, Pauline Ideals. By W. G. JORDAN, B.A., D.D., Professor in Queen's University, Kingston, Canada. 12mo, pp. 392. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, $1.25.

The author of this book calls it "a series of meditations," and such it is—not discourses, nor homiletical hints, nor exegetical paragraphs. He gives a practical exposition of this epistle, the one that came more deeply from Paul's heart than any other. While it does not contain sermons, it does contain sermon stuff, in bright, striking sentences, and in apt quotations, which may be of service to sermon makers.

The Way of Life: Illustrations of the Book of Proverbs; for the Young. By JAMES JEFFREY, D.D., Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 298. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, $1.

The increasing interest in the religious training of the young has led to the organization of Junior Leagues, boys' and girls' meetings, and other gatherings where children are taught the principles of Christian character. Some pastors preach a "five-minute sermon" to children before the regular discourse on Sunday morning. The childhood of the church is one of the most promising fields for the labor of the pastor, and will bring large results when wisely dealt with. This work is calling out a literature of talks to young people; and one of the best of its kind is this book, consisting of fifty-two short sermons to boys and girls on practical subjects, aptly illustrated by story and incident.

METHODIST REVIEW

MAY, 1905

Art. I.—IS JOSEPH FOREVER LOST TO US AS A REAL HISTORIC PERSON?

The history of the Hebrew people, which in our time is treated disparagingly by so many, is nevertheless, even from a psychological point of view, rich in content and sublime in character. How profound, for example, is the knowledge of the soul-life suggested by the words of Cain, "Am I my brother's keeper?" How suggestive, again, the remark concerning Abraham and Isaac, "they went both of them together"—that is, in silence (Gen. 22. 8); the heart of each was burdened and the flow of speech obstructed. But a veritable treasure-house of fine psychological traits opens up to us in the story of Joseph and his dealings with his brethren. Who of us has not, with them, felt the sting of conscious guilt, and who, grateful for God's merciful directing of events, has not rejoiced with them? But, alas! in our day our psychological and ethical enjoyment of this narrative is destroyed. Here, as in the case of other portions of our precious Bible, the exclamation, "O how comforting, how instructive, and how beautiful this is!" is stifled by the anxious query, "But is it true?" For some are apparently intent upon enacting anew, and even more tragically, the scene of the selling of Joseph. When Joseph was sold into slavery by the majority of his brethren the separation which took place was followed by a reunion than which none more touching could be conceived, and the father who believed that he should sink into the grave mourning the loss of his beloved son was permitted once more to embrace his long-absent child.

But in our day Joseph is again cruelly torn from the heart of his father. Must Jacob now forever lament, "An evil beast hath devoured him"?

I. Joseph No Mythological Character.—We discover one attack on the historicity of this narrative in the attempt of many to identify the story of Joseph and his brethren with the myth of Tammuz or that of Adonis. According to these persons, the Israelites in their thought identified Joseph with the god of spring vegetation, who, in the mythology of the Babylonians and Phœnicians, having been killed by the intense heat of summer was with each new springtime revived. The principal defenders of this theory in recent times have been Professor H. Winckler and Alfred Jeremias. The former of these, in his Geschichte Israels (vol. ii, 1900, p. 62, f.), says: "Each time one of the moon-sons, (that is, sons of Jacob) comes to the sun-god (Joseph) he is made prisoner, Joseph thus each time retaining another of the number until the last and youngest is taken, when the scene ends." And, indeed, the scene would end here had the story of Joseph been written according to the mythological recipe of H. Winckler. In the theory of Alfred Jeremias the same hypothesis is linked with the words of Joseph, "I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews" (Gen. 40. 15). This sentence, according to Jeremias, is suggested to the narrator as he thinks of the Babylonian god Nebo, who was sometimes conceived as the god of thieves. The far more simple and natural explanation of these words of Joseph is that in the presence of strangers (comp. Gen. 40. 7) he sought in this way to shield his brethren and hide their wrong. This surely is simpler than to imagine that the narrator, being a Hebrew, should be thus intimately conversant with Babylonian mythology and be thinking of Nebo, the "god of thieves." For if any one thing be certain it is that the authors of the narratives of the Old Testament were professors of the religion of Jahweh. Hence the commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," was to them sacred, and they are to be defended against even the suspicion that they would associate with strange gods persons conspicuous in the traditions of their people. Is Jeroboam, who fled to Egypt and later returned, also but a more clumsy

representation (*Gestalt*) of the god Tammuz? On the contrary, this Babylonian god is not mentioned until in the later portion of the Old Testament, which again is entirely in harmony with the historical sequence of facts. Not until the beginning of Babylonian supremacy over Israel, and then only as a lamentable abomination and estrangement from Jahweh, does Ezekiel (8. 14, 15) mention the worship of Tammuz in Israel. What injustice, therefore, to imagine that the writer of the story of Joseph identifies his hero with this deity of the Babylonians!

II. Joseph Not a Product of Personification.—The principal heresy concerning Joseph at present is the so-called "hypothesis of personification." According to this theory the sons of Jacob are only individualized aggregations of the tribes of Israel, the existence of tribes being admitted but that of individual tribal ancestors being denied. Although the trees themselves must needs be left undisturbed, because of their obvious reality in history, the roots are destroyed. The passion for correcting records transmitted from ancient times must find an outlet somewhere, and this work of destroying roots, proceeding, as it does, under the surface, offers an especially inviting occupation. But scientific research must uncover secret operations such as these also, and love for the fascinating narrative of patriarchal times renders more effective the scientific research in this process of testing. That it is impossible, for example, to explain the portrait of Reuben, sketched for us in the first book of the Old Testament canon, by means of this new theory I have already shown in my pamphlet, Neueste Principien der alttestamentlichen Kritik (1902, p. 36, ff.). I desire now to direct the attention of the reader to the difficulties arising when the attempt is made to determine what the book of Genesis really does tell us concerning Joseph by an appeal to what is called "das echt geschichtliche Verstandniss" (literally, "the correct historical understanding"). Would it indeed be possible to prove even so much as the existence of such a person as Joseph from the later history of Israel alone? This later history, it is true, mentions Ephraim and Manasseh as among the tribes of Israel, making with Levi a total of thirteen tribes, but the facts of later history know nothing of a single tribe

of Joseph. The expression "the tribe of Joseph" occurs, in Num. 13. 11, only as introductory to the mention of the tribe of Manasseh, and similarly in Num. 36. 5. The tribes of Ephraim and Manassch constitute "the children of Joseph" (Num. 1. 10) or "the house of Joseph" (Josh. 17. 17). How would it have been possible to arrive at a common ancestor in the case of these two tribes if in reality no such ancestor had existed?

The tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, moreover, as their later history attests, were not so absolutely united as to warrant the supposition that the intimacy of this union led to the inference of a common ancestry. In point of fact, the two tribes were at times opposed to each other. Thus Gideon, a native of west Manasseh (Judg. 6. 11, 15), performed his heroic task without the aid of Ephraim (Judg. 8. 1, f.), and Jephthah, very likely a native of east Manasseh (Judg. 11. 1), cast to the earth the pride of Ephraim (Judg. 12. 1, ff.). But is not the trend of historical events common to these two tribes the key to the understanding of the vicissitudes through which, according to the account in Genesis, Joseph passed? The answer to this question can only be, No! For in that event it would, first of all, be impossible to explain the part played by Reuben in the history of Joseph; since at no time in the history of Israel was the tribe of Reuben distinguished for any special protection rendered to the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. What we learn from Gen. 37. 22, 29, ff., concerning Reuben's desire to save his brother from death and to deliver him to his father again, cannot, therefore, have been suggested by actual events of later history. Again, if the events of later history had furnished the coloring for the life portrait of Joseph, then Judah would of necessity appear as the principal enemy of Joseph in that portrait, for the almost constant rivalry existing between the tribes of Ephraim and Judah is well known. It was the tribe of Ephraim which after Saul's death stood at the head of the federation of tribes that refused allegiance to David because David was of the tribe of Judah. More than seven years David was compelled to sue for the friendship of the northern tribes, and at a later time only a very little spark was required to kindle anew the flame of enmity between Ephraim and Judah. The well known cry of the secession, "We

have no part in David, neither have we inheritance in the son of Jesse: every man to his tents, O Israel" (2 Sam. 20. 1 and 1 Kings 12. 16), calls this fact vividly to mind. In the life portrait of Joseph, on the contrary, we find Judah protecting the life of his brother and strongly emphasizing their kinship in the words, "He is our brother and our flesh" (Gen. 37. 27). It is Judah whom Jacob on entering Egypt sent "before him unto Joseph" (Gen. 46. 28), as if Judah were on friendlier terms with his brother than were the other sons. It was in the old tribal capital of Ephraim that the division of the kingdom took place which later proved the open sore on the life of the body politic of Israel. But the story of Joseph tells us of a reunion between himself and his brethren, and of his peaceful death among his brethren.

From this it is plain that the biography of Joseph in no sense mirrors the history of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. In respect, therefore, to the life portrait of Joseph the theory of personification fails to accomplish its purpose. But other considerations, starting from an entirely different point of view, weigh heavily against this derivation of the story of Joseph.

III. Joseph Not a Product of Self-Belittlement by the People of Israel.—Would it be at all probable that a nation should invent and perpetuate in the annals of its own national history an act such as that of the selling of Joseph by his brethren? Can the people of Israel have been so foolish as to add to their history a fictitious account of a period of national slavery such as that of Egypt? Why should it seem improbable that the story of Joseph should have been faithfully transmitted in all its essential points during the period of from four to eleven generations?—which according to my estimate must have elapsed between the time of Jacob's sons and that of Moses and his contemporaries. Thus one might continue asking questions indefinitely. It was nothing unnatural for a Hebrew to win a place of prominence under the Hyksos, themselves not a native Egyptian race, but foreigners. The Egyptian monuments, moreover, testify to the fact that the Nile valley was more than once overrun by desert tribes from the East. Nor has the assertion that the name "Misraim" (Egypt) in Hebrew writings should be rather "Musran"

(in northern Arabia) received the indorsement of scholars. In my recent pamphlet, Fuenf neue arabische Landschaftsnamen im Alten Testament, this hypothesis was shown to be without foundation. Its conclusions have been more recently indorsed by P. Jensen in the Theologischen Literaturzeitung (issue of February 20, 1904). The attempt has been vain of those who have charged the historical consciousness of the Egyptians with having confused an eastern with a western province, of arbitrarily determining upon the city of Rameses (Exod. 12. 37) as the starting point of the exodus, and of recording the story of the kine on the banks of the Nile and other details of the narrative—which Egyptologists acknowledge to be truly Egyptian—without any historical background whatever. Was the northwestern portion of Arabia the granary of the ancient world, or was it the Nile valley to which in times of famine the nations turned for relief? Ancient Hebrew literature (Gen. 12. 10; 26. 2; 42. 1; Isa. 23. 3) answers, "It was the Nile valley," thus agreeing with Herodotus (2. 13, f.) and other writers, and their united testimony is no doubt correct.

IV. Joseph a Real Person, Modern Theories to the Contrary Notwithstanding.—So thou, noble form of Joseph, art not to be cast into the shadowy realm of mythology, nor yet to the outer darkness of nonexistence. We may still continue to repeat thy story without at the same time thinking of the Babylonian god Tammuz. We may still admire thy patience in suffering and thy steadfastness in temptation, since these are still the achievements of a true human person. Thy indignant outcry, "How can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" may still steel the hearts of men in their conflict with the allurements of the flesh and the world. Thy humble confession, "Am I in the place of God?" may still tame the presumptuous pride of mortals. Thy significant words concerning the mysterious progress and sequence of events, "Ye thought evil against me; but God meant it unto good," may therefore, in the future as in the past, be regarded by us as a source of illumination which thou hast opened.

Ed. König

Art. II.—THE AVERAGE SERMON

The average sermon is not regarded with much favor nor received with special appreciation. The pews, realizing that they have been misbehaving during the week, giving too much heed to the things of the world—money-making, pleasure-seeking, body-pampering, with all that these involve—expect severe rebuke for their varied sins and numerous transgressions. Hence they set themselves in array, grimly facing the pulpit with heroic resolve, thoroughly conscious that they deserve punishment but hopeful of their ability to take it gracefully. The other parts of the service are tacitly understood to be mere preliminaries leading up to the distinctive feature of the hour, adjuncts to make it more telling and effective. In the hymns, therefore, the pews often read between the lines and not infrequently have a hint of what is coming. Sometimes this nerves them, gives them a momentary courage, inspires them to splendid endurance; or it may depress them, lead them into the valley of penitence, and thus enable the sermon to more effectually accomplish its purpose. This may explain why the pews seldom sing. In many cases they are afraid to sing, lest by so doing they give the sermon an advantage to which it is not entitled. Then the prayers nearly always are a sort of verbal John Baptist, a devotional messenger, a spiritual herald preparing the way for that which is to come. This the pews understand. Experience, painful too, has taught them that the average pulpit prayer is a sort of sermonette, or, as Archbishop Whately termed it, "Oblique preaching." This may account for the members who are late in coming to church, who prefer to stand in the vestibule rather than sit in the pews; for many have the impression that the opening prayer is not of much consequence, as it is certain of fuller development in the sermon.

But, while conceding the pulpit's right to rebuke with all authority, the pews insist that their punishment shall not go beyond the given limit; hence a prescribed time is set for the sermon, though occasionally, if the circumstances be very unusual, this time may be lengthened by a few minutes. In view of the fact that the

Roman Catholic Church puts such stress on penance—giving the works of the body for the sins of the soul—it may not seem advisable to thus classify the sermon; nevertheless the idea in some way suggests itself. Of course this refers only to the average sermon, the sermon preached by the average preacher, not to the sermon on Conference or camp-meeting Sunday, when the bishop, with an eloquence as rare as it is overwhelming, carries his audience to heights supernal, and so fills them, thrills them, arouses them to such a pitch of enthusiasm that the memory of that hour remains like a burning bush in the wilderness, a place from which God spoke out of the flame. The writer has a vivid remembrance of several such sermons, and not only are they recalled at times with great pleasure but they serve as examples and inspirations; for what man has done man can do again, and the greatest achievements of bygone years, whether in the pulpit or out of it, should be but incitements to yet greater things. But in these special cases peculiar and impressive circumstances affected both the preacher and the congregation. The sermon, therefore, was not an average one. Hence it was listened to with distinct favor, and the pews did not present that weary, strained expression so often seen in the average church. For who has not observed the grateful sigh with which the announcement of "lastly" is received; the sense of disappointment when "finally" seems as an opening into further discourse; the ill concealed impatience when "furthermore" promises to outrun the clock; the smile of pitiful resignation at the familiar, "just a word in conclusion;" and the manifest relief when the sermon has reached its end? These things are very evident in the average congregation where the average sermon is preached, and no one, except possibly the preacher who is deficient in visual capacity or whose self-complacency has attained splendid proportions, can fail to observe them. And they imply, if such things can imply anything, that the average sermon is dull, spiritless, of no special value or interest, and is only endured because of traditions that reach back into the dim unknown. Perhaps this is one reason why the average man is not a churchgoer—he is afraid of the average sermon. When he thinks of sitting cooped up in a pew listening for three quarters of an hour, often longer, to com-

monplace things said in a commonplace way, there grows upon him the feeling that in such a case "absence of body is better than presence of mind"; though often, oftener perhaps than the preachers imagine, a man's bodily presence in church does not necessarily involve his presence of mind. But for some reason—let those who will stop here and argue it out—the average man has a positive dread of the average sermon and avoids it whenever he can. Any excuse, no matter how trivial, will be brought into service. Things which would not detain him from the office, the store, the shop, serve their purpose on Sunday, and ailments, however distressing in the early forenoon, disappear most strangely when the church bells cease. And, still more strange, the churches that have no sermon at all have the largest congregations. Cantatas, praise services, sacred concerts, in all of which the preacher has a very subordinate part, hardly even master of ceremonies, usually attract multitudes of people, while at the regular preaching services in the same church the pews will be dismally empty. It is true that there are those who affirm that people are hungry for "gospel sermons" and if the preacher will only preach "the gospel, the whole gospel, and nothing but the gospel" the church will be thronged with hearers. Then there must have been a reversal of human nature since the days of the prophets and apostles, for then it was declared that the people would not hear the word of the Lord, and that the carnal mind was enmity against God. And unless our eyes are strangely holden we can surely see that the people are not clamorous for these supposedly gospel sermons. No crowds are surging about the church waiting eagerly for admittance. The contrast between the throngs at the average church door and the entrance of some place of popular amusement is significant. We may say that these are the thoughtless, irreligious masses, who, prodigal with their money, reckless with their time, and indifferent to the serious concerns of life, thus waste themselves. But these are the very people who should be coming to our churches, filling our pews, entering earnestly upon Christian work, and hastening the coming of the kingdom of God. The sooner we get rid of this hunger-for-the-gospel notion the better. Far wiser is the preacher who understands that he is dealing with a world that lieth in wickedness,

the same world that crucified his Master, and which everyday renews that crucifixion and puts him to an open shame. The man who is content to preach a simpering sillabub—which by a wild stretch of imagination is sometimes called a gospel sermon, because it is largely made up of texts that seem to fit into each other and interspersed with jingling hymns—has assuredly a strange way of attacking the strongholds of sin and breaking down the refuge of lies in which so many have intrenched themselves. The preacher who calmly says, "It is not my business to fill the church or attract people to the sanctuary. My business is simply to declare the whole counsel of God," has not most certainly worked out that parable of Jesus in which he says, "Compel them to come in, that my house may be filled." But the average sermon will not compel them to come in; it is much more likely to compel them to stay out.

1. The average sermon is too long. One of the greatest preachers in Methodism, an orator of surpassing power, whose sentences are marvels of word building and whose thought is always high and stimulating, stated not long since that he rarely allowed himself half an hour for a sermon, oftener less than more. Here, now, is a question in proportion: If a splendidly equipped, highly educated, and wonderfully gifted preacher is content with thirty minutes for pulpit discourse, how much time should be given to the average preacher for the average sermon? To hold the mind steadily to any one line of thought for thirty minutes is no light task. The preacher may imagine, because the congregation is comparatively quiet, that he is having undivided attention. But he is mistaken. The faces of the people may be turned toward the pulpit and their eyes follow the preacher's movements, but how wayward are their thoughts! Like birds chasing each other through an ivy-covered ruin, one moment in the shadows and another moment in the light, now swinging in circles through the sky and again swooping down close to the earth, so have the thoughts of the people wandered as they sat in the pews. The parable of the sower is as true to-day as when it fell from the lips of Jesus. Fortunate indeed is that preacher who can gain for his message the same proportion of results as the parable suggests.

It is true that Saint Paul once preached a very long sermon, continuing his speech until midnight—with serious consequences, however; for a young man fell, while in a deep sleep, from the third loft, and only by a miracle escaped from death. This proves unquestionably that even apostles, though possessing the gifts of Saint Paul, may through lengthened discourse cause much weariness to the flesh. Some sermons seem as a train without brakes. They go and go, and keep going, rushing past stations where many would like to get off, and only stop when the fires give out and the steam fails in the boiler. Such sermons usually stop in some tunnel or in a region unknown, leaving the passengers helpless and bewildered. Many a preacher, by mistaking the signals, loses a splendid chance to stop. Why can't we do with sermons as we do with powder—pack them, compress them, get them within small compass, and thus make them infinitely more effective? A short parable that of Nathan's—very. But how terrific! Like a shell bursting against battlements of stone, so it fell upon the ears of the guilty king. Loose steam, however plentiful, is valueless. Not until it is forced within the limits of a cylinder has it any definite energy. But once there it has the strength of a giant. A distinguished writer once essayed to put his thoughts into words, while the train was speeding through a tunnel. Four minutes were spent in the journey, but his thinkings, which the author afterward printed, filled several pages of a magazine. The average sermon has no right to draw itself out after the fashion of an endless chain. People who are busy all the week with things that tax them to the utmost should not be compelled, through tradition, or custom, or because of instinctive respect for the pulpit, to sit helpless for three quarters of an hour while the average sermon is dinged into their unwilling ears. Why should the preacher try to exhaust every theme he discusses? Better leave something for next Sunday and the Sunday after. That is one of the great charms of the Bible. It never exhausts anything. It takes up subjects, even men and women, and for a moment holds them in the light, and, like great waves caught by the sun, they sparkle and gleam with divine radiance, but drop back to make way for the transfiguration of others. But in the average sermon the flail threshes every-

thing out, even to the last straw. Hence parents are afraid to bring their children to church, for the long service wearies them and they become restless and are a source of trouble not only to those immediately concerned, but others as well. Hence many of our young people do not enjoy coming to church, for, though they like the singing and the service generally, the sermon is distressingly tedious. And hence grown-up people make excuses to stay away from church, availing themselves of every imaginable pretext, but really to avoid the sermon. In short, to put in a few words the general sentiment, the average sermon is too long and the average preacher is tiresome! Of course the average sermon will resent this, and will flutter like a startled bird in its manilla envelope, or raise its indignant voice from the depths of the preacher's barrel, but neither resentment nor indignation has any bearing on the sad facts in the case.

2. The average sermon is too short. Not, however, as regards time, but something far more important—reach. With a Bible at his hand from which to draw studies in character, incidents in history, snatches of poetry, gleams of prophecy, a Bible in which the most thrilling and dramatic events are related with amazing power, and which, from beginning to end, is a series of splendid miracles and parables, one might naturally expect that the preacher would feel the spell of the mysterious atmosphere in which his soul may live and move and have its being. Think of the sky that arches over the Scriptures! The most marvelous creations of romance are dull, commonplace things—poor, pasty imitations of the diamond in which are hidden a myriad fires—when compared with the wonders of God's Holy Word. Visions infinitely more transcendent than ever flashed on poet's mind—whether that poet be a Milton reveling in the glories of a Paradise Regained, a Dante traversing the mysteries of The Inferno, or a Browning in whose genius we have a bridal of the earth and sky—are in the pages under the preacher's eye and subject to his will. Why, then, with all this wealth of material, this outpouring of the Divine Mind, this flooding of earth with the wonders of heaven, is the average sermon such a tame, commonplace thing? Has the preacher no imagination, no poetic genius, no flashing of mysterious light, no

spiritual quality by which he can avail himself of the marvelous material at his hand? Instead of being an eagle, able to rise into divine and supernatural skies and hold converse with ministers of fire, is he simply a barnyard fowl, content with a handful of corn and a place to roost? Then his place is not in the ministry. He may be a pastor of surprising fidelity and have an intimate acquaintance with every home in his parish, he may be favored with much executive ability and have his church organized in every department, he may take high rank as a financier and under his leadership new churches be erected or pressing obligations be removed—but these things are matters of ordinary business. They do not imply or require a divine call. They are all easily within the scope of any capable, intelligent man. There is nothing in such work that could not be done, oftener much better, by a book agent, a general business man, or an insurance canvasser. And it is largely because the church has expected these things of the preacher, and he has been weak enough to yield to this demand, that the average sermon is such a barren, spiritless thing. If the preacher is so favored with various gifts that in addition to his own special work he can discharge all manner of parish duties without impairing the vigor or versatility of his preaching, the church gains just so much more. But his chief ministry must be in the pulpit. To that work he was divinely called, and for that work he was set apart. For him, therefore, to fritter himself away in trivial, and in many cases needless, concerns is a mistake so serious as to approach the gravity of a crime. And when a sermon lacks fiber, quality, scope, vision, the failure of the preacher is absolute, no matter how well he may have succeeded in other things. Great pulpits invariably make great pews. Big, strong, vigorous sermons are certain in time to develop hearers of the same character. The order of creation obtains here as everywhere else—like produces like, everything after its kind. Take the churches that lead in all forms of Christian work, whose offerings are expressions of splendid generosity and whose examples are of priceless value, and in every instance it will be found that the average sermon was not preached in their pulpits. Far from it. In such pulpits the sermons were not made of shoe leather and cyclopedic

illustrations. Like the painter's colors, they were mixed with brains. It was beaten oil that the preacher brought to the sanctuary. The sermon therefore had reach, scope, breadth of view, massive thinking, and out of it, as a tree out of its roots, there grew up a congregation of the same class and power. The reason there are so many average Christians in our churches is because they have only average sermons. Hence they are not mighty in faith, daring to the point of heroism, splendidly generous, absolute in their consecration, and eager for any service to which they are called. They know nothing of enthusiasm which burns with intense heat, of a religion that is simply a consuming passion, or of a love for Christ and his church that has neither limit nor restrictions. And how could they? The average sermon to which they listened every Sunday had nothing in it that would inspire them to any such life. Instead of being a Jacob's ladder reaching from earth to heaven, with angels on every rung and God at the top, it was simply a bit of flooring, made out of common boards, with supports barely sufficient to lift it from the ground. A real sermon ought to be a spiritual derrick, with chain of ample length to reach into the deep quarries of care, sorrow, anxiety, sin, temptation, worldliness, in which so many have been living during the week, and by sheer force raise them from the gloom and darkness and swing them into the light of hope which God intends for his children. This means work—brain work, heart work, soul work. For such a derrick is not built in an hour. Nor can it be borrowed from a sermon cyclopedia. Machines of this type require time, thought, care, labor, days of anxiety, nights of prayer, a strain of intense and exhausting degree. But anything less means the average sermon, a mere aggregation of words, a monotonous rumble of commonplace phrase, a soporific arrangement of thoughtless sound, a thing without reach, grip, force, intensity, or power, from which the multitudes turn away and allow the churches to enjoy their own emptiness and desolation. The sermon which does not come to the people as the chariot came for Elijah—a blazing, burning messenger from the skies—with such power as will lift them from the earth, and for the time translate them into the heavens of God, is little better than an ordinary

stagecoach, a heavy lumbering thing in which the hapless passengers are dragged wearily along. Of the stagecoach the average man has a wholesome dread, just as he has of the average sermon. So his pew in church is vacant, and the pulpit calls to him in vain.

3. The average sermon is too high. This does not refer to thought, for under certain conditions the higher a man's thinking the better for both the church and the world. Horizontal sermons, discourses that rest on the ground, mosaics made up of newspaper clippings and topics of the day, may for a time crowd the pews, but the pews even then are emptier than before! There is nothing easier than to fill a church with a gaping, curious crowd. The preacher has but to forget the solemn responsibility which attaches to his high office, the divine message with which he is intrusted, the destiny of the souls who look to him for guidance, and the infinite cost of the world's redemption, and give himself up to cheap, paltry efforts at so-called reform, frantically attack certain phases of public life, use the newspaper with unsparing hand, talk extravagantly, gesticulate wildly, rant vehemently, and ere long an eager, applauding crowd will be in attendance. But what is gained by all this? Nothing whatever. And much is lost, and worse than lost; for in the end the church suffers so seriously and the preacher's influence is impaired so deeply that recovery is almost impossible. For this some would blame the church officials, because they demand, at whatever hazard, crowd-compelling sermons, but it is the preacher who is at fault. He is under no obligation to accept his topics from a board of trustees. Nor will any right-minded board put such a burden on him. On the contrary, they will honor him all the more for his fidelity to the commission given him from heaven. But because he sees, through a sort of scare-head preaching, an easy way to fill his church he becomes a yellow pulpiteer, and by means of a catch-penny sermon attracts a catch-penny congregation. In such sermons there is, of course, no high thinking. Indeed, there is hardly any kind of thinking. The discourse, if it can be so dignified, is merely a series of hot air blasts, and the effect is as transient as it is useless. Considering that the preacher's only business is to grapple with the souls of men, to redeem them from the body of worldliness and sin

in which they are imprisoned, to translate them from the kingdom of darkness to the kingdom of light, it is surprising that he ever allows topics of trivial moment to claim discourse. Jesus made no attempt at reforming Jerusalem. Paul conducted no campaign against political corruption in Rome. While Savonarola held aloof from politics, and preached the gospel with overwhelming power, he was the mightiest force in Florence. The men whose ministry has been signally owned of God—Luther quickening all Germany, Wesley arousing Great Britain from spiritual torpor, Edwards kindling revival fires throughout New England—held themselves steadily to the cardinal truths of God's Word. And because of this their work is imperishable. But the average sermon, though far from being high in its thinking, is abnormally high in its standard of requirements, and in the spirit of phariseeism makes demands for which there is no warrant. And this men resent. For it savors of popery; it interferes with the individual conscience. This is an invasion of territory which if not resisted would involve a loss of independence. The average preacher, when discussing a theme regarding which there may be honest divergence of opinion, rarely allows himself to use the language of Saint Paul and say, "But I speak this by permission, and not by commandment." With him it is a commandment. He is a Mount Sinai in himself. The question is settled. The case is decided. No appeal is possible. His interpretation is absolute. So for the time the preacher becomes a priest; he speaks *ex cathedra*, and the Maranatha is ready at his hand to be hurled at the one who doubts his authority. Men of undoubted integrity may differ from the preacher who so dogmatically asserts himself, and their opinions are often known and shared by the pews, but the average sermon makes short work of all such heresies. Against this the pews vigorously protest, with sometimes disastrous results. Why have we so much discussion in the church concerning matters which are in nowise essential? Why have we angry and clamorous debate regarding things which, in the sight of God, every man must settle for himself? Why should the average sermon assume for itself a divine inspiration, when that inspiration leads to statements out of harmony with the genius of the gospel? When Noah built the

ark he put the door on the side near the ground, so that even creeping things might easily find entrance, but the average ark builder of this day puts the door on the top story and insists that weary sinners climb up a steep stairway of agreements and covenants before they can enter upon the Christian life. In Saint Paul's time these stairway constructors threatened to seriously disturb the church, and we find the apostle referring to them as, "Certain which went out from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law; to whom we gave no such commandment." On matters that were of supreme importance, such as genuine repentance for sin, faith in Christ as a Saviour, the regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit, adoption into the family of God, a frank avowal of discipleship at whatever hazard, a life of steadfast adherence to the gospel —regarding all these, and others of similar import, Saint Paul declared himself with a finality which admitted of no question; but never once did he intrude upon the domain of personal rights or cross the barrier of the individual conscience. But the average sermon sets up a standard to which all must conform, more rigid than that of an officer recruiting for the army. For in his case a certain latitude is allowed; every man need not be of the same height, nor the same weight, nor of the same general proportions. But with the average sermon every man must believe so much, profess so much, promise so much, and deny so much. In this sense the average sermon is too high, higher than there is any authority for in the Scriptures, higher far than is consonant with the spirit of the gospel. These impossible, unattainable, altitudinous ideals may perhaps have some value in the general scheme of Christian development, but where in them do we find the suggestion of a gospel net which when cast into the sea gathers of every kind? The sermon for this day, for every day since Jesus gave us his gospel, and for every day in the life of our poor sin-cursed world, is that of the great sheet in Peter's vision on the house top. Anything narrow or intolerant is unworthy of Him who wrote "Whosoever" in blood, who spoke pardon to a guilty penitent at his side, and whose dying breath was spent in praying for forgiveness for those who had nailed him to the accursed tree. What a

sermon that was which he wrote with his finger on the ground! What a sermon that was in the house of Simon when the tears of a despairing woman fell on his feet! And that is the preaching the world needs now. But such preaching is not in the average sermon. For it lacks pity, tenderness, sympathy; it makes no appeal to the awful sorrow and sin with which so many hearts are burdened; it is not a voice of divine compassion, but rather that of a trumpet from the fire-clad Sinai. And so it fails to inspire and comfort. Therefore the ears of the world are deadened against the sound.

4. The average sermon is too low. And this in several particulars. Take, for instance, its appeal. How little incitement to splendid living, to superb self-mastery, to the development and enrichment of character, to the working out of the loftiest ideals! Consider Saint Paul's marvelous words: "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things;" then compare such an appeal with that of the average sermon. The apostle was pleading for a splendid manhood, for an incarnation of the noblest virtues pertaining to the gospel, for a positive embodiment of the same principles that actuated the mind of Christ. Or recall that wondrous chapter in the Epistle to the Corinthians in which charity is dwelt upon with surpassing genius, and contrast it with the attainments suggested by the average sermon. From first to last, in every epistle, Saint Paul's appeal is based on the highest possible motives, never once suggesting anything ulterior or selfish. Small wonder, then, that the men trained in such teaching, and living under the inspiration of such ideals, gave little heed to the threats of Nero or the horrors of the amphitheater. And the only way that the sublime heroism of the early church can be accounted for is by remembering that "stature in Christ Jesus" was considered the supreme spiritual attainment. Under such teaching heroism was easy. Superb manhood and glorious martyrdom spring from the same root. When men are filled with the desire to be Christlike, and everything is subordinated to that desire, the cross has no terrors and the grave is but the doorway to a glorious resurrection. But in the average sermon there is no such appeal. The preacher talks in a

vague way about "being born again," "passing from death to life," but he rarely shows that religion means an actual transformation, an utter abandonment of the common, groveling things of the flesh, and the entering upon such a phase of being as will mean substantially a new creation. The appeal of the average sermon is largely prudential; the motive addressed is of the commercial class, and godliness is represented as a matter of personal gain. The dividend idea is made more or less prominent. The suggestion of a bargain often appears. In various forms the thought of an investment is presented, and even the most earnest entreaty carries with it the possibility of a contract. The result is a general haggling as to the cost of religion. So much pew rent for so much gospel, with the possibilities of heaven thrown in as a clincher to the sale. Is it any wonder that rich men hold back and allow hospitals to remain unfinished, schools to remain unfounded, churches to remain unbuilt, the poor to remain unfed? Is it any wonder that men dicker and chaffer about prices and terms before they will enter the church, asking if this pleasure must be abandoned and the other amusement be given up? This whole idea is nothing more or less than the Romish plan of indulgences, only presented in another form. The appeal of the average sermon, therefore, makes no demand on the higher nature. It is sordid, mercenary, and at times dangerously avaricious. The preacher who makes a bargain counter of his pulpit, and offers the gospel at a mark down from cost, cannot surely know the meaning of Calvary or understand Him who said, "If any man will be my disciple let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." "And he that taketh not the cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me." The average sermon by its low appeal has made possible many of the conditions that now distress and embarrass the church. For men have come to think that religion need have no definite application to their daily life, that no special demand is made other than an outward conformity to certain rules and rubrics, and that the kingdom of God relates to some mysterious realm beyond the skies to which their church membership guarantees them an abundant entrance. Hence they live very much as other men. They are in the world. They are harsh, ungenerous,

fickle, unloving. Some of them are more concerned about treasures on earth than they are about treasures in heaven. Many of them have ample time for business or pleasure, but little time for the house or service of God. But the fault is not all theirs. They have not been properly trained. The motive appealed to in their case was too low. And a motive, like the fly wheel of an engine, must always be large enough and heavy enough to conserve the engine's power, else there will be no steadiness in the stroke and the energy fritter away. The only motive that should ever be presented in the pulpit is the possibility of attaining "unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ."

Real preaching is sadly needed in these days, never more so in the history of the church; preaching that will be fearless yet tender, sturdy yet gracious, searching yet inspiring, sincere yet generous, divine yet human. No man has such a splendid mission as the preacher; no place has such possibilities within its reach as the pulpit. The man who can say, "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," and with the unction of the Holy One deliver the message with which he has been intrusted, is capable of rendering a wondrous service to the world. But the man who is content to preach the average sermon fails miserably to appreciate the high vocation to which he has been called.

J. Wesley Johnston

Art. III.—THE SEAT OF AUTHORITY IN THE SCIENCE OF THEOLOGY

There is a bewildering confusion of thought touching the seat of authority in religion; a mischievous failure to distinguish the grounds of theological science from the practical reasons for moral and religious conduct. For example, we are told that the conscience of the individual is the seat of authority in religion. Now, this may mean either that each conscience is a competent judge and final authority in every realm of theological science—a proposition that needs to be stated only to insure its rejection—or that his conscience must determine in every case where action is necessary what authority the individual will follow—a proposition that no one denies, Roman Catholic and agnostic alike agreeing that the choice of a guide in religion and morality devolves in the last resort upon the individual.

It will illuminate the matter to consider where lies the seat of authority in science generally or in any one of the sciences. It is absurd to say that it lies in the vulgar mind or the vulgar conscience; it is equally absurd to say that it lies in the consensus of all those who attempt the study of science in general or of some particular science, for among these are a multitude of incompetents; it is absurd to say that it lies in some elected investigator—self-chosen or otherwise—or in some selected company of sages, like the Royal Society of England or the Academy of Science in France. It lies confessedly outside of all these in a standard to which they all, directly or indirectly, appeal. The vulgar mind—to begin with it—is in many instances incompetent to determine the actual phenomena of perception; it misinterprets the data of sense and feeling; it sees ghosts that do not exist; it hears voices that do not speak; it miscalculates distances and confuses objects; it fails to discriminate imaginations from recollections and inferences from perceptions. To set up this vulgar mind as the ultimate authority in any science is obviously absurd. Then, again, the vulgar mind knows little or nothing directly of that external standard of right reason to which the instructed mind appeals, and it is ignorant of

the methods to be employed. The vulgar mind either stubbornly defends the accuracy of its assertions, suffers itself to be enlightened, or yields to some immediate authority. It accepts, for instance, the rotundity and rotation of the earth because the text-book or the teacher asserts them, or it obstinately insists that the earth is flat and that the sun is moving in the circle of the sky. It accepts scientific statements because of those who declare them or because of the power and advantage derived from their use. It understands neither the methods of their discovery nor the proofs of their validity. To do either it must cease to be vulgar and become enlightened or scientific. It cannot become an authority of any value even to itself by mere intrusion into some department of science, whether it be physics or theology. It must be an instructed mind before it has the right even to speak there. Is, then, the instructed mind an ultimate authority in science? By no means. For it is quite possible for the instructed mind to overlook a fact or to be ignorant of its discovery; yet such a fact when pointed out by a less-instructed and inferior intellect may compel the modification or even the abandonment of a proposition held by the superior and enlightened intellect. Facts are authoritative instantly they are perceived. It is equally possible, moreover, that a defect of reasoning may be detected in the processes by which a powerful and enlightened mind has reached certain conclusions. This has happened frequently. Logic is authoritative to all that keep her commandments.

It looks as if we were running into a blind alley; as if we were about to deny the possibility of authority altogether. But we shall do nothing of the sort. Authorities are created by acts of the will. They may grow up unawares and continue by consent of the governed, or they may be chosen deliberately. We submit to existing authorities, to the state or the church in which we find ourselves, to the teacher, the sea captain, the physician chosen for us, or we choose them for ourselves. The authority that prevails in the sciences is precisely of this sort. One may indeed choose to make one's self the ultimate authority in science; and, as I shall show hereafter, the supreme intellect must. But the

wiser students will follow the footsteps of the giants; they will follow a Helmholtz or a Darwin, a Kelvin or a Wundt. The giants, however, defer to each other and to the authority of facts and of logic. They compare and scrutinize severely each other's work; they seek to discover the causes of disagreement in results, whether it be a difference of data or a difference of logical treatment; for the authority to which these giants defer finally is the authority of superior modes of perception and of superior modes of reasoning. Optics for the color-blind, acoustics for the music-deaf, would be poverty-stricken sciences compared with those worked out from normal and supernormal perceptions of sight and sound. And any sciences worked out by the logically defective would be a wonder of unreason.

I have used the adjective supernormal. Let me pause a moment to explain. We differ in our ability to perceive. The senses of sight and of hearing are in some men close to the miraculous and may be justly termed supernormal; we may apply the same term to those perceptions that we obtain by cunning instruments like the microscope and the ophthalmoscope.

Now, it is quite plain that a company of investigators endowed with supernormal powers of sense-perception, equipped with these cunning instruments of observation, and trained to accurate and comprehensive reasoning, would constitute a congress whose deliverances upon their chosen subjects of investigation would be entitled to attention and respect. And if we could gather a parliament that reasoned perfectly on every kind of subject we should have in science what the Roman Catholic Church claims to be in religion: an organ of authoritative knowledge. Unfortunately—or perhaps fortunately for the progress of mankind—there is no such general council, no such hierarchy of science. There are none wise enough and noble enough to compose it. An extraordinary document referring to Helmholtz, that I shall cite farther on, shows how few indeed are the encyclopedic minds; and Tyndall's pathetic description of Faraday's reluctance to surrender a cherished theory, with Sir David Brewster's irritation when his was criticised, shows how seldom even the colossal mind is free from bias. The scientific mind—or I should say the scien-

tific character—is composed of very rare and seemingly contradictory qualities. The truth must be perceived clearly and held firmly. It is not enough to discover it; it must be expounded, proved, defended. Unless the giant thinker is biased strongly in favor of a theory he will not urge it with unflagging patience and indomitable industry. He must reason with amazing celerity and accuracy and yet stand by his conclusions with unflinching obstinacy. He must be at once open to conviction and slow to be convinced. A General Council of the Sciences is therefore impossible even if it were desirable. Nevertheless, to the glory of modern science, we have smaller councils of trained and candid inquirers in more than one department—men to whom truth is imperative, command what sacrifice she may. And the approval of such a particular council comes as near to authority as we shall ever get in this world of blunder and error. The only appeal from it is to a similar council of the future. The scientist, despised and rejected by his contemporaries, may be justified by a later generation or even a remote posterity. Thus Darwin and Wallace appealed from the older to the younger biologists; they obtained first a hearing, then recognition, and finally enthronement for their hypothesis. Possibly not for all time, certainly not without concessions and amendments, but the substantial victory was with them. Mark, however, that the authority did *not* reside in Darwin or in Wallace; it resided in the court to which they appealed. And this court recognized in its turn the authority of the reason, common alike to the appellants and their judges? these all deferring to the authority of facts and the authority of right thinking. No proposition, however long established or however widely held, can escape comparison with new-found facts. Only the assertor of them must present them openly for scrutiny. The assertor of them is not and cannot be an ultimate authority either as to the reality or the significance of his impressions. He is not an authority even to himself. He is at best only the honest reporter of his impressions, his observations, his experiments; he is at best only the honest defender and expounder of his own conclusions. These he must submit for revision and correction, for acceptance or rejection, to a court of competent

inquiry; to his fellow investigators in the same field of research; and—in the final instance—to a competent posterity.

Consider, for example, the career of Helmholtz. Here was indeed a giant; one who has been pronounced, by a renowned contemporary, the greatest physicist of all time. But Helmholtz was a deferential giant; one who took infinite pains to obtain the necessary facts and to reach correct conclusions; one whose senses and whose intellect were supernormal and whose patience and industry likewise; one who studied not only to reach the truth, but who studied to state it clearly and to support it invincibly. Nevertheless, this giant deferred humbly to his competent fellow laborers, ready to revise his statements or to enlarge them at the suggestion of men like Du Bois Reymond or his own beloved pupil, Hertz. The following words express with Doric severity this love of "truth in the inward parts," which in him, as in Sir Isaac Newton, dwelt in a spirit at once sublime and humble: "As my conscience, so to speak, there stood by me in imagination the most competent of my friends. Would they approve it? I always asked myself. They hovered before me as the embodiment of the scientific spirit of an ideal humanity and gave me my standard." What, then, is the vaunted right of private judgment for the scientific thinker? It is simply the right to be honest and the duty to be competent; the right to arrive at the truth by thorough and conscientious research and to defend his findings before a competent tribunal; the right to challenge the judgment of an "outside conscience" and to propagate his conclusions by the severe methods of scientific exposition. And yet it may happen that the very superiority of an investigator like Helmholtz compels him sometimes to stand alone in support of a proposition, the proof that he offers for it seeming inadequate or unintelligible even to the most competent of his judges. "I am glad," wrote the eminent Kirchhoff, "when I can master anything that Helmholtz gives us, but there is much in his great work upon Tone Sensations that I cannot master." Here, then, we reach a proposition of vital significance. Only the supreme intellect can be an authority in science to itself and to others, and then but in a restricted sense. The inferior intellect must defer to the superior and the superior to

the supreme, and since none of these are infallible there must be a reference "to the scientific spirit of an ideal humanity." If it should happen, as in the case of Galileo, that one endowed with a supernormal measure of sense and reason is tempted to betray his trust he is false to himself and false also to this scientific spirit of an ideal humanity. He defers to an authority which has usurped the throne. The thing is not true because Galileo discovers it, but Galileo was ordained of God to discover it and to defend it at all hazards because it is true.

Unfortunately the terms "science" and "scientific method" are employed with discreditable laxity, and every dabbler in any of the sciences fancies that he has a moral right to utter judgments upon any topic, however difficult, to which he may turn "what he is pleased to call his mind." How loose the talk about social science, historical science, psychological science, and the like, and what prattle about the scientific method from admirers and detractors of it who have hardly a glimmer of its real character! Just now it looks as if a slaughter of the innocents were impending in the name of a new psychology, and an era of experiment with the family and the state in the name of sociology, and an overthrow of all erudition in the name of historical science. It is time to pause and ponder. It is time to deny the name science to fields of inquiry where the scientific method appears only in caricature. Above all, it is time to deny to every chatterer and scribbler the moral right to utter judgments upon grave problems for whose understanding he is ludicrously incompetent. "It exasperates me," wrote Helmholtz, "often as I have resolved not to be exasperated, that people who are unable to grasp the smallest propositions in geometry coolly, and in full confidence of their superior wisdom, deliver judgments upon the most difficult problems in the theory of space." This impudent incompetence which even the giants cannot expel from the frontiers of geometry flourishes unscathed in other fields of research; flourishes alike among conservatives and progressives; the ultra-conservative extolling his opinion as an utterance of God or a law of nature and the ultra-radical propounding his opinion as a mandate of an inspired conscience of the last word of science. The freak professor is the

latest progeny of this delusion. *Ex cathedra* opinions are not science. Correct conclusions drawn from verified experience—these alone are science, and few there be that find them.

Choosing a guide for practical purposes is quite another matter; this we must all do or have done for us. In the beginning it is done for us; later there comes the opportunity to do it for ourselves. We cannot choose the physician that assists at our birth; we may choose the physician who tries to rescue us from death. The reason for choosing one physician rather than another, with sensible people, is his reputation or his personality, either or both. The reputation may be unwarranted, the personality deceptive. Subtle and complex influences may enter unawares into the selection. It may prove an unhappy one; it does quite often. Nevertheless, only a conceited simpleton would attempt before engaging a physician to examine him in every branch of medical science. So in every case where we are compelled to choose a guide we either abide by the choice that others have made for us or choose because of reputation, or personal experience, or an impression derived from the man himself. "He was my father's guide when I was a boy; I have traveled with him myself and proved his ability; I like his speech and his appearance." So in science, whoever has achieved great results, whoever has discovered fruitful truths, acquires reputation. He may have been distrusted, assailed, contradicted; he may have suffered persecution and obloquy; if a man of extraordinary genius he has surely done so, for such a man is certain by his discoveries to disturb existing systems and to call in question cherished beliefs; he must inevitably meet severe criticism and obstinate opposition. But ultimately he may be enthroned. He acquires then a personal authority; his declarations attract attention and command respect; his approval gives value to conclusions and reputation to investigators; his *non placet* discredits a reported discovery and crushes an eager aspirant for scientific honors; even beyond the dominion peculiarly his own his word becomes a power. Thus the language in which the faculty of the University of Berlin plead for the retention of Helmholtz approaches that of worship. "This one man's judgment," they assure the minister of education, "is

of peculiar value and not to be compensated for even by the sum of the judgments of us remaining specialists, because precisely in those questions that come before our entire faculty we need one who unites in his mind all the various branches of knowledge and perceives alike their distinct significance and their inseparable interdependence." What must have been the intellectual power and the moral grandeur of the man! Such eminence is solitary. The monarch of such a court has become verily a vicar of God, and unless he were inwardly divine such an enthronement would become baleful. How absurd, then, to claim it for every seeker after truth! How much more absurd to claim it for every pretender in scientific research! "There is a marshal's stuff in every soldier's knapsack" was Napoleonic rhetoric; "an open career for genius" was Napoleonic wisdom. There is a position of authority in science open to those only that enter in at the strait gate, but there be few that find it; to those that keep the narrow way, but there be few that walk therein. What, then, are we to say to those who are insisting so vociferously that the final authority in religion resides in each man's conscience? Tell them, surely, that they are talking sense or nonsense according to what they mean. If they mean that the individual, and he only, must describe his religious experience, tell them that no one thinks of denying it. But if they mean that the individual is the final judge of the range and significance of all possible religious experience, or even the final judge of the conclusions to be derived logically from his own, tell them that they are chattering folly. If they mean that the individual must either accept the religious guide chosen for him or choose one for himself, tell them that this is admitted universally. But if they mean that the individual is to determine for himself each and every problem that his guide must master, tell them they are talking pure absurdity.

What actually happens is this: One accepts the church of one's country or one's parents or one chooses a church for oneself; the Presbyterian becoming an Episcopalian, the Anglican a Roman Catholic, the Methodist a Unitarian. Or one chooses a religious teacher—a Wesley, a Martineau, or a Spurgeon. Or one selects himself to be his own guide. "Surely," it will be urged, "when

one chooses a church one chooses a creed also?" Only *impliciter*, as Cardinal Newman said of the ignorant Roman Catholic, not *expliciter*. And what is true of the Roman Catholics is true of the great body of Protestants. They accept their creeds *impliciter* only. They do not understand them as the scientific theologian understands them; they have vague notions of their significance, of their history, or of the grounds on which they rest. "Surely, though, Protestants accept the Bible?" Only *impliciter*, I reply. They are incapable of understanding its contents in detail; they are incapable of investigating its history and, in many cases, of understanding either its narratives or its reasonings. The Protestant accepts the Bible as containing "all things necessary to salvation," but he knows that he cannot explain much else that it contains. He must choose an interpreter or undertake the task himself. And in the latter case he must be fitted for it by some natural or supernatural process. "Surely the ethical culturist accepts the conclusions of ethical science?" Only *impliciter*. "To preach ethics is easy, to find a ground for morality extremely hard," writes Von Hartmann. Who is your ethical culturist that he should sit in judgment upon systems of morality, upon ethical principles and deductions? He is frequently incompetent to determine whether his lecturer's principles are constant or variable, whether he has any principles or is in the show business. Mark! It is not contended that the individual may not by a proper training become competent to deal with the problems of theology; much less is it contended that he may not easily understand and apply the truths that are necessary to salvation. What is denied is that he can be a judge before he becomes competent of difficult propositions that are not necessary to his salvation.

Let me illustrate. I have trouble with my eyes. I go to a renowned oculist. He gives me a pair of spectacles that change for me the aspect of the world. I know nothing of the principles of their construction. The maker of them knows only how to read the oculist's formula and how to apply it to his lenses. The oculist himself must know far more; but even he has no such complete knowledge of physiological optics as has been acquired by the master minds upon whose discoveries the progressive skill

of every oculist depends. Now, must I, the patient, insist upon mastering all the problems of physiological optics before I continue to use my spectacles? Or—to turn the thing round—shall I be silly enough to maintain that because I am helped by the spectacles I am an expert in physiological optics? Shall, then, the man who accepts Jesus as his Saviour, and finds in him deliverance from sin, refuse to follow him farther until he has mastered all the problems of biblical history or theological research? Or shall he, because he has been saved through a simple faith in Christ, imagine himself an expert in the science of theology? Surely either would be absurd. The individual Christian needs knowledge for the problems of life; it is the task and the splendid privilege of his well instructed guide to furnish him that knowledge. Dabblers in the science of religion, especially in the psychology of religion, are doing no small mischief by the loose way in which they talk of religious experience. It is undoubtedly true that religious experience is the subject-matter of the science of religion, but only in the sense in which sensations of tone are the subject-matter of acoustics. Experience of sound is normal in the average man, subnormal in the music-deaf, supernormal in the great musicians. It takes all this experience to make the basis for a science. So in a science of religion. One may say, I have such and such experiences; another may say, I have nothing of the kind. Both witnesses must be respected, but beyond these statements of experience the authority of neither goes. He may indeed reveal his experience to another, just as the man of superior sight may reveal an unperceived object to a less fortunate friend. But he can never compel another to perceive it. Can there, though, be a greater absurdity than to say that the failure to perceive a phenomenon by one man destroys it for another? Must we, for instance, strike out all the supernormal perceptions in order to have pure science? The very opposite is true. There is, therefore, no necessary antithesis between a religion of experience and a religion of authority. For there is in the science of theology the same kind of authority that there is in every science. Here as in the other sciences the subnormal must defer to the normal and the normal to the supernormal. When it is a question of the pos-

sible contents of the religious consciousness the whole range and variety of religious experience must be explored. Here, as in the other sciences, the explanation of experience must be with those who have it in all its wealth and intensity and who are at the same time competent to treat it with logical proficiency. Here, as in the other sciences, the giants will prevail and the greatest of them will dwell in light unapproachable. Here, too, the common man will live and thrive upon the fruit of investigations that he cannot pursue. We have had the authority of popes, bishops, councils, and synods; we have had the authority of individuals and of sects; but never have we had in religion the kind of authority to which in the exact sciences we are learning to defer. Some day, let us hope, there will be an assembly of competent saints, a company of elect souls, of minds endowed with gifts and grace so wonderful that all honest inquirers will turn to them for light and guidance in every spiritual and ethical difficulty.

Let us beware of telling young people that their consciences are the sole and final authority in the science of theology. Let us distinguish between those things which though hidden from the wise and prudent are revealed to babes and those things which in their very nature are accessible only to the powerful and instructed mind. Let us beware of deferring, as authorities, to those that have no respect for reason and in the arrogance of self-willed ignorance deliver judgments upon questions of which they have not even elementary knowledge. Such judgments, whether uttered by Judge Lynch or by a General Council, are sure to be reversed, but the mischief that they cause is irreparable. The history of theology abounds with them, and hence the profound distrust with which the Christian teacher has to deal. Those, therefore, who are charged with fixing the limits within which the mind of a great organization shall have free course are solemnly bound to be sure of their own competency. For nowhere can incompetency be more criminal than in such a tribunal. It was such a tribunal that crucified the Lord of life and glory.

Charles J. Little

Art. IV.—THE QUESTION OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The development to which attention will be given in this essay has occurred since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In determining, however, the starting point for that development, and the dogmatic postulates by which it has been conditioned, a brief review of the antecedent judgments on the character of the Sacred Scriptures will be necessary.

1. *Authoritative Decisions respecting the Bible.*—Three councils, the ecumenical character of each of which is unchallenged in the Roman Catholic Church, have given in more or less specific terms their verdict on the nature of the Bible. The first in order of these was the Council of Florence. At a session held in 1441, Eugenius IV, with the approbation of the council, declared: "The Roman Church professes one and the same God as author of the Old and the New Testament, that is, of the Law and the Prophets and the Gospel, since the saints of both Testaments spoke by the inspiration of the same Spirit." The Council of Trent, near the middle of the sixteenth century, affirmed in somewhat more specific terms the conception of the Bible which had been asserted at Florence. After referring to the body of sacred books and apostolic traditions in the custody of the church, the council added: "The synod, following the example of the orthodox fathers, receives and venerates, with an equal affection of piety and reverence, all the books both of the Old and the New Testaments—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the said traditions, as well those appertaining to faith as those concerned with morals, as having been dictated either by Christ's own word of mouth or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved in the Catholic Church by a continuous succession." In nearly equivalent terms the Vatican Council of 1869–70 rendered judgment on the nature of the Bible. Referring to the list of books accepted by the earlier council, it declared: "These the church holds to be sacred and canonical not because, having been carefully composed by mere human industry, they were afterward approved by her authority,

nor merely because they contain revelation, with no admixture of error, but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the church herself." To this declaration the council subjoined the following canon: "If anyone shall not receive as sacred and canonical the books of Holy Scripture entire, with all their parts, as the holy Synod of Trent has enumerated them, or shall deny that they have been divinely inspired, let him be anathema." It is noteworthy that each of the three councils speaks without qualification of God as the author of the sacred books—language which naturally implies that the divine agency was perfectly controlling in the preparation of the Scriptures, the human agents having taken no such part as could in any way affect the authority of aught within the limits of the canon. In line with this implication is the manner in which one of the councils describes the canonical books as having all been dictated by the Holy Ghost; also the manner in which another of the councils speaks of the canonical books as containing revelation without any admixture of error and as having been written, every one of them, by divine inspiration. With obvious warrant we may say that the language of the councils is precisely such as men believing in an inerrant Bible, and wishing to declare for the same, might have been expected to use in formulating their doctrine of the Scriptures. In order to confirm the conclusion that the members of these councils meant to declare for a universally inspired and completely inerrant Bible we will take note of the opinions which have been expressed by individual exponents of Roman Catholic teaching from the mediæval period onward. Naturally testimony can be admitted here from only a few of those who have expressed themselves upon the theme in hand.

The great thirteenth century scholastic, Thomas Aquinas, whom Leo XIII industriously proclaimed as the model theologian and philosopher, took ground which must be regarded as excluding from the Bible every element of errancy. Not only did he cite approvingly the confident belief of Augustine that no one of the sacred writers has committed any error in writing;[1] he also as-

[1] Sum. Theol. 1. 1. 8.

sumed such a facile control by God of the prophet or sacred writer as logically would place his falling into error entirely out of question.[1] Melchior Canus, who wrote about the time of the Council of Trent, treating specifically of the supposition that errors may be found in the Bible, declared emphatically that the supposition must be rejected, that every part of the sacred canon is inspired, and that no error, even of a trivial character, can be acknowledged to have place within its limits.[2] Bellarmine, the famous dogmatist of the early part of the seventeenth century, while holding that the nonprophetical portions of the Bible may not have been dictated outright, claimed even for these portions a measure of divine assistance which prevented the intrusion of any error.[3] Like his predecessor of the seventeenth century, Perrone, who wrote near the middle of the nineteenth century, placed limits upon the province of dictation, but like him also assumed a measure of divine influence which rendered the sacred books entirely free from error—*immunes a quavis vel levi erroris labe.*[4] Quite as absolutely as any one of those who have been cited Leo XIII declared for the complete immunity of the sacred books from errors. Indeed a more stalwart theory of inerrancy has scarcely ever been asserted than that contained in the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* (November 18, 1893). The following are a few of its sentences: "All the books in their entirety which the church receives have been written in all their parts by the dictation of the Holy Spirit; so far in truth is it from being possible that any error should coexist with divine inspiration, that such inspiration by itself excludes and rejects error, and that necessarily, inasmuch as God the supreme Truth cannot be the author of any error. . . . That the Holy Spirit appropriated men as instruments makes no difference; as if, forsooth, something could proceed, not from the primary author, but from the inspired writers. For the Holy Spirit by a supernatural virtue so excited and moved them to the task of writing, and was so present with them in writing, that all those things which he might command, and those alone, they both rightly conceived in their minds, and wished faithfully to write, and appropriately expressed

[1] Sum. Theol. II. ii. 171. 6; II. ii. 172. 3, 4.
[2] De Locis Theologicis, II. 16–18.
[3] Disputat. de Controvers., De Verbo Dei, I. 15.
[4] Praelect. Theol. Pars II. Sect. I, De Sacra Scriptura, cap. ii.

with infallible truth." Such language has great force taken simply as a testimony to the sense of the Vatican decree which was cited above, and which the Pope himself mentions as warranting his own exposition of the nature of the Bible; for Leo XIII must be supposed to have been well assured as to the tenor of thought in the Vatican Council. But of course the distinguished pontiff figures here as something more than a witness. While the weight of an *ex cathedra* dogmatic determination cannot be assigned to the teaching of the encyclical, and while accordingly it cannot strictly bind the thinking of Roman Catholics, it does, in virtue of the administrative supremacy of the Pope, impose an obligation as respects giving expression to thought in speech and writing. To openly contravene what the supreme pastor has set forth for the guidance of Christendom would distinctly collide with the Roman Catholic principle of obligatory obedience. Since the unequivocal pronunciamento of Leo XIII voices closely associated with Roman orthodoxy have spoken in similar terms. Thus the eminent dogmatist Heinrich writes: "The Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament are not sacred and divine writings merely because through the special assistance of God they are free from error, but because they were written by that aid of the Holy Spirit which is called inspiration, in virtue of which God himself is the author not only of the truths contained in Holy Writ, but also of their expression in writing, although by the mediation and service of the sacred writers."[1] In the same connection he adopts the figure of Augustine, according to which the Holy Spirit ruled the sacred writers as the head rules the members.

In recent numbers of the noted Jesuit organ at Rome, the Civiltà Cattolica, which for a generation has usually been in line with a triumphant Roman orthodoxy, strong ground has been taken on the necessity of maintaining the traditional view of biblical inerrancy. The supposition of Newman that the Bible may contain *obiter dicta*, that is, some incidental items which a writer has recorded on his own responsibility, is treated as inadmissible. Newman, says the critic, may have applied the notion of *obiter dicta* to trivial matters; but once the notion is admitted it cannot

[1] Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik, pp. 53, 54.

be confined to that range. The warrant of inspiration must be claimed for everything in the Bible. Neither will it do to admit with Monseigneur d'Hulst that in some matters the inspiration was so far restricted as not entirely to secure the sacred writers from mistake: "The two expressions 'God says' and 'the sacred writer says' are absolutely synonymous. . . . If the Catholic tradition is not a chimera, if the unanimous consent of the fathers is not an empty term, if the constancy, the perpetuity, and the universality of a doctrine constitute a rule of faith, there is no Catholic dogma more solidly established than the infallibility of the Scriptures."[1]

From the above it appears that, while the theory of dictation proper has not uniformly been applied by Roman Catholic writers to the entire canon, it has been characteristic of the more representative theologians to assert the detailed inerrancy of the Bible. No room is therefore left for real doubt as to the sense which the councils designed to express in the decrees which have been cited. Now these decrees are of infallible authority for the Roman Catholic Church; and they must be reckoned infallible in the sense of their authors, otherwise the subsequent interpreter rather than the ecumenical council would need to be rated as the organ of infallibility. It follows, therefore, that the Roman Catholic Church is under the bonds of infallible dogmatic teaching to maintain the complete inerrancy of the Bible.

2. *The Progress of Freer Views respecting the Bible.*—The initial incentive in this direction came from the discoveries of natural science. Geological data served as the entering wedge, and the task of reconciling these data with the creation narrative in Genesis was for a time a principal source of divergence from the strict traditional standpoint. The boldness of the Austrian archæologist and biblical student Jahn, in qualifying the historical character or purpose of the books of Job, Jonah, Judith, and Tobit, was quite unparalleled in the first part of the nineteenth century. As respects also the creation narrative, it was with no little reluctance that Roman Catholic scholars gave place to modifications of the old theory. The conclusion that creation occurred in six literal days was largely held in the middle of the century, but

[1] Article entitled La Questione Biblica nell' Exegesi, 18th series, vol. vii, pp. 142–156.

at this date a footing had been gained for the competing theory that the days stand for periods. The supposition that the Genesis narrative cannot well be reconciled with the data of science, though broached at an earlier point, cannot be said to have been given any noteworthy consideration before the last quarter of the century. In 1881 Bishop Clifford, of England, in a contribution to the Dublin Review, wrote disparagingly of attempts to reconcile the Bible with geology, and expressed the conviction that the first chapter of Genesis could more properly be described as a creation hymn than as a veritable history. "If we attempt," he said, "to fasten on the words of Moses a meaning in conformity with the discoveries of modern times, the attempts to reconcile Scripture with geology are not likely to be more successful than were the former attempts to reconcile Scripture with astronomy. Will anybody venture to assert that the study of Genesis has ever led to the discovery of a single geological fact? A revelation which reveals nothing, what useful object can it be supposed to serve?" For the time being Bishop Clifford's interpretation received a rather cold welcome.[1] Meanwhile a conviction began to be generated among Roman Catholic scholars that a wider task was making its demands upon them than the reconciling of the first chapter of Genesis with geology—the task of construing the Bible in the light of the findings of historical and literary criticism. For a considerable interval the modern critical theories were met by them in the spirit of scornful repudiation and without any industrious attempt at refutation. But at length these theories began to make their impression, and individual scholars had the courage and independence to award them a guarded expression. Among the earliest of these was Lenormant, who published in 1880 the first volume of his Les Origines de l'Histoire. In this work he took the ground that the early narratives of Genesis reproduced the common Semitic traditions, only giving them in a version transfused with a lofty ethical and religious spirit. He also expressed the conviction that it was no longer possible to maintain unity of authorship for the Pentateuch. These were strange views to the

[1] The facts are given by Albert Houtin, La Question Biblique chez les Catholiques de France au xix^e^ Siècle, 2d Edit. 1902, pp. 110–113. Several of the items which follow are based in whole or in part on this very painstaking book.

average Roman Catholic scholar of the time. They claimed, however, some sympathy. Men like the Abbé de Broglie and Monseigneur d'Hulst, if they did not commit themselves specifically to the views of Lenormant, indicated their conviction that the theory of the strict constructionists made unnecessary trouble in dealing with the Bible, and that a broader theory would better suit the demands of scholarship and piety. About a decade after the publication of the first volume of Lenormant's historical work it became evident that the professor of Holy Scripture in the Catholic Institute of Paris, the Abbé Loisy, was quite friendly to the newer criticism. In articles[1] that appeared in 1892–93 he intimated his agreement with Lenormant on the indebtedness of Genesis to Babylonian sources. He also gave distinct emphasis to the fact that there is a human side to the Bible as well as a divine, declared it quite aside from the purpose of the sacred writers to serve as expositors of the themes of natural science, and attributed to them a very considerable measure of accommodation to the viewpoints of their own age. He mentioned, moreover, the cardinal conclusions of Protestant criticism—such as the presence of legendary elements in the early narratives of Genesis and the post-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch in its present form—and, while he did not formally commit himself to these conclusions, urged that they deserved a more careful consideration than had been accorded to them by Roman Catholic scholarship. Later in the same decade he made still more evident his substantial acceptance of what he here set forth as the findings of Protestant criticism. Within the last two or three years, as will be shown presently, he has given expression to views so radical, especially in relation to the New Testament domain, that he must be regarded as having parted company even with the liberal school in his own church. Shortly after Loisy began to publish his views others were ready to show that they were favorably disposed toward some of the main conclusions of the later criticism. At the Catholic International Congress held in Fribourg in 1897, Baron von Hügel, of England, and Father Lagrange, of the School of Biblical Studies at Jerusalem, presented papers in which, though

[1] Republished with additional articles under the title Études Bibliques.

they were careful to assert the presence of a supernatural element in the history of Israel, they argued for the progressive development of the legal system of the Pentateuch, and for the composite character and post-Mosaic origin of the literature in which that system is embodied. In January of the next year the paper of Lagrange appeared in the Revue Biblique, of which he was the director. Its publication was regarded by many as a scandal, and there was talk of suppressing the Review. But still it is in evidence that the critical standpoint represented in the papers of Von Hügel and Lagrange was able to claim adherents in not a few of the branches of the Roman Catholic constituency. At the congress in Fribourg the former mentioned, as occupying substantially the same standpoint, Bickell in Germany, Van Hoonacker at Louvain, Robert Clarke and Van den Biesen in England.[1] To this list F. E. Gigot authorizes us to add the names of Von Hummelauer and Charles Robert. As for Gigot himself (professor of Sacred Scripture in Saint Mary's Seminary, Baltimore), he frankly confesses his acceptance of the more characteristic conclusions of recent Pentateuchal criticism. Referring to the consensus achieved in this field by nineteenth century scholarship, he says: "Owing to this wonderful agreement of scholars concerning the main lines of critical analysis of the Hexateuch, it may safely be asserted that in connection with them, as in connection with those admitted by specialists in historical geology, future work, instead of reversing, will confirm them."[2] The professor also indicates his willingness to retrench somewhat from the strictly historical character of the early Genesis narratives, though speaking with considerable reserve on this theme. With Gigot we may associate another writer of French antecedents, Joseph Bruneau.[3] Additional names might doubtless be added to this list. We should not transgress the proper limits of our theme if we should mention advocates of evolu-

[1] So reported by Loisy, Études Bibliques, pp. 89, 90. The reference does not imply that all these scholars, or indeed any one of them, can be said to have accepted the Graf-Wellhausen scheme without reserve. Van Hoonacker, for instance, in his Le Sacerdoce Lévitique, 1900, exhibits an interest to maintain a relatively early origin for the characteristic provisions respecting sanctuary and priesthood in Israel.

[2] Special Introduction to the Study of the Old Testament, p. 140.

[3] The list of authors to whom Professor Bruneau refers in the footnotes of his Harmony of the Gospels is significant of a certain mental affinity with the liberal school.

tion theory, such as Leroy and Zahm, since their teaching may be considered to touch on the field of biblical interpretation. It would not be entirely amiss also to mention such an earnest advocate of "Americanism," among German Roman Catholics, as Herman Schell; for he has spoken very emphatic words in behalf of liberty of investigation, and strongly commended the need of a more hospitable attitude, on the part of his church, toward modern thought and methods.[1] On the whole, judging from the character and relations of those who have expressed themselves more or less directly on the side of the later criticism, we may infer that this criticism has now an appreciable constituency in the domain of Roman Catholicism. Still, anyone who has measured properly the enormous force of tradition in the Roman Catholic communion will not be in haste to conclude that the great body of the priesthood has yet been affected to any considerable extent by the new teaching.

In giving expression to their critical theories Roman Catholic scholars of the liberal school have generally felt the need of being on guard against colliding with the doctrine of biblical inerrancy so clearly implied in the decrees of the councils and so unequivocally taught in the encyclical of Leo XIII. The modest provision for an element of errancy which Newman furnished in his supposition of *obiter dicta*[2] has not commanded their open assent; much less have they been ready to express approval of such a broad and emphatic assertion of errancy as was made by another English Romanist.[3] Men as far from the traditional platform as Loisy and Lagrange showed a distinct inclination to conserve the doctrine of inerrancy. They could not, of course, deny the existence of apparent discrepancies, and it was only left to them to maintain that these would vanish if we could transfer ourselves to the standpoint of the sacred writers and take a just account of their intention. Thus Loisy wrote: "The sacred books have been inspired to be true; but they have also been inspired to be that which

[1] We refer in particular to his book entitled Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts.
[2] The Nineteenth Century, February, 1884.
[3] In articles published anonymously in the Contemporary Review, April, 1893, April, 1894. The tone of these articles is caustic and might be called audacious if the writer had given his name.

they are, books adapted to the needs of the time when they appeared, books drawn up in the spirit and manner of antiquity. . . . If we place ourselves at the point of view of theology, it can be said that the biblical authors were not deceived in the domains where we find them at fault, since they did not have a formal intention to teach as true in itself that which we find erroneous."[1] Within limits this is no doubt a legitimate rule of judgment, but it cannot be used to dispose of the whole question of errancy in the Bible without great arbitrariness. In saying some things under the guise of ancient stories the biblical writers may indeed have had as little of historical intention as Christ had in uttering parables. In very many of their sayings the element of historical intention may have been quite subordinate to that of moral and religious edification, but in however subordinate measure the former element was present and operative. Who, for example, can deny that some of the biblical writers intended to record chronological data, and that the Old Testament as a whole incorporates by the design of its compilers a certain framework of chronology? Accordingly, if the Hebrew chronological scheme is subject, in the light of archæological and scientific research, to serious amendment there was to that extent a failure on the part of the Old Testament authors to fulfill their intention. The errors may have been of very slight consequence from the point of view of religion; but to refuse to call them errors is to abuse language and resort to unseemly evasion. Further illustration could easily be offered. The scholars just cited are forcing an outlet where none exists. Not only is critical method likely to uncover an error here and there in matters of detail; one or another of the general conclusions reached by modern criticism distinctly involves an element of errancy in the Bible. Though that criticism may take nothing out of the Old Testament which has permanent worth for the mind and heart of man, it does modify the conception of the evolution of the ancient religion which ruled the thought and pen of some Old Testament writers. To speak more specifically, it exhibits the later compilers or editors of the legal system as giving (presumably with honest intent) a more direct association of that sys-

[1] Études Bibliques, pp. 18, 19, 56.

tem with the age and the person of Moses than was warranted by the actual history. It necessitates, therefore, the recognition of an element of mistaken representation. For the Roman Catholic scholar to acknowledge this much may seem a desperate step; but there is no escape if he is to hold by the critical theories in question. These theories cannot be harmonized with the dogma of inerrancy which has been enthroned by the councils and promulgated in the encyclical.

It was noticed above that in his more recent writings Loisy has pushed on to a radical type of criticism. He represents in truth at this later stage a criticism which is open to more or less challenge from the Protestant standpoint and is distinctly incompatible with the Roman Catholic system as ordinarily understood. Not only does he place the fourth gospel quite outside the category of history; he very seriously retrenches the historicity even of the synoptical gospels. In reality he applies Newman's theory of doctrinal development to the apostolic age itself, and so represents much of the content of the New Testament as the product of an evolution from humble and obscure beginnings. He brings even the dogmas of the church under the law of universal flux, and intimates that they can survive only by having an improved and improving interpretation put upon them. Much of what he says about the origin of the Roman Catholic dogmatic and ceremonial system may lie close to the actual facts, but his conclusions, in spite of his pleas to the contrary, are evidently damaging to the claims of that system. Naturally the expression of such sentiments has elicited rebuke from liberals as well as from conservatives in Roman Catholic ranks. Referring to the book entitled L'Évangile et l'Église, in which Loisy presumes to defend the Roman Catholic faith as against Harnack's interpretation of Christianity,[1] Lagrange scores his confrère as proceeding by the way of *a priori* construction rather than by that of real criticism, and as bringing danger rather than safety to the Catholic system by the method of his apology. He contends that on several important points Loisy differs from Harnack for the worse, and that in

[1] Embodied in Das Wesen des Christentums, translated under the title, "What is Christianity?"

general his theories are no more compatible with the Christian faith than are those of the distinguished German[1]—a statement which of course amounts to a very severe animadversion from the Roman Catholic point of view. Indeed it looks as if Loisy, on account of his radicalism, had largely forfeited the opportunity to shape the critical movement in his own church, much as certain extremists in Protestant ranks have forfeited the office of guidance and ceased to be of any noteworthy significance, except as their example affords aid and comfort to those who are in search of proof that the whole movement in biblical criticism is of the devil.

3. *The Official Response to the Freer Views.*—The tenor of that response can be seen in the following list of historical items: In 1822 four books of Jahn were placed in the Index of Prohibited Writings; and it is to be noticed that they stood in the list of proscribed books through the century and were retained in the revised edition of the Index published in 1900 with the approbation of Leo XIII. In 1848 the book of Frederick Klee on the deluge, in which he ventured to express the opinion that it is difficult to suppose that no others of the human race besides the family of Noah survived the catastrophe, was placed in the Index. It also appears in the revised edition. In 1886 the Abbé Duchesne, teacher of ecclesiastical history in the Catholic Institute at Paris, who was friendly to the more liberal scholarship but not apparently given to any very radical theories, was suspended for a year by the diocesan administration from his course of instruction. In December, 1887, the first two volumes of Lenormant's Les Origines de l'Histoire were put into the Index of Prohibited Writings; also the first two parts of Ledrain's Histoire d'Israel. The same fate befell Lasserre's translation of the gospels into French, although it had been issued under ecclesiastical sanction and so far met a popular demand that it passed through twenty-five editions in the space of little more than a year.[2] These three works appear in the revised edition of the Index.

[1] Revue Biblique, April, 1903. Among others who have written in criticism of the views of Loisy are the author of a series of articles in the Civiltà Cattolica, Cardinal Perraud, Palmieri, Pègues, and Frémont. Our opportunity for perusal has been confined to the first three of these. Their estimate of Loisy's teaching is distinctly condemnatory.

[2] Houtin, La Question Biblique, pp. 130–135.

In 1893 Loisy, who had been teaching in the Catholic Institute of Paris for twelve years, was deprived of his chair of instruction by the episcopal council which had in charge the administration of the Institute. A little later came the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* from Leo XIII, the publication of which is properly mentioned here since obviously it was designed to assert the strict traditional standpoint against the teaching of Loisy and others. In 1895 Father Leroy, who had written a book in favor of evolution theory, was cited to Rome, and was constrained to retract. Near the close of 1898 Professor Schell's Der Katholicismus als Princip des Fortschritts, along with several other books of the same author, was placed in the prohibited list. In 1899 Father Zahm, an American professor, was constrained by ecclesiastical mandate to withdraw from circulation the book which he had published in favor of evolution theory. At the revision of the Index in 1900 the works of Richard Simon, whom Gigot mentions as a pioneer in a truly scientific study of the Bible, were continued in the list of prohibited books, alongside an ample catalogue of the most illustrious of modern productions in philosophy and history. In December of 1903 the Congregation of the Holy Office condemned five writings of the Abbé Loisy[1]—a censure much less significant than some others on account of certain items of radical and adventurous teaching in the condemned books. At the same time the Congregation of the Index condemned the Abbé Houtin's La Question Biblique, a book which seems to be chargeable with no other fault than that of extraordinary candor and openness in describing the progress of liberal thought among the Roman Catholics of France and the effort to checkmate the same.

With such a line of facts under observation one is compelled to conclude that whatever progress has been made in the Roman Catholic Church, in the appropriation of the fruits of recent biblical criticism, has been made under the frown rather than under the favor or even tolerance of official authority. It may be remembered, it is true, that Leo XIII, in October, 1902, instituted a "Commission for the Development of Biblical Studies," making

[1] La Religion d'Israel; L'Évangile et l'Église; Études Évangéliques; Autour d'un Petit Livre; Le Quatrième Évangile.

up the commission from the cardinals, and joining with them as consulters certain scholars from outside. Some have interpreted this act as being of the nature of a pontifical concession to liberal scholarship. The warrant for such interpretation, however, is very slight. Nothing in the public utterances of Leo XIII indicates that he retreated from the ultra-conservative position taken in the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. The evidence runs the other way. Thus in a letter of the Pope to the French clergy, bearing date September 8, 1899, he wrote: "On the subject of the Holy Scriptures, we call anew your attention, venerable brothers, to the instructions which we have given in our encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*, in which we desire the professors to instruct their pupils, adding the necessary explanations."[1] Furthermore, in the opening statement of the "apostolical letter" for appointing the commission, Leo XIII mentions the encyclical, and at another point in the same document clearly expresses the expectation that the commission will follow along the lines which, in conformity with the traditional teaching, he had marked out. "In what concerns," he says, "the rounded assertion of the authority of the Scriptures the members of the commission should employ an active care and keen diligence. Especially should they labor for this end, that no place should be given among Catholics to that obnoxious way of thinking and acting which concedes too great weight to the heterodox, just as if the real knowledge of Scripture is to be sought first of all from the equipment of outside learning. Nor, indeed, can those things to which we have referred more at length elsewhere be doubtful to any Catholic—to wit, that God has not committed the Scriptures to the private judgment of the learned, but has passed over the interpretation of them to the authority of the church." Probably the commission was designed to be rather an instrument for calming agitation and for holding Catholic thought in leash than to serve as a means of inaugurating anything like a new departure in dealing with the great question of biblical criticism. If it was in the mind of the pontiff to make any concessions to freedom of investigation, these, in all likelihood, were after the pattern of the indulgence which was granted

[1] Cited by Houtin, p. 273.

in connection with the revised plan for the prohibition of books—just enough to give a show of liberality while yet the old scheme of surveillance and control was maintained without essential abatement. What Pius X will do with the commission remains, of course, to be seen. It is to be presumed that his sympathies are quite decidedly with the traditional standpoint. It is possible however, that he may prefer not to assert them in the unrestrained manner of his predecessor. Thus far he seems to have fallen short of the intemperate ambition of Leo XIII to act the pedagogue for the world in general.

4. *The Probable Outcome.*—It has been seen that the Roman Catholic Church, on a fair interpretation of its standards, is committed to the doctrine of the detailed inerrancy or infallibility of the Bible. It has been seen, also, that critical theories which must rationally be considered incompatible with that doctrine have been forcing their way through the closed doors of that church to an extent which makes it clear that they cannot easily be kept out. What is to be the final result? The answer rendered to this question will naturally be dictated by the conception which one entertains of the critical movement of recent times. Anyone who is intrenched in the seventeenth century notion of the Bible, and who looks upon nineteenth century criticism as the product either of an unbridled appetite for novelty or of a foolish overestimate of contemporary science, may well conclude that a saner age will leave no place to that criticism; and that consequently it will cease to make any real problem for the Roman Catholic Church. On the contrary, one who believes that the modern critical movement is to a considerable extent solidly based in facts, and has reached certain leading conclusions which can no more be set aside in the consensus of free scholarship than the once decried Copernican theory, will be compelled to believe that the Roman Catholic Church must continue to face the fact of a distinct antagonism between the unequivocal demands of doctrinal standards and the equally unequivocal demands of biblical scholarship.

The writer of this article is fulfilling in the present instance the office of the historian rather than that of the dogmatist. If, however, anyone asks to which of the two conclusions just sketched

his own judgment inclines, he has no hesitation in saying that it coincides with the second. Such study as he has been able to make both of the Bible and the course of modern thought during thirty years of scholastic occupation has led him to entertain these convictions: 1. The Bible is indeed the book of books in the wealth of its content for the guidance and inspiration of life, in the adequacy of the materials which it embraces for a complete ethical and religious system, in the efficacy of the means to which it points for cleansing and healing the sin-stained, in the authentic picture which it gives of the kingdom of God, as respects its principal stages, its ideal impersonation in Jesus Christ, and its destined consummation. But, while the Bible has this lofty preëminence, it cannot claim perfection in every detail. Scientific scholarship must renounce the task of proving its complete inerrancy, in all parts and upon all matters, as being both a needless and an impossible task. 2. While much in the compass of recent critical theories is problematical, certain cardinal conclusions, such as the post-Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch and the gradual development of the legal system of Israel, with its elaborate ritual, are likely to stand the test of continued research. That system can be called Mosaic only in the general sense of proceeding from a Mosaic basis, and not in the larger and more positive sense of having been delivered directly in all its details by the great lawgiver. 3. A doctrine of inerrancy, like that embodied in Roman Catholic standards, cannot be harmonized with the demands of well-approved critical theories. Holding these convictions, the writer must conclude that Roman Catholic authority, if it is not openly to deny itself, has no more likely expedient for meeting the embarrassments of the situation which it is called to face than a resort to delay, to finesse, to management, until at length in some future generation the apologist can make bold to claim that the church has always held the broader and freer view of the Bible.

H. C. Sheldon.

Art. V.—OUR EPISCOPACY—A STUDY INTO THE DOCTRINE OF THE FATHERS[1]

Prior to 1784 the Methodists in the United States seem to have had no ordained ministry, no sacraments, and no other organization than as "The United Societies" under the direction of Thomas Rankin, whom Mr. Wesley had appointed his assistant for America. Under this organization conferences were held, the proceedings of which were published under the title "Minutes of Some Conversations between the Preachers *in Connection with Mr. Wesley.*" Jesse Lee writes of this early period that: "In 1773 Mr. Wesley sent Thomas Rankin and George Shadford to America. From that time Mr. Rankin had the superintendency of *the Methodist connection* in America, and was styled the General Assistant. He called the traveling preachers together, and on the seventeenth of July, 1773, the first Conference that ever was held in America began in Philadelphia." "About the middle of September, 1778, Mr. Rankin and Mr. Rodda left the continent and sailed for England, because Mr. Rodda's conduct brought much suffering and much trouble on the Methodist preachers and people. He had taken some imprudent steps in favor of the Tories." Lee adds, "But Mr. Asbury saw it best to abide in America, and in May, 1779, the Conference determined that Brother Asbury ought to act as General Assistant in America." Mr. Asbury's first election seems to have occurred five years before the organization of the church. Perhaps this precedent, and his desire both to conciliate the Fluvanna brethren and to secure the moral support naturally following unanimity in so grave a proceeding, suggested that his selection as General Superintendent be by the Conference of 1784. The events of the war do not seem to have discouraged the work of the Methodist preachers, but the rather to have determined the organization of an "Independent" church, which organization took place immediately after the celebrated "Bristol letter" had been delivered to "the Christmas Conference"

[1] Epochs in the following compilation—1773, 1784, 1792, 1808. Matter in quotations is from original editions in the collection of the writer.

—the proceedings of which are printed as the "Minutes of Some Conversations *between the Ministers and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, at a General Conference held in Baltimore, January, 1785."

Jesse Lee's account of the steps taken immediately preceding this action, and evidently looking to it, is as follows: "At the British Conference held at Leeds in July, 1784, Mr. Wesley declared his intention of sending Dr. Coke and some other preachers to America. Mr. Richard Whatcoat and Mr. Thomas Vasey offered themselves as missionaries for that purpose, and were accepted. But before they sailed Mr. Wesley wrote to Dr. Coke, then in London, desiring him to meet him in Bristol, *to receive fuller powers*, and to bring the Rev. Mr. Creighton with him. The Doctor and Mr. Creighton accordingly met him in Bristol, where Mr. Wesley, with the assistance of Dr. Coke and Mr. Creighton, ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey presbyters for America; and did afterward ordain Dr. Coke a superintendent, giving him *letters of ordination* under his hand and seal." These letters must have been the "fuller powers" mentioned by Mr. Wesley, for previous to this Dr. Coke had been ordained a presbyter by a bishop of the Church of England. "Dr. Coke," he continues, "with Messrs. Whatcoat and Vasey sailed for America, in the month of September, and landed at New York on the third day of November, and by these preachers Mr. Wesley wrote a letter to us in America, to be printed and circulated among us; the following is the letter:

BRISTOL, September 10, 1784.

To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America.

1. By a very uncommon train of providences many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the British Empire, and erected into Independent States. The English Government has no authority over them, either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the states of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the state assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these States desire my advice; and in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

2. Lord King's account of the primitive church convinced me many years ago, that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned, from time to

time, to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our traveling preachers [that is, for service in Great Britain]. But I have still refused, not only for peace' sake, *but because I was determined as little as possible* to violate the established order of the Church to which I belonged.

3. But the case is widely different between England and North America. *Here* there are bishops *who have a legal jurisdiction.* In America *there are none,* and but few parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together there are *none either to baptize or administer the Lord's Supper.* Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, *as I violate no order,* and *invade no man's right,* by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

4. *I have accordingly appointed* Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint Superintendents over our brethren in North America. As also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper.

5. If anyone will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding those poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

6. It has indeed been proposed to desire the English bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object, 1. I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one only; but could not prevail. 2. If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceeding; but the matter admits of no delay. 3. *If they would ordain* them now, *they would* likewise *expect to govern* them. And how grievously this would entangle us! As our American brethren are now totally disentangled both from the state and from the British hierarchy we dare not entangle them again either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to *follow the Scriptures and the primitive church.* And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free. JOHN WESLEY.

It is apparently difficult to reconcile the expressions of the second paragraph of this letter with Mr. Wesley's known relations to the Church of England. For, as a churchman, he undoubtedly believed that the ministry of that church was constituted of three Orders. He cannot reasonably be understood as denying in so conspicuous a manner this canon of that church. What, then, did he mean? He was about to change the plan of administering the work in America from that of the directing the United Societies by his appointed assistants to that of the superintendency of an organized church by a ministry ordained for this service according to the forms of the church to which he belonged. He states in this letter that he was unable to secure such ordinations, and is explaining and defending the regularity and validity of those on which he had determined. He then states that he "was led by Lord King's account" to see that scriptural authority of both the

episcopate and the eldership to ordain was recognized by the primitive church and that this was the practice in that church. He also states that for purposes of regularity, and to avoid confusion in administration, the privilege of exercising this authority within the jurisdiction of the Church of England was limited by the canons of that church and vested exclusively in the Episcopate. He also believed, as he himself states, that within a jurisdiction having no Episcopate to which this right had been already committed, or where, having been committed, it had become in any way interrupted, the body of elders might in either case rightfully enter upon and exercise this authority and constitute anew, or reinstate, an episcopate, with power to have superintendency over a proposed or an existing church, and to ordain its ministry.

With respect, then, to scripturally recognized authority—that is, the same authority to ordain—the episcopate and the eldership were of the same order. With respect to canonically limited privilege to exercise this authority for the time being they were *not* of the same order—for the eldership was subordinate to the episcopate by this canon. In pursuance of this belief he had, with the assistance of two ordained ministers of the Church of England, ordained Dr. Thomas Coke as a Superintendent for America, and had also instructed him to ordain Francis Asbury "for the same episcopal office" in the United States.

Mr. Wesley's whole letter shows his belief to be that for purposes of regularity and order *the privilege of exercising* the right of ordination within the jurisdiction of the national church *has been limited* to the order of *bishop*. The Preface to the English Ordinal seems to indicate this to be the accepted belief of that church, for so long, at least, as that Order has a living representative within English jurisdictions. Mr. Wesley further states his belief to be that wherever the Church of England has no jurisdiction, or where the order of bishop has no officer or representative, then the order of elder may again rightfully enter upon and exercise its scriptural authority to ordain persons to orders in the ministry of a Christian church, and by ordaining a bishop thus to restore that order to its functions. This was the opinion of the great Hooker and other eminent writers of the Anglican

Church. That all this is what he means is further apparent from the sequent paragraphs, and from the closing lines, of this remarkable letter. Mr. Wesley could not have meant that "the bishop and the elder are the same order" in the sense that they enjoyed the privilege of exercising episcopal authority at the same time and place. For this would result in chaotic confusion, and is exactly what he had denied to himself as an Elder within the jurisdiction of the Church of England; and is likewise the very difference he established between Superintendents Coke and Asbury and Elders Whatcoat and Vasey before sending them to the United States. That Wesley fully recognized a distinction in orders, notwithstanding the often-quoted statement that "bishop and elder are *the same* order," and that he recognized this distinction as scriptural but not essential, admits of no denial. That such was his belief may be shown to the satisfaction of every investigator. For according to the Minutes of the Conference held by Wesley in the year 1747—one year after he had read Lord King's Inquiry, upon which the above statement of Wesley is based—the following questions and answers are found:

Q. Are the three Orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons plainly described in the New Testament?

Ans. We think they are, and believe they generally obtained in the Churches of the Apostolic age.

Q. But are you assured that God designed the same plan should obtain in all Churches in all ages?

Ans. We are not assured of this, because we do not find it is asserted in Holy Writ.

It is evident, then, that Wesley held (*a*) that *essentially* bishop and elder are of one order, and (*b*) that three orders are described, but not binding, in the New Testament, from which it follows that Wesley did believe the episcopate to be an order and to be a New Testament order.

The Conference of 1784

The action of this Conference—known as the Organizing Conference, the Christmas Conference, and the Organizing Convention—is printed under the following title, which should be carefully noted; namely: "*Minutes of Several Conversations between*

the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury, and Others at a Conference begun in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday the 27th of December, in the year 1784. Composing a form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers and other members of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America." The organic act follows this title and is as follows: "*We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Superintendents, Elders, Deacons, and Helpers, according to the forms of ordination annexed to our Liturgy, and the form of discipline set forth in these Minutes.*" A close study of this act shows (*a*) that three separate orders of ministers are specified; (*b*) that the church is under their direction; (*c*) that the forms of ordination under which they are severally authorized to exercise this "direction" are cited; and (*d*) that the plan or "form of discipline" by which this church is placed under the direction of those named is also given. Lee continues:

At the same time [that of preparing the letter] Mr. Wesley *prepared a liturgy* little differing from that of the Church of England, or rather revised the Common Prayer Book, leaving out certain parts, and altering some of the ceremonies, and some of the psalms, and making the morning and evening service much shorter than it was before. He advised all the traveling preachers to use it on the Lord's Day in all the congregations, reading the Litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and to pray extempore on all other days. He also advised the elders to administer the Supper of the Lord on every Lord's Day. [It may be seriously regretted that this Liturgy should have fallen into such general disuse.]

As soon as Dr. Coke landed in America he laid his plan to meet Mr. Asbury as soon as possible, and traveling from New York to Philadelphia, and then down into the Delaware state, he met Mr. Asbury at Barratt's Chapel on the fourteenth day of the same month. They then *consulted together about the plan which Mr. Wesley had adopted and recommended* to us. After the business was maturely weighed, and sufficient time was taken to consult some more of the preachers who were present on that day, it was judged advisable to call together all the traveling preachers in a General Conference to be held in Baltimore at Christmas. Accordingly, the thirteenth Conference began in Baltimore, December 27, 1784, and was considered to be a *General* Conference, in which Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury presided.

At this Conference we formed ourselves into a regular church, by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church; making at the same time the episcopal office elective—(*not appointive*)—and the elected superintendent—not "the episcopal office"—amenable to the body of ministers and preachers. [Lee doubtless had it in mind that Dr. Coke had been appointed, and that he was the only bishop whose ordination preceded election to the "episcopal office."]

Mr. Asbury was appointed a superintendent by Mr. Wesley, yet he would not submit to be ordained unless he could be voted in by the Conference: when

it was put to vote he was unanimously chosen. He was then ordained Deacon, then Elder, and afterward Superintendent, before the end of the Conference. At the request of Mr. Asbury, when he was about to be ordained a superintendent, Mr. Otterbein, a German minister, who was a pious man, assisted in his ordination by the laying on of his hands with the other ministers.

Twelve persons, Freeborn Garrettson, William Gill, LeRoy Cole, John Haggerty, James O. Cromwell, John Tunnel, Nelson Reed, Jeremiah Lambert, Reuben Ellis, James O'Kelly, Richard Ivey, and Henry Willis, were then elected and ordained Elders; and three others, John Dickins, Caleb Royer, and Ignatius Pigman, were also elected and separately ordained Deacons. These ordinations, together with those by Mr. Wesley, were undoubtedly completed "according to the forms of ordination annexed to our Liturgy," and served to complete the three orders in this Episcopal Church as required by and provided in the Liturgy referred to in the organic act it had just adopted. These forms of ordination are given in the Liturgy contained in the Sunday Service of 1784, 1786, 1788, and 1792, in the order and under the heads following. It will be noted that all the forms use the word "ordination" and *not* "consecration" of the bishop:

THE FORM AND MANNER OF MAKING AND ORDAINING OF SUPERINTENDENTS, ELDERS, AND DEACONS.

(*a*) The Form and Manner of Making of Deacons.
(*b*) The Form and Manner of Ordaining of Elders.
(*c*) The Form of Ordaining a Superintendent.

The running headline in each case is,

The Ordaining of Deacons.
The Ordaining of Elders.
The Ordination of Superintendents.

Lee continues:

In the Minutes of this Conference there were eighty-one questions with answers, a few of which I shall take notice of—(the first two are irrelevant to this study).

Q. 3. As the ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs of these United States have passed through a very considerable change by the Revolution, what *plan of church government* shall we *hereafter pursue?*

Ans. We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Superintendents, Elders, Deacons, and Helpers, *according to the forms of ordination* annexed to *our Liturgy*, and the form of discipline set forth in these Minutes.

Three ordinations were necessary to make a superintendent, *two* to make an elder, *one* to make a deacon. If the Episcopacy is "merely an office and not an order," it seems to have required a greater number of ordinations to fill an "office" than to make an "order." The Minutes continue:

N. B.—No person shall be ordained a Superintendent, Elder, or Deacon, without the consent of a majority of the Conference [all three of the orders then were "made elective"] *and the consent* and imposition of hands of a Superintendent; except in the following instance:

Q. 29. If by death, expulsion, or otherwise, there be no Superintendent remaining in our Church, what shall we do?

Ans. The Conference shall elect a Superintendent, and the Elders or any three of them *shall ordain him according to our Liturgy.*

The Methodists were pretty generally pleased at our becoming a church, and heartily united together in the plan which the Conference had adopted. And from that time religion greatly revived.

The Minutes of the Conferences of 1784 and 1786 reaffirm the willingness of the fathers to "obey Mr. Wesley in all matters *relating to church government.*" It may be noted that the title to the Minutes of 1786 was changed and declares that they *form the Constitution of the Church.* It reads thus: "*The General Minutes of the Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, forming the Constitution of the said Church.*" In the Discipline of 1787—and repeated in that of 1788—are found the Preamble, the Constitution, the directions for constituting the Ministry of the Church, and the reasons for establishing it in the United States. A section on the "*Origin of the Episcopal Authority,*" the form of constituting the Bishop, the Elder, and the Deacon, and their respective duties, is again given in the Disciplines of 1789, 1790, and 1791, as follows:

SECTION LV

On the Constituting of Bishops and Their Duty

Q. 1. What is the proper origin of *the episcopal authority* in our church?

Ans. In the year 1784, the Rev. John Wesley, who under God has been the father of the great revival of religion now extending over the earth by the means of the Methodists, determined, at the intercession of multitudes of his spiritual children on this continent, to ordain ministers for America, and for this purpose sent over three regularly ordained clergy; but *preferring the episcopal mode of church government* to any other, he solemnly set apart by the imposition of his hands and prayer, one of them, viz., Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, *for the episcopal office;* and having

delivered to him *letters of episcopal orders* ["fuller powers"], commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury, then general assistant of the Methodist Society in America, *for the same episcopal office*, he, the said Francis Asbury being first ordained Deacon and Elder. In consequence of which, the said Francis Asbury was *solemnly set apart for the said episcopal office*, by prayer *and the imposition of* hands of said Thomas Coke, *other regularly ordained ministers assisting* in the sacred ceremony. At which time the general conference held at Baltimore *did unanimously receive* the said Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury *as their Bishops*, being *fully satisfied of the validity of their episcopal ordination.*

That is to say, Dr. Coke, already an ordained elder in the Church of England, then received "fuller powers"—that is, powers of ordination and episcopal authority of which these "letters of episcopal orders" from Mr. Wesley were evidence, with directions to "set apart Francis Asbury for the same episcopal office"—after which *both* were received by the founders of the Church as *their Bishops, "being fully satisfied of* the validity of their episcopal ordination." Immediately following this restatement of the historic facts, directions are given in the Disciplines of 1787, 1788, 1789 for constituting the *Elder* and the *Deacon*—the other two Orders inherent in *any* system of episcopal government and therefore necessarily so in ours, if it is "episcopal"—as follows:

SECTION IV

ON THE CONSTITUTING OF BISHOPS AND THEIR DUTY

Q. 2. How is a Bishop to be constituted *in future?*

Ans. By the election of a majority of the Conference, and the laying on of the hands of a Bishop. [Then follows the duty or "office" of the Bishop.]

SECTION V

ON THE CONSTITUTING OF ELDERS AND THEIR DUTY

Q. 1. How is an Elder constituted?

Ans. By the election of a majority of the Conference, and by the laying on of the hands of a Bishop, and of the Elders that are present. [Then follows the duty or "office" of the Elder.]

SECTION VI

ON THE CONSTITUTING OF DEACONS AND THEIR DUTY

Q. 1. How is a Deacon constituted?

Ans. By the election of a majority of the Conference, and the laying on of the hands of a Bishop. [Then follows the duty or "office" of the Deacon.]

THE ORDINATION SERVICES

These ordinations must have been conducted according to the Forms contained in "the Sunday Service and *other Occasional*

Services" of 1784, as the Ordination Service does not appear in any of the Disciplines until 1792. It then appears for the first time, and is continued without change in those of 1796, 1801, 1804, 1808, and 1812, *with the exception* that the name *Bishop* takes the place of "*Superintendent*" throughout the entire Ordination Service, including the Rubric. The title in the Index to the Disciplines, referring to the *Bishop*, Elders, and Deacons prior to 1792, is as follows: "Of the *Constituting of Bishops, Elders*, and Deacons." The Ordination Service itself, however, plainly says "*Ordination*" of the "*Bishops, Elders, and Deacons*," until 1864, when, after having done faithful service for eighty years, "the *ordination* of Bishops" is transformed into the "*Consecration* of the Bishop"—*a term which Wesley deliberately rejected in his revision of the Service for Ordination.* The elders and deacons, however, are graciously permitted to remain the undisturbed subjects of a Constitutional "*Ordination.*" No explanation of this interruption in the usage of the preceding eighty years occurs until the introduction of the explanatory note at the head of the chapter in the Discipline referring to the Ordination since 1884.

The Historic Statement

William Watters gives the account of all this, in his "Short Account Drawn up by Himself," as follows: "On the twenty-fifth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, our Conference met in Baltimore, to consider *the plan of church government* which the Doctor (Coke) brought over, *recommended by Mr. Wesley.* It *was adopted and unanimously agreed to with great satisfaction*, and we became, instead of *a religious society*, a separate *church*, under the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church." And, in quoting from a letter he had written "To Mr. B——, March 18, 1806," he says of Mr. Asbury and this Conference: "He continued such (General Assistant) until the year 1784, when the Doctor (Coke) came over and not only the name General *Assistant* was changed to that of *Superintendent*, but we formed ourselves into a *separate church.* The change was proposed to us by Mr. Wesley, after we had craved his advice on the subject, but could not take effect until adopted by us, which was done in

a deliberate formal manner at a Conference called for that purpose, in which there was not one dissenting voice. Everyone of any discernment must see, from Mr. Wesley's circular letter on this occasion, as well as from *every part of our mode of church government*, that we *openly and avowedly declared ourselves Episcopalians*, though the Doctor and Mr. Asbury *were called* Superintendents." He then adds: "After a few years, the name was changed from Superintendent to *Bishop*. But *from first to last the business of General Assistant, Superintendent, or Bishop has been the same*." Beyond all doubt, they understood themselves to have constituted this Superintendent to be the Bishop of what they had now constituted an "*Episcopal*" Church; and that in addition they had constituted also the Order of Deacon so as to complete the ordained ministry of an "*Episcopal* Church," and that this organization was disentangled from the state and the British "hierarchy."

Freeborn Garrettson gives the following account in his Experiences and Travels: "Dear Mr. Wesley has granted the desires of thousands of his friends in America in sending *a power of ordination* and giving his consent to our becoming a separate church"; and "The preachers having gathered, our Conference began on Christmas Day and we acceded to the method proposed by Mr. Wesley, and men were set apart and consecrated for the *different orders* of our church."

And *Jesse Lee* gives this further account: "The Conference, begun in Baltimore, was considered to be a General Conference." "At this Conference we formed ourselves into *a regular church* by the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church." And referring to Francis Asbury he says, "He was unanimously *chosen* [superintendent] and was then *ordained* deacon, then elder, and *afterward* superintendent, before the end of the Conference."

Francis Asbury, then assistant to Mr. Wesley, gives the following account of the preliminary meeting at Barratt's Chapel in November, 1784, in his Journal: "I was shocked when first informed of the intention of these my brethren (Coke, Whatcoat, Vasey) in coming to this country; it may be of God. The design of organizing the Methodists into an Independent Episcopal Church was opened to the preachers present, and it was agreed to call a

Conference at Baltimore the ensuing Christmas"—to consider the intention of "these my brethren." "After stopping at Perry Hall for a few days," he says, "we then rode to Baltimore, where we met a few preachers; it was agreed to form ourselves into an *Episcopal Church* and to *have superintendents, elders,* and deacons. When the Conference was seated Dr. Coke and myself were unanimously elected to the *superintendency of the church* and *my ordination followed,* after being previously *ordained deacon* and *elder,* as by the following certificates may be seen." Then follows the well known "Certificate"—needless to insert—from which it appears that Mr. Asbury, having been recommended as "a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ," was "set apart for the office of a superintendent," was elected to three separate orders, and received three distinct ordinations before he reached the last and highest.

Summary

These several accounts written by men who were contemporary with the Church then organized, who participated in its organization, and who remained in it until the Conference of 1808, taken together with the action of the Conferences as given in the Disciplines and Minutes, show (*a*) That "the United Societies" were organized into a *Church;* (*b*) That it was "*Independent*"—or "Separate"; (*c*) That it was "*Episcopal*"; (*d*) That it adopted a "*plan of government*"; (*e*) That it was *Mr. Wesley's Plan,*" and (*f*) That it was called "*The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.*"

The church had become "Independent" and "Separate" according to the suggestions of the sixth paragraph of Mr. Wesley's "little sketch" of November 10, 1784, in which he says "our American brethren, having now become totally *disentangled both from the state and from the English hierarchy,* were not hereafter to become entangled either with the one or with the other."

Being now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive church, the followers of John Wesley preferred an episcopal form of government, and organized "according to Mr. Wesley's Plan," and having adopted an episcopal form of government and "openly and avowedly become Episcopalians," it was

called the *Methodist Episcopal* Church; and as it was organized for the United States it was called "*The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States.*" Now, what kind of Episcopacy and what kind of an Episcopal church was this? For "the fathers" as principals, founders, and organizers had constituted and enjoyed an episcopacy which, for a quarter of a century, proved so satisfactory, that in 1808, when about to change from unlimited to limited General Conference legislative authority they permanently enjoined the *delegated* or limited General Conference in the following terms: "The General Conference shall not change nor alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy nor destroy the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency;" since which time no changes could be made by General Conference action alone. Coke, Whatcoat, and Vasey, who, by the authority of Mr. Wesley had assisted in the organization of this church, had previously been regularly ordained to the order of elder or presbyter in the Church of England—a church which recognized three distinct orders of ordained ministers as inherent in an episcopal form of government. Under their vows they therefore assisted in ordaining a ministry for this episcopal church similar to that in which they themselves were ordained ministers, with like authority to ordain and perpetuate the succession of its bishops, elders, deacons. Whether "orders" or "offices"—by whatever name they were then known in the English Church—they must needs then and thenceforth be known in *this* "episcopal" church. For the founders of the church were either woefully *ignorant* of *what they* were then doing, and of the meaning of the words they then used to state what they did, or they used them intelligently to declare precisely *what* they did. If they did *not* use them in their then commonly accepted meaning; or if they failed to state with explicit distinctness in what different sense they *did* use them, were they not—*misleading?* But not a syllable is given indicating the use of the words "episcopacy" or "episcopal" in any other than the meaning commonly accepted at that time. Notions of exclusive right and apostolic origin Mr. Wesley repudiated in his Bristol letter, and the founders of our church also repudiated them when, in opposition to it, they used

the word "Moderate Episcopacy" in the preliminary declaration of their intention of 1784. Our church has never accepted the doctrine of apostolic succession, and has always repudiated "prelacy" as in any sense of divine authority. It is on *this* ground among others that Rome denies to us recognition as *a church*. No other than the commonly accepted meaning having been given these words by the founders of the church, whatever meaning they then had, was what was meant by their repetition in the revision of 1792 and in the Restrictive Rule of 1808; and *that kind* of "*episcopacy*" and "*episcopal government*" and the "Plan of our itinerant General Superintendency" *then in use*, is what was then legally constituted and is what the General Conference has never yet acquired the right to "do away," "destroy," "alter," or "change"—"Resolutions" to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Revision of 1792

To the Conference of 1792, Jesse Lee calls special attention in these words: "On the first of November, 1792, the first *regular* General Conference began in Baltimore. Our preachers who had been received into full connection came together from all parts of the United States, where we had any circuits formed, with *an expectation that something of great importance would take place* in the connection in consequence of that Conference." What was this "something of great importance"? *Let us see.* He says, "The form of discipline was revised at that General Conference." The title-page of that edition was changed to: "The Doctrine and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, revised and approved by the General Conference held at Baltimore in the state of Maryland, in November 1792: in which Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury presided." In this revision not only was "the episcopal office *again* made elective," but that of the elder and the deacon also. And here again, in 1792, is a re-affirmation of the doctrine of the founders as contained in the Disciplines of 1787, 1788, 1789, 1790, and 1791, with respect to the origin of our episcopacy, with respect to its authority, and with respect to the ultimate succession in our episcopacy, from any source other than that from which it came—the body of the eldership. The bishop

elect is not then *a bishop,* however; nor will he ever be, till—his election having been completed—his vows are taken, the imposition of hands is made and the final voice, invoking "The Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the church of God" completes the concrete form by which he is empowered and directed "by the authority of the church" to perform the duty of a bishop.

The Forms for ordaining these distinct orders of the ministry of our episcopal system are inserted in the Discipline for the first time in 1792 under these heads: "*The form and manner of Making and Ordaining of Bishops, Elders, and Deacons;*" (*a*) "*The form and manner of Making and Ordaining of Deacons*" (then follows the ordination ceremony); (*b*) "*The form and Manner of Ordaining of Elders*" (then follows the ordination ceremony); (*c*) "*The form of Ordaining a Bishop*" (then follows the ordination ceremony).

Thus it seems from a study of the Liturgy, the early authorized documents of the church, the Minutes of 1785 to 1788, the Disciplines of 1789 to 1808 inclusive, and the writings of those who assisted in the organization of the church, many of whom continued in it as ministers for many years afterward, that "the fathers" deliberately resolved to adopt and did adopt a concrete system of church government known as Episcopacy and distinctly to organize an *Episcopal* Church; that they deliberately placed it "under the direction" of three distinctly ordained grades of ministers named in the Constitution; that these were commonly known at the time as constituting three distinct orders in an ordained ministry related to an episcopal church; that the functions they were required to perform were those commonly understood as belonging to an episcopal system composed of three distinct orders of ordained ministers; that they were then commonly known as "*orders*" and not as "offices" in an episcopal church; that the founders did not indicate that either the name of the system, or of its ministry, or of their relation to the system, or of the functions they performed, was used in any different sense than that in which it was commonly understood at that time; that they did therefore appoint, authorize and ordain three distinct orders of ministers

for this church; that these orders in an ascending series, were, successively Deacon, Elder, and Bishop; that to each were assigned different duties, responsibilities and dignities, which advanced in an ascending series from the first to the third and highest; that those ordained to the first or lower grade could perform the duties of that order only; that each higher order *could* perform *all* those of the next lower; that each could perform, *during life,* the duties of the orders to which he had been previously elected and ordained —subject only to challenge on the ground of conduct unbecoming a Christian minister; and that this was the "episcopacy" and "the plan of our itinerant General Superintendency" which after 1808 the General Conference could neither "do away," nor "destroy," nor "alter," nor "change"; *a concrete system,* to destroy any part of which was to imperil if not to destroy the whole.

It seems strange, therefore, that Episcopacy should appear to any to be "merely an office," rather than the last and highest of three distinct "orders" of an ordained Christian ministry—which orders the church had manifestly constituted and established as necessarily *inherent* and *indispensable* in an episcopal system of church government. Having "three distinct orders of ordained ministers of which the third and highest is the bishop," it is not inconsistent to claim that we are an episcopal church or that we really have "Episcopacy." This view is ably set forth by Emory, Whedon, and other leading scholars and divines in our church and is that now entertained by a growing number of equally learned men of our own times.

Robert J. Miller

Art. VI.—THE SOCIAL RESURRECTION OF A GREAT PEOPLE

Moral and social reform in India means new life to one fifth of the population of the globe. Eighteen years ago, in connection with what they call "the National Congress," a national social conference was inaugurated which has moved on, not rapidly, but somewhat cautiously, till now it means an effort at perhaps the mightiest social reform ever witnessed in such a vast mass of humanity. The eighteenth session of this conference was held in Bombay in December last. There is no longer any doubt about the radical and far-reaching consequences of this movement, and some account of this conference, which is always conducted in English, must be interesting to the student of world-wide humanity.

There was more pretense than usual in this last annual assembly. Several prominent Europeans were present on the platform at the opening, among them Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Samuel Smith, M. P., and Dr. Mackichan, a missionary, and vice-chancellor of the University of Bombay. A native ladies' conference was held separately, but related to this notable assembly, in which talented native ladies, and of high social position, took part. From this men were excluded. Distinguished native gentlemen and rulers took part in the open assembly. The Hon. Justice Chandavakar is secretary. His highness the Gaekwar of Baroda read the inaugural address, and the Hon. Mr. Gokuldas Parekh was elected permanent chairman. These all made addresses in English, which for beauty of diction, depth and justness of thought, and keen insight into the national situation could not be surpassed in any assembly in the world. Some of the speakers in the conference were native ladies, who spoke with grace and power. The writer is simply amazed at the manifestation of awakening moral life and better social purpose which has come about in his time in India. The English language has become the *lingua franca*, the nation's sad social condition has been correctly diagnosed by natives, and a resolute purpose of radical reform has been begotten.

The principal measures of the programme, which has grown up from year to year, now include (1) female education, (2) abolition of infant marriage, (3) widow remarriage, (4) abolition of polygamy, (5) removal of caste divisions, (6) intermarriage between subcastes, (7) interdining, (8) freedom of travel and sea voyages, (9) raising the position of the low castes, (10) temperance, (11) the regulation of public charities. These may be nearly all grouped under two main heads: (*a*) abuses arising from the caste system, and (*b*) abuses arising from the status of woman. Under the first come numbers 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; under the second, numbers 1, 2, 3, 4. There is no doubt that arising from the spread of enlightenment, intellectual and moral, there is a deep-felt want of this reform among the leading minds of India, chiefly among Hindus, with whom in some degree Mussulmans are associated in this movement. The chief methods of relief proposed are, (*a*) legislation, (*b*) persuasion, (*c*) education. The aid of the British government in checking social evils is recognized, and the help of native rulers is invoked. By the press and lectures the work of persuasion is to be carried on, and education is to be applied in schools and through subordinate social organizations as well.

We may glance at some of the statements made and resolutions passed at this session, and thus catch the general spirit and purpose and energy of this awakening. The Christian missionaries themselves could be no more indignant at the tyranny of caste, or unsparing in their denunciation of its evils, than the speakers of this assembly. The Gaekwar of Baroda said:

> The evil of caste covers the whole range of social life. It hampers the life of the individual with a vast number of petty rules and observances which have no meaning. It cripples him in his relations with his family, in his marriage, in the education of his children, and especially in his life. It weakens the economic position by attempting to confine him to particular trades, by preventing him from learning the culture of the West, and by giving him an exaggerated view of his knowledge and importance. It cripples his professional life by increasing distrust, treachery, and jealousy, hampering a free use of others, and ruins his social life by increasing exclusiveness, restricting the opportunities of social intercourse, and preventing that intellectual development on which the prosperity of any class most depends. In the wider spheres of life, in municipal or local affairs, it destroys all hope of local patriotism, of work for the common good, by thrusting forward the interests of the caste as opposed to those of the community and by making combined efforts for the common good exceedingly

difficult. But its most serious offense is its effect on national life and national unity. It intensifies local dissensions and diverse interests, and obscures great national ideals and interests which should be those of every caste and people, and renders the country disunited and incapable of improving its defects or of availing itself of the advantages which it should gain from contact with the civilization of the West. It robs us of our humanity by insisting on the degradation of some of our fellow men who are separated from us by no more than the accident of birth. It prevents the noble and charitable impulses which have done so much for the improvement and mutual benefit of European society. It prevents our making the most of all the various abilities of our diverse communities; it diminishes all our emotional activities and intellectual resources. Again, it is the most conservative element in our society and the steady enemy to all reform. Every reformer who has endeavored to secure the advance of our society has been driven out of it by the operation of caste. By its rigidity it preserves ignorant superstitions and clings to the past, while it does nothing to make more easy and more possible those inevitable changes which nature is ever pressing on us.

This speaker denounced caste as standing sullenly in the way of reformers. He referred to the arrogance of the system—formerly, in some places, low-caste people were forced to sit down when superiors were passing lest their shadow might fall on the superior. This reform proposes to remove the disability which caste puts in the way of foreign travel. Earlier visitors to Europe were excommunicated from this caste on return, as were also caste fellows who may have incautiously eaten with them. The reform denounces the penance and penalties demanded for restitution to caste. In getting rid of this unhappy division of society, entailing such disabilities, the effort is being made to gradually remove caste by first eliminating its subdivisions and thus blending the community. Interdining and intermarrying among these subcastes is recommended. Strenuous efforts are advocated to improve the status of woman by pushing female education and pressing for legislation against infant marriage, encouraging the remarriage of widows, and seeking the removal of the *purdah*, or system of the seclusion of woman from society and even in a measure from members of her own family. The inaugural address states that "a too strict purdah mutilates social life, and makes its currents dull and sluggish by excluding the brightening influence of woman." On the education of woman the speaker forcibly said:

By the denial of education to women we deprive ourselves of half the potential force of the nation, deny our children the advantage of having cultured mothers, and by stunting the faculties of the mother affect injuriously the heredity of the race. We create, moreover, a gulf of mental division in the home and put a powerful drag on progress by making woman a great conservative force that clings to everything old, however outworn or irrational.

One of the native ladies, Mrs. Ramabhai Mahipatram, moved a resolution against child marriage, and in her address supporting the resolution she said that social reformers would be guilty of gross negligence if they ceased to insist on the prevention of this pernicious custom until there was not a single child wife or child-mother left in this country. She submitted that the achievement sought by social reformers was not merely a philanthropic movement carried on from humanitarian motives for the protection of women and children; it was the cause of the Indian nation. She urged the government of India not to adhere to its policy of neutrality in regard to infant marriages. It had abolished the hideous customs of "suttee" and human sacrifice and legalized widow marriage. She could not see why their benevolent British government should not follow the examples of Mysore and Baroda states, and legislate on the subject of infant marriage in the interest of its subjects. There is great hope for India in this reform movement, although the country is far enough away yet from having reached a moral and social millennium. There is still a fight with hostility in some and apathy and indifference in many. As said in the assembly, with some there is plenty of beautiful talk, but action is wanting. Still it is encouraging to see that there is a realization of present evils. The Hon. Gokuldas Parekh, who was chosen president of this reform association, said:

I think it is generally admitted that our social edifice, as it exists, is not in good order. We are riddled with customs that prevent our physical development, that are causes of many ailments and bodily infirmities, that weaken our energies, lower our vitality, and shorten our lives; by customs that prevent our intellectual development by placing obstacles in the way of our acquiring learning and knowledge of arts and sciences and their application, and by customs that bring on moral degeneration by making us indifferent to the claims of justice, equality, and charity, by narrowing the range of our sympathies and making us apathetic to the wretchedness and misery in which we find a large number of our countrymen and countrywomen steeped. The problem of the social reformer is to see how to get rid of these customs.

Is there not here something in harmony with—if not inspired by—the gospel and the best Christian thought?

There is one fact in connection with this social conference which is meantime not very encouraging to the Christian missionary. In the main the speakers, while admitting in one instance the commendable zeal and activity of the missionaries as a model for them, jealously guarded against any recognition of the influence of Christianity and the work of the missionaries in this awakening. They acknowledge the influence of Rajah Ram Mohan Roy in originating the movement more than half a century ago, but seem to overlook the fact that the Rajah's course was molded by his contact with the missionaries, and that in his visit to England, where he died, he was regarded as a Christian. The real source of this awakening and purpose of reform is in the enlightenment, moral and intellectual, that has come from the coöperation of secular education and direct mission work. All these leaders show the moral effect of their contact with Christianity. The Gaekwar in his address pathetically admitted that "some causes of our social condition are other than social—some are economic; some, again, trouble us because we are uncertain what we want and cling helplessly to the old and familiar." Alas! these leaders, so far, are seeking to leave religion out of the movement, not realizing their deepest need. They are too advanced to sanction the old religion as it stands, and they do not see how to rehabilitate it. By all their wisdom they know not God, but meantime "the foolishness of preaching" goes on in their midst and tens of thousands are becoming Christian, some of them the best educated and brightest minds of the country. India as a corporate people is not to pass away as did ancient Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome. Her deep soul-longings and better aspirations will find their full satisfaction some day in the Man of Calvary. The saving leaven of a new and vigorous life is now being cast in. One of these social leaders, Keshub Chandar Sen, said: "Not British cannon and bayonets rule India, but Jesus Christ."

Art. VII.—WESLEY'S FIRST MISSIONARY, AND HIS VISIT TO NEW ENGLAND

The Methodist movement among the masses began in Bristol and in Kingswood, its suburb, in 1739. Bristol, London, and Newcastle-on-Tyne soon became its head centers, from out of which it spread over Great Britain and Ireland. John Wesley spent much time in Ireland, altogether about six years, making in all twenty-one visits. He had great success there among the German Palatines in Limerick County. In 1760 many of these emigrated to America and settled in New York. Several were Irish Methodists, and one, Philip Embury, was a local preacher. They seem to have largely lost their interest in both religion and Methodism until aroused by a woman of their number, Barbara Heck, who summoned them back to their duties and commanded Philip Embury to preach to them, which he at once did, in 1768. All this happened in New York city. At about the same time Robert Strawbridge, another Irish Methodist local preacher, began services in Maryland, but it is generally conceded that the first Methodist meeting was held in New York by Philip Embury. Captain Thomas Webb, barrack master at Albany, New York, heard of and attended the meetings. He became a local preacher, and was one of the founders of Methodism in America. In 1768 the American Methodists appealed to Mr. Wesley for preachers. At the Conference held in Bristol that year the cry for help was given, but no one responded. Two men present pondered it in their hearts until the next Conference, held in Leeds in 1769, when they offered themselves as missionaries for America. Meanwhile an itinerant named Robert Williams had gone there on his own responsibility, but with the consent of Wesley. He promised to work under the missionaries whom Wesley should send. The men who volunteered were Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor. Pilmoor labored faithfully for about five years and went back to England. Subsequently he returned to America and took orders in the Protestant Episcopal Church, but he retained an interest in his Methodist brethren and their work to his life's end.

Richard Boardman lived, wrought, and died, a faithful Methodist. As he was the first Methodist missionary who entered New England we will get acquainted with him.

Boardman, says well sustained tradition, was born in Yorkshire, at Gillimore. He entered the ministry in 1763. He traveled in the Grimsby Circuit in England, in Limerick and Cork in Ireland, and later in the Dales Circuit in Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, England, where were, in 1790, forty-three preaching places. This was a hard circuit to travel. In January, 1769, his wife and daughter died. The parish register reads: "Burials year 1769: January 22. Mary, daughter of Richard and Olive Boardman, B. C. [that is, Barnard Castle]. 27. Olive, wife of Richard Boardman, B. C." And in the Lady Day balance sheet of the Quarterly Meeting of the same year, we find an entry of money paid to Mr. Boardman "for burin [*sic*] his wife, 2. 2. 0." Their graves, with those of other Methodist worthies, may now be seen at Barnard Castle. How much the death of his wife and child had to do with his decision to go to America we cannot say. Presumably it had a good deal to do with his offering himself at the Conference of that same year. Unfortunately for us, and unlike his companion, Pilmoor, Boardman did not wield a ready pen. He records a wonderful deliverance on his way to Parkgate, but does not tell of his sermon on the prayer of Jabez being the means of the conversion of Miss Mary Redfern, who afterward became the mother of Dr. Jabez Bunting. He received his name, Jabez, in remembrance of Boardman's text that memorable night. Mary was the means of the conversion of her brother, two of whose sons became clergymen of the Church of England and one of whose descendants was the late Dr. William Burt Pope, the scholarly Wesleyan theologian and saint. Boardman was thirty-one years of age when he came to America. "He was a good-natured, sensible man, deeply devoted, who was not afraid of hard work; but not remarkable, as was Asbury, for force of character and great administrative ability. Pilmoor was still younger, having been but four years in the itinerancy, whilst Boardman had been six years in the work. They sailed from Gravesend, near London, in August, 1769, and after a perilous voyage of nine weeks arrived at Glouces-

ter Point, south of Philadelphia, October 24. Boardman is given the first place in the Minutes of 1769 and 1771, showing that he was Wesley's 'assistant,' or superintendent, in America. In 1770 Pilmoor's name stands first, probably by mistake. They both labored much, especially in and around New York and Philadelphia, until the Revolutionary War broke out, when, as loyal Englishmen, they returned. On January 2, 1774, they left America, after commending the Americans to God."

We are now especially interested in Boardman because he was the first Wesleyan Methodist preacher who came to New England. He came into New England and labored in Boston in 1772. Concerning this visit, as usual with him, he does not seem to have written one word. We would never have known of it but for the discovery of the long-lost records of Old John Street Church, New York, the first Methodist church in America, and for a brief statement in Jesse Lee's Short History of the Methodists. On page 39 Jesse Lee says, under date of 1772: "In April there was laid a plan for Mr. Joseph Pilmoor to travel to the South and Mr. Boardman to visit the North. . . . Mr. Boardman went as far to the North as Boston, and then returned to New York." The entry in Old John Street Church accounts reads: "1772, May 14. To cash paid Mr. Richard Boardman's passage to Rhode Island £1. 9. 0. 1772, May 22. Cash paid for Mr. Richard Boardman's trunk 10'. 3d. and for Mr. Wright's 8'." (Lost Chapters, etc., p. 203.) Wakeley says that Boardman went to Providence and Boston. Boardman's work in New England still remains a lost chapter in Methodism. Light may yet break from some now hidden records of Boston, Newport, or Providence, but meanwhile we must be content with the fact of his visit, which occurred one year before the first Methodist Conference was held in America and eleven years before Jesse Lee entered the itinerancy. Boardman's walking stick is among the curios in the Methodist Historical Society in Philadelphia. It was given to Dr. Jabez Bunting. T. Percival Bunting gave it to Bishop Peck, who presented it to that society November 10, 1881. Dr. Bangs, in his Life of Garrettson, whose papers and Journal he had, speaking of Garrettson's visit to New England in 1787, says: "About seventeen [fifteen] years

before the visit of Mr. Garrettson Mr. Boardman, one of the European Methodist preachers, had preached in Boston and formed a small society. Not being succeeded by any minister of the same order, the society gradually diminished, so that there were only three members left." This is the fullest statement we can find of Boardman's work in New England. Before leaving America Boardman was reduced from being an "assistant," or superintendent, to a "helper."

The spirit of his work in America may be seen in one of his few letters extant. It was written to Wesley from New York in April, 1771. In it he says:

> It pleases God to carry on his work among us. Within this month we have had a great awakening here. Many begin to believe the report, and to some the arm of the Lord is revealed. This last month we have had nearly thirty added to the society, five of whom have received a clear sense of the pardoning love of God. We have, in this city, some of the best preachers (both in the English and Dutch churches) that are in America; yet God works by whom he will work. I have lately been much comforted by the death of some poor negroes, who have gone off the stage of time rejoicing in the God of their salvation. I asked one on the point of death, "Are you afraid to die?" "O no," said she; "I have my blessed Saviour in my heart; I should be glad to die. I want to be gone, that I may be with him forever."

Mr. Boardman lived only about nine years after leaving America. He labored faithfully in the Methodist itinerancy until the last. His first appointment after his return was to the Londonderry Circuit, 1774–75. The years 1776–77 were spent in Cork. In 1777, we learn from a letter of John Wesley to Mr. Alexander Clark, Boardman was in Dublin, 1778–79 in Limerick, among the Palatines who had remained in Ireland. In 1780 he is in London. In 1781 he is back among the Palatines in Limerick. His last appointment was to Cork, in 1782. Here on October 4, 1782, he "his body with his charge laid down, and ceased at once to work and live." He was stricken with a fit of apoplexy on Sunday, September 29, 1782, as he was going out to dinner. The Sunday before his death he preached from "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." He was buried in the churchyard attached to the cathedral of Saint Patrick Fin Barr, and his grave is an object of interest to Methodists from America when visiting Cork. An English Methodist thus describes a recent visit to this spot:

From the French Church we went over to old Henry Street, and then across again to Saint Patrick's Cathedral. Here Mr. Perrott wished to show me what is historically one of the most interesting Methodist sights in Cork. Behind the cathedral stands the flat-topped tomb of Richard Boardman, who volunteered to go to America with Joseph Pilmoor in 1769, the first Methodist missionaries to the United States.

In 1782 Richard Boardman was appointed to Cork, and was only here for eleven days when he was taken ill, and died after a few days' illness. He was interred in the burial place of Mr. George Horne, one of the most remarkable of the early Methodists in Cork. Mr. Wesley composed the following epitaph for his tombstone, but for some unknown reason it was laid aside for another, said to have been composed by a Cork hairdresser:

"With zeal for God, with love of souls inspired;
Nor awed by dangers, nor by labor tired,
Boardman in distant lands proclaims the Word
To multitudes, and turns them to the Lord.
But soon the bloody waste of war he mourns,
And loyal from rebellious seat returns.
Not yet at home—on angels' wings he flies,
And in a moment reaches Paradise!"

The following inscription appears on the tombstone, which is a little to the east of the present Saint Patrick Fin Barr's Cathedral:

"Richard Boardman. Departed this life October 4, 1782. Ætatis 44.
Beneath this stone the dust of Boardman lies;
His precious soul has soared above the skies.
With eloquence divine he preached the Word
To multitudes, and turned them to the Lord.
His bright example strengthened what he taught,
And devils trembled while for Christ he fought.
With truly Christian zeal he nations fired,
And all who knew him mourned when he expired."

It would appear that the stone would have been removed when the new cathedral was built, in 1870, but it is just outside the eastern boundary.

The Minutes of Conference for 1783 give John Wesley's estimate of his first preacher to enter New England:

Richard Boardman, a pious, good-natured, sensible man, greatly beloved of all that knew him. He was one of the two first that freely offered themselves to the services of our brethren in America. He died of an apoplectic fit, and preached the night before his death. It seems he might have been eminently useful; but good is the will of the Lord.

We have very recently found a facsimile letter of John Wesley, dated Bradford, September 9, 1777. In it he describes the character of Mr. Boardman. The following is the letter. The "my Lady" in this letter refers to Lady Huntingdon and her preachers —the "Calvinistic Methodists":

Bradford
Sept. 9. 1777

My Dear Brethren

It is certain, our Preachers have a right to preach our Doctrine, as my Lady's have to preach theirs. None can blame y^m for this. But I blame all, even y^e speak the truth, otherwise than in Love. Meekness of Spirit, & Gentleness of Language, are never to be commended. It is only impertinence that we are to withstand those that oppose themselves. But we are not allowed upon any accounts whatsoever to return railing for railing. I have directed Mr Baardman, to be in Dublin, as soon as possible. I believe, you know his Spirit & way of leaving, please allow him. Meantime may our patience possess y^e your souls. I am.

My Dear Brethren
Your affectionate Brother
John Wesley

To
Mr Alex. Clark
In Chancery Lane
Dublin

W. H. Meredith.

Art. VIII.—HUGH PRICE HUGHES: EVANGELIST

A new species of evangelism is happily here and there in vogue in our time: well equipped in scholarship, broad and generous in its spirit and fraternal alliances, void of cant, modern in method, abreast of the age in its discernment of the needs and perils not only of individual sinners but of society and of great municipal communities, wise in its discernment of the difference between the letter and the spirit, the superficial and the fundamental, in its treatment of the Scriptures, but loyal in utmost degree to our divine Lord; dealing out no undiscriminating denunciations, apt and skillful in securing the gifts of the rich, and yet faithful in rebuking covetousness and mammonism in high places and low; alive to the sorrows, the degradation, the vices, and the perils of the lapsed masses, overflowing with the compassion which filled the heart of the Master when he looked out on the multitude and yearned over them as sheep that had no shepherd; heroic in its spirit of sacrifice and self-abnegation and in its sympathetic touch with the missionary organizations which form such a vital and characteristic part of the higher life of our time, and eager to win conquests worthy of the King; ingenious in its efforts to devise and utilize fresh agencies for catching the attention, arousing the conscience, and winning the hearts of the unconverted; and, indeed, bent on one all-absorbing aim—to win lost men and women to the service of Jesus Christ!

Of such evangelism Saint Paul still remains the ancient and all-enduring type; John Wesley furnishes without a doubt the best representation of it that the ages have developed since the days of the great apostle; while in some fair measure the late Rev. Dr. J. O. Peck and Mr. Dwight L. Moody, Rev. Dr. J. Wilbur Chapman, Rev. W. J. Dawson—the work of the last named having really bourgeoned out in this country, although he belongs, as our readers will recall, in London—and Mr. John R. Mott may be taken as recent embodiments of the more salient elements of it on this side of the Atlantic. But in our day, after all, only one man has appeared on either side of the sea who may be fairly con-

sidered as summing up in his own spirit, personality, and ministry nearly all the notable aspects of the evangelistic movement which we have just outlined and analyzed, and that man is Hugh Price Hughes, the great Wesleyan leader, who, in November, 1902, like Alfred Cookman—to cite the tribute of Punshon, spoken more than thirty years ago, "was stricken into immortality in his prime" —leaving an example, an influence, and a forward impetus to the churches of Great Britain which cannot easily be overstressed. This notable man is brought before the world afresh in his Life,[1] written by his daughter, a young woman of twenty-two years—an elaborate biography which allures us to a new study of the man and his work in view of the illumination, gathered from many quarters, which it focuses upon his manifold personality and his far-reaching enterprises and toils.

Two brief tributes may be cited in support—were any needed —of the judgment just expressed. We recently heard Rev. Dr. Herbert Welch, president-elect of Ohio Wesleyan University, declare in a most impressive address, in which he summed up the results of months of personal study given to city evangelization work in Great Britain, particularly that form of it which Mr. Hughes had projected and carried on for fifteen years in the latter part of his life: "Hugh Price Hughes I consider one of the three great Methodists in the history of the movement of which John Wesley was the peerless leader." Dr. Welch did not indicate the third one in his trio—Charles Wesley, or Thomas Coke, or Francis Asbury? He had no question, however, of the right of Mr. Hughes to a place in this inner circle, in view of the scope and the depth of the many-sided work done by him in England. One other citation of like character must suffice. We take it from a declaration made by Rev. Dr. Henry J. Pope, one of the Wesleyan leaders of to-day, who was intimately associated with Mr. Hughes for a score of years:

> His life and work have marked an epoch in the progress of Methodism. His influence will be a tradition that cannot die. Others will feel its power and its spell for many years to come. The chapter in our history he has opened will not be closed by his removal, and in the years to come he will be seen to be

[1] *The Life of Hugh Price Hughes.* By His Daughter, Dorothea Price Hughes. With Photogravure Portrait. 8vo, pp. 679. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, $3 net.

greater even than most of his contemporaries have felt him to be. Much as we should have liked to keep him, we cannot fail to see that the vigor, intensity, and enthusiasm that have prematurely worn him out have helped him to accomplish in the years spent on earth vastly more than most men can hope to do with the longest life.[1]

"But," some may query, "is the term 'Evangelist' the final word which describes him? Does it fittingly define his manifold ministry? Was he not something more and greater and more influential than any evangelist can be?"

The question deserves brief consideration. It may be conceded in response to any possible contention in the case that Hugh Price Hughes was a debater of singular ardor and skill; a reformer whose energetic hand helped forward most of the recent movements which differentiate the Wesleyanism of to-day from that of yesterday; a politician, in the right sense of the term, who was in league with British statesmen like Gladstone and Rosebery in the endeavor to extend the right of suffrage and to further other great democratic reforms; an eager advocate of the parliamentary franchise and other privileges for women; a leader in the temperance movement; an official of the Peace Society, and yet a sturdy advocate of British imperialism and a devout believer in the righteousness of the South African War; recognized by his brethren as *facile princeps* in the organization and work of the National Council of Evangelical Free Churches, the first presidency of which organization he occupied with honor in 1896; a pastor of ability and devotion; and an editor whose pen was acknowledged as a distinctive force in English denominational journalism. All this may be candidly allowed, and still the judgment will, we opine, hold good that in all these varied vocations, from the opening to the close of his sturdy and shining ministry, he was an evangelist. His aim was evangelism—pastoral evangelism, city evangelism, national evangelism, world-wide evangelism. The noble visions and glorious purposes involved in the term aroused his entire being and absorbed all his powers; and to this cause, accordingly, he gave without stint and without swerving the full measure of life-long devotion.

It should be found worth while for us on this side of the water,

[1] Life, p. 541.

therefore, to study such a life, and to take heed concerning such a type of the Pauline evangelism, reproduced and modernized—an evangelism which allies itself with scholarship and is in league with the college and the theological school; which is sane and reverent in its manner and in its religious utterances; which binds together knowledge with fervor, thus blending into a sacred harmony apostolic zeal with the aims and attainments of the university; which consecrates the noblest intellectual and spiritual gifts to the service of the least and the lowliest of the poor; and which imitates the Master, who not only wept over the sins and the sorrows of the city, but was willing to give his life to redeem it! Of such an evangelism Hugh Price Hughes was a great modern exponent.

It goes without saying that it was an ambitious, an audacious, and a risky venture for a young woman of twenty-two to attempt to write the life of such a man—her father. As might be anticipated, she has not steered clear of the pitfalls spread for unwary feet venturing into the realms of biographical authorship; there are defects in the book which if eliminated would greatly strengthen her work. But as a whole the task has been achieved with an ability, a tact, and a fidelity which are literally phenomenal. Some of the mannerisms of the book, however, should have been rejected on capable editorial advice, such as the use of the term Fidus Achates, hundreds of times, to indicate the typical follower of Mr. Hughes in his gladiatorial and other conflicts; the undue prolixity of the story occasioned by needlessly diffuse expositions, comments, and philosophizings and continuous efforts to set forth the inner workings of the mind and will of Mr. Hughes in all manner of critical situations. The daughter is not daunted by any difficulty, lights up foggy situations with womanly insight, and fluently writes of the purposes, thoughts, fancies, motives, and internal questionings of her father, as though she had seen his intellectual economy illuminated from time to time by something like an electric bulb. And yet, after all due criticism has been fairly made, it is a singularly apt, interesting, and able book that Miss Hughes has written. She goes through all the political, ecclesiastical, reformatory, combative, and complicated situations and

turmoils of her father's life; writes of them like an expert; solves the mysteries still clinging to them as though she had been "on the inside"; and altogether contrives to give the reader a remarkably clear, full, and ample revelation of the environment, the aims, the secret struggles, the hidden hopes, and, we might almost say, the esoteric excogitations involved in the career which she unfolds, from start to finish. She seems almost to have adopted the gospel maxim as her motto, "There is nothing hid which shall not be made known." But throughout, although she has to deal with many a period of storm and stress, she is seemingly fair and even generous to those of the "other side."

A glance at the parentage, the childhood environment, and the educational equipment of this man will suggest what he owed to these shaping factors in his career. He was born in Wales, of a stock running back hundreds of years and in some of its ancient branches allying itself with royalty. And he showed in many ways that he was a Welshman! That race is opinionated, fond of music, combative, conscious of its superiority to the English, fervid beyond measure, stubborn in its convictions, heroic in its leadership! And as to preachers—who can enumerate the noble types which Wales has produced? Young Hughes's grandfather was a Wesleyan preacher, a man of singular evangelistic gifts and of great courage; he married a Miss Price, a woman of aristocratic lineage and proclivities, and of strong character. Young Hughes's father was a physician of Carmarthen, Wales, perhaps the noblest-looking, most commanding and honored personage in the community; the mother was a devout, brilliant, and vital woman, a Jewess, whose grandfather had been converted to Christianity. Her intellect was wonderful for its clear, penetrating powers of insight, and for its quickness of action. With such a parentage, and with such ancestral strains mingling in his veins, it is no wonder that the lad showed early in his boyhood signs of unusual powers.

He was converted at the age of thirteen, while attending a boarding school at Swansea. One Sabbath day a company of devout fishermen attended service at the school, and one by one they were summoned to prayer. Their prayers were such as the

boy had never heard—something like the supplications which stirred Francis Asbury's boy-heart and led him to surrender to Christ. Young as this Welsh boy was, he passed through much travail of soul and deep conviction, and finally reached a point of conscious and earnest surrender to the Lord. It was only a year or two later when he was called on to begin in a sort of way his lifework of preaching the gospel. And so manifest were the signs of mental and spiritual promise in him that even thus early the prophecy began to be whispered around, "That boy is destined to do a great and a good work in the world. If he lives he will surely reach the topmost place in Wesleyanism, the presidency of the Conference." When the divine call was clearly apprehended by him he wrote to his father this laconic but significant note:

MY DEAR FATHER: I believe it is the will of God that I should be a Methodist preacher. Your affectionate son, HUGH.

The mother, when the note came, broke into a fit of irresistible weeping—tears of ineffable rapture, for her prayers were answered—her boy was to preach the gospel! The father wrote back this brief but suggestive line:

MY DEAR SON: I would rather you were a Wesleyan preacher than Lord Chancellor of England.

The inspiration of such a spirit of devotion, of consecration, and of holy zeal on the part of the parents remained upon this promising son not only in the years of his ministerial apprenticeship, but they formed a part of the elemental forces which shaped and crowned his life.

Young Hughes was born in 1847; the years from 1865 to 1869 were spent at Richmond College, near London. On his entrance examination he stood second in a class of one hundred and forty-six. He maintained a foremost rank at college as he had done in the preparatory school, and in 1869 he finished his course and also took his degree of B.A. in the University of London. At Richmond his reverential admiration for Dr. Moulton, the great scholar of that time in Wesleyanism, and the affection which sprang up between himself and the daughter of the head of

the school, Miss Mary Katherine Barrett, whom he happily married some years later, were matters that had a vital relation to his after career. His first appointment was the old city of Dover, where Methodism had been dormant for years. Under the new pastor's first sermon a shock like that of lightning from heaven swept through the congregation: eighteen souls presented themselves for prayer in answer to the appeal of the lithe, keen, eager, and heroic young Wesleyan preacher, who had not lost any of his fervor at school, and who, as we have already hinted, believed that unction, awakening power, and prophetic zeal should accompany, rather than be severed from, scholarly training. During his ministry here he showed himself the foe of that form of conservatism which is set in the world, as it fancies, for the defense of things as they used to be; the reforms in the temperance cause and the Young Men's Christian Association, and in various fields which he projected, were typical of others which he led on in later years. At Brighton the environment did not encourage a revival spirit; and at Tottenham, a London suburb, Hughes's style of preaching for the time was influenced and tinctured by the studies in economics and history and philosophy which he was carrying on in view of his prospective degree of M.A. Still he carried on "missions" in destitute neighborhoods, and sent out at one time thirty helpers to call everywhere and invite people to attend the revival services. He was also coming to be known throughout England as a preacher with remarkable gifts for evangelistic work, and was called upon frequently to help his brethren in their special services. In this work he did not aim at stirring the emotions; he had no patience with unintelligent disorder in a religious service; his appeals were made to the reason, the conscience, the heart, while he usually kept himself in full self-poise. And under his clear, simple, pointed preaching great numbers were converted.

The pastoral term which he filled at Oxford, as superintendent of the circuit, was a landmark in his career. He had come to see and feel that Wesleyanism was restricted by its rigid three-year itinerant rule; that it was not adapting itself to the changed conditions and the social needs of the time; and that it was losing some of its most valuable material in the laity and the ministry on these

grounds. In 1871, ten years before his work in the university town began, Parliament had opened the way for Nonconformists as well as Anglicans, without distinction of race or creed, to enjoy the educational privileges of the great universities. Accordingly, hosts of young Methodists were in Oxford, and to their needs Mr. Hughes turned his immediate attention, forming a Wesleyan Guild, and seeking in all ways possible "to greet and grip" the students who belonged to his fold. He organized revival services to advantage in a community where for years it had been thought that "Methodism was dead," and, moreover, developed remarkable gifts for making financial appeals. Rev. William Arthur, known all over the world by his Tongue of Fire, visited Oxford during Mr. Hughes's stay there and reported in the Methodist Recorder what had been done, and the church at large began to realize that this enthusiastic, Celtic, enterprising, restless man was making things go. He was invited to London to preach the annual sermon before the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and there he appealed so vigorously and persuasively for the immediate payment of the debt of forty thousand dollars that amid great rejoicing the work was done instanter. Meanwhile he was at work again as a "missioner," or evangelist, as we say in this country, in various cities and large towns in Great Britain.

Soon after removing to one of the suburban circuits of London, in 1884, Mr. Hughes, after long pondering, started the Methodist Times as "a journal written by young Methodists for young Methodists." The importance of the work thus undertaken, and carried on by him through a stormy period of seventeen years, cannot well be exaggerated. That paper became the organ of the "Forward Movement" in British Wesleyanism—which meant the introduction of laymen into more vital relations to the governing body than they had ever enjoyed, the extension of the pastoral term, the elimination of effete ecclesiastical methods, the enrichment of the service wherever choral additions and a stately ritual seemed to be needed, the organization of popular movements for reaching the masses in the great cities, the introduction of modern methods for conducting revival services, the recognition of the intimate union which ought to bind together

good literature, high culture, social refinement, and the deepest religious devotion—in brief, the adaptation of Wesleyan Methodism, with its old-time fervor and heroic models, but with renewed intelligence and with modernized ways of procedure, to the current social, moral, and religious needs of England. There were many others, in the laity and among the ministers, who saw the needs of the hour, but Hugh Price Hughes was easily their leader. He was the prophet who discerned what Wesleyanism needed, and through many a day of opposition, misunderstanding, prejudice, and ecclesiastical bickering he pressed the battle until victory was gained. The Methodist Times was not only a distinctively religious, moral, social, and intellectual force in Great Britain under Mr. Hughes's editorship; it was also a political organ, dealing boldly and lucidly with most of the problems of cabinet-craft, legislation, franchise, finance, and international relationships, which from time to time agitated the British nation. That phase of the English religious journal, because of the peculiar relations between church and state existing in England, differentiates the denominational organs of that country from similar papers here.

As a writer of the weekly leading editorial, and as the author of the weekly notes on current events, Mr. Hughes had a style of his own. He wrote with "a hot heart" and a rapid pen; he saw the immediate incident or event or prospective problem with his magnifying glasses on; each event was a crisis, each question that presented was a vital one, and hence the paper was often lacking in its perspective. But it was a tremendous power for good, its evangelistic tone, contents, and life, and its literary qualities making it a journal of vast and profound religious ministrations. Without the help which this paper afforded Mr. Hughes could hardly have become in 1887 the founder of the West London Mission. He had for years been listening with an almost broken heart to the "bitter cry of outcast London"; he long had felt that Methodism was doing nothing worth while for the lapsed masses in the slums, and for other great bodies of neglected folk; he had felt that there was a vast field for woman's work, for a new "sisterhood" of mercy in London, wholly unoccupied. There were unique difficulties in the way, pertaining to the situation in the vast seeth-

ing metropolis; and there were serious questionings on the part of the Conservatives whether this Radical of the Radicals was fit for the post of leader in such a movement. But he undertook it, yoked to his fellowship Mark Guy Pearse, Mr. Nix, and other helpers, formed a sisterhood, in which Mrs. Hughes became a foremost leader, organized an orchestra, a band, and a chorus choir, advertised the work, established vast schemes of visitation, with Saint James's Hall, in Piccadilly, as the center, and wrought out not only for London, but for the world's great cities for all time, certain exigent problems in evangelistic strategy and method. Out of that movement has come the recent purchase of a magnificent property near Westminster Abbey, on which is to be erected the most elaborate, complete, and denominational headquarters and extensive city mission plant in the whole world. And to Hugh Price Hughes, more than to any other individual, is due that consummation. Indeed, our age has had nothing finer in recent years on the globe to show in the shape of Christlike service than the sight of this Wesleyan scholar, writer, editor, student, university graduate, preaching year after year his simple, spontaneous, heart-searching evangelistic sermons in Saint James's Hall in the heart of southwest London. The tribute paid to him by his fellow workers, "Nothing was as near to his heart as this, bringing individual men to Christ," might well have been inscribed on his tombstone along with the epitaph which he himself chose, "Thou, O Christ, art all I want."

This man was of manifold activity. He helped to found that great organization, The National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches; he aided to formulate that monumental little work, "A Catechism," for that organization; he gave a year of strenuous toil as president of the Wesleyan Conference, his election meaning that a new and quickening and modernizing force was revolutionizing the very heart of British Methodism; he urged and pleaded with all his soul for Methodist unification in Great Britain; but when his whole career is viewed in all its phases we believe that he will be remembered and honored more for one single aspect of his service than for any other: he lived to impress on Wesleyan Methodism, and through it on the Methodist world at large, the prin-

ciple that it is possible to deepen the spirituality of the church, to intensify its aggressive power, to link it with new bonds to the outcast and the poor, to enrich and broaden its ministrations to men and women of station, thoughtfulness, and culture, to hold fast to the rising generation, to strengthen and uphold its institutions of learning, elevate the educational standards of the ministry, to hold on to the essential truths of Christian doctrine and life while facing confidently and hopefully the new truth which each age may discover for itself, and at the same time adapt the methods, messages, and ministrations of the gospel to all the varied needs of mankind in city or country, of all races and climes, over the whole world. For the spirit, the life, the sanctified enterprise, the holy ingenuity and audacity, and the great-hearted leadership of Hugh Price Hughes, Evangelist, let us be grateful forever!

Jesse Bowman Young

Art. IX.—THE POPULARITY OF BURNS'S POETRY

Robert Burns represents a reaction from the weighty artificial poetry of Pope and the intellectual school to verse in which emotion accompanies thought. He restored the passionate treatment of love, lost to English poetry after the reign of good Queen Elizabeth. Wearied of philosophy and satire, of refined and classic verse, of sentimentality and stern pictures of woe, the Muse turned from the town to nature, from the drawing-room to the open fields, and was refreshed. As a pioneer in this movement Burns won a permanent place in the literature of the great English people. But his position in this respect would not alone suffice to give his verse its far-reaching popularity. Pope also has a place in the history of literature, yet the number of people who read Pope's poetry for itself and the pleasure to be derived from it are few indeed. He is read because he has given perfection of artifice to the intellectual school, but Burns is read for very different reasons and will be read for all time. What, then, explains the popularity of Burns?

In the dedication of his poems he says, "The Poetic Genius of my country found me, as the prophetic bard Elijah did Elisha—at the Plow—and threw her inspiring mantle over me. She bade me sing the loves, the joys, the rural scenes and rural pleasures of my native tongue; I tuned my wild, artless notes as she inspired." With such scenes and themes, his desire was not to please the critics, but simply to touch and win the common human heart.

> "Gie me ae spark of nature's fire,
> That's a' the learning I desire;
> Then tho' I drudge thro' dirt and mire,
> At plow or cart;
> My muse, tho' hamely in attire,
> May touch the heart."

And he used the simple, racy, common speech, redolent of the soil and intelligible to the people. There had been Scottish writers, but these had no Scottish culture, scarcely even English; it was almost exclusively French. For perfection in the latter Burns had

no opportunity. He was ever a toiler. What little time he had was spent in poring over the old songs. Ramsay and Ferguson were his models, and they have been lifted out of probable oblivion through their influence on our poet. The plain unembellished Scotch, the language of everyday toil and woe, was his medium of expression. He could acquire no other. The time to be devoted to a courtship of his muse was limited to the hours spent at the plow-tail, or after the day's hard toil was ended.

"Leeze me on my rhyme! it's aye a treasure,
My chief, amaist my only pleasure,
At hame, a-fiel', at wark, or leisure,
The Muse, poor hizzie!
Tho' rough an' raploch be her measure,
She's seldom lazy."

The secret of the enduring and almost universal popularity of Burns's poetry may be studied in the formal, the emotional, and the intellectual elements. And first, the formal. Burns was not so unfortunate in his medium for expression as it would at first sight seem. The simple Scotch glides into the most melodious verse. What lines possess more ease, simplicity, naturalness, and at the same time more perfect metrical structure than,

"Some books are lies frae end to end,
And some great lies were never penn'd;
Ev'n ministers, they hae been kenn'd,
In holy rapture,
A rousing whid at times to vend,
And nail't wi' scripture.

"But this that I am gaun to tell,
Which lately on a night befell,
Is just as true's the Deil's in hell,
Or Dublin city;
That e'er he nearer comes oursel'
's a muckle pity."

What an evident absence of all effort to embellish thought by high-sounding words! This is a pledge of sincerity. The power to produce highest effects with homely phrase is one of the surest signs of genius and power. What more homely and yet more graphic description than that of the honest Luath:

"He was a gash an' faithfu' tyke
As ever lap a sheugh or dyke.
His gawcie tail, wi' upward curl,
Hung owre his hurdies wi' a swirl."

Or, again, what more forceful than some of his adjectives: "It pat me fidgin-fain to hear't." One cannot but feel that his language when best is that which he constantly used in ordinary conversation.

Burns's favorite structure is the short line and sentence into which he throws the force and passion of all his ardent nature. We use the adjective all, for what phase of his emotions do they not express? The sly, elfish wit, the broader humor, the less kindly satire? Yes, all of these. And more, they are expressed in sweetest melody. The songs fairly sing themselves. Even the longer poems possess a liveliness born of quick production. For Burns was of all poets perhaps the most directly inspired. The poems were not revolved in the mind and slowly added to from year to year. Tam O'Shanter was written in a day. Burns had an instinctive sense of what words were best suited for poetry, but also of poetic structure. His melody is the more wonderful because of his apparent lack of effort.

Turn now to the emotional element. The power to appeal to the emotions is the distinctive trait of all literature, which has been called the expression of personality. Throughout Burns's work his personality is present in all its vigor and life. And you feel it. One cause of this is that he is describing experiences through which he has passed, and he does not need to look back over an appreciable period with a recollected love, for they are experiences through which he is daily passing—with open eyes. His imagination, without which it is often impossible to awaken the emotions, is of great aid. It gives him his vivid adjectives and is most active in the Scottish superstition which peoples the "muirs an' dizzy crags wi' warlocks grim an' wither'd hags" as real to him as he makes the men and women of his poems of flesh and blood to us. "Hallowe'en" is a striking example. We have the uncanny in the following, where he speaks of the deil—"snick-drawing dog"

"When twilight did my Graunie summon,
To say her prayers, douce, honest woman!
Aft 'yont the dyke she's heard you bummin'
Wi' eerie drone;
Or, rustlin', thro' the boortrees comin,
Wi' heavy groan."

His imagination, quick, vivid, and at times even lurid, plays also on different scenes, as when "auld ruin'd castles, gray, nod to the moon," or

"The wan moon is setting behind the white wave,
And time is setting with me, oh!"

Burns restored passion to English literature, and it was the passionate treatment of love which was most characteristic in him. "O were I on Parnassus hill," "Open the Door to Me, Oh!" "My Nannie's Awa," show his love for woman. These songs may have lacked reverence, but they lacked nothing else. His lines, "To a Mouse," "To a Mountain Daisy," and "Poor Mailie's Elegy," show a love for all that lives and has being. From this heart of hearts there went out not only rejoicing for pleasures but that which is the truest test of the genuineness of love, a sincere sympathy for sorrow and misfortune. He has found expression for every mood of man's heart. He speaks it out not for any artistic or selfish motive, but because his heart is too full to be silent. This genuineness of sympathy in Burns begets like feeling in us. We rejoice in the pleasures of the plowman; we grieve for the sorrows which an inevitable fate has brought alike to man and beast and flower; for the pathos in his poems is coextensive with his love. How many, unthinking, would have routed the field mouse from his home in the field; but to the poet

"That wee bit heap o' leaves an' stibble
Has cost thee mony a weary nibble!
Now thou's turned out, for a' thy trouble,
But house or hald,
To thole the winter's sleety dribble
An' cranreuch cauld!
But, mousie, thou art no thy lane,
In proving foresight may be vain;
The best laid schemes o' mice an men
Gang aft a-gley,
An lea'e us nought but grief an' pain,
For promised joy."

Even the fate of the daisy appeals to our sense of the pathetic:

"There in thy scanty mantle clad,
Thy snawie bosom sunward spread,
Thou lifts thy unassuming head
In humble guise;
But now the share upturns thy bed,
And low thou lies."

The deepest pathos, however, comes from his human sympathies:

"Ae fond kiss, and then we sever;
Ae farewell, alas! forever!
. . . . . .
"Had we never loved sae kindly,
Had we never loved sae blindly,
Never met or never parted,
We had ne'er been broken-hearted."

Of humor we have from Burns just what we might have expected from a man of such a nature—whatever be his nationality—almost all the varieties save the cynical. And what a wealth of it! It crops out everywhere in every sort of kindly expression, from the broad humor to the quaint and irresistibly elfish suggestiveness so characteristic of Chaucer.

As for the intellectual element, the same strength and activity which we have seen present in his emotional nature is present in Burns's intellect. He was no feeble-minded, dreamy idler, but a man of action, blessed with practical wisdom and good common sense. Whatever the subject, his energetic mind penetrates to the heart of it, and he speaks his conclusion with mental force and fire.

It is interesting to trace the return of annals of the poor into English verse. Gray began the work, which was furthered by Crabbe in 1783, Cowper in 1785, and found its most genuine expression in Burns in 1786. Crabbe and Cowper spoke for poverty and of it, but not out of it. Hence, there could be no personal passion in their work, and failing in this, the effect of their poetry on us is merely to cause us to look on the sorrow and woe of the poor as on the sorrow and woe of a different race. Burns in spirit said, "I am a man, and all things human are kin to me." He addressed every rank and station of society, from the titled royalty to the

wayside tramp, for "an honest man's the noblest work of God." Are you rich and contented? Then if there is a spark of nature within you you are brought near the poor and struggling on the common plane of humanity. Are you poor? Then you are the more contented with your lot, for Burns has sung of the nobility of humble labor and the simple human passions. Even in the sharp contrast which the "Twa Dogs" draws between the poor and the rich Burns prefers the former, and he gives good reasons for it:

"They're no sae wretched's ane wad think,
Tho' constantly on poortith's brink;
They're sae accustom'd wi' the sight
The view o't gies them little fright.
Then chance an' fortune are sae guided,
They're ay in less or mair provided;
An' tho' fatigu'd wi' close employment,
A blink o' rest's a sweet enjoyment."

But note "the symptoms o' the great":

"But gentlemen, an' ladies warst,
Wi' ev'n down want o' wark are curst.
They loiter, lounging, lank, an' lazy,
Tho' deil haet ails them, yet uneasy:
Their days insipid, dull, an' tasteless;
Their nights unquiet, lang, an' restless."
The ladies arm-in-arm in clusters,
As great an' gracious a' as sisters;
But hear their absent thoughts o' ither,
They're a' run deils an' jads thegither.
Whyles, owre the wee bit cup an' platie,
They sip the scandal potion pretty;
Or lee-lang nights, wi' crabbit leuks,
Pore owre the devil's pictur'd beuks;
Stake on a chance a farmer's stackyard,
An' cheat like ony unhang'd blackguard.
There's some exceptions, man an' woman,
But this is Gentry's life in common."

The whole poem shows the selfishness of the rich and shows that Burns did not wish the poor to become as the rich. "Keep to your own station and learn to find pleasure and glory in it," was his sermon to his fellow poor. The carrying of these ideals into politics in a crusade against existing forms of government was an

exploit born of imprudence, and it brought Burns little favor from his political superiors and little credit from posterity. It was rather too blind a devotion to

> "the glorious privilege
> Of being independent."

It would indeed be a surprise if the man who was from first to last the champion of manhood, who had extolled the poor by raising their station high on the plane of humanity, and had preached the universal brotherhood so well known in the "Lines on an Interview with Lord Daer," had been lacking in a profound feeling of religion, which is most deeply rooted among the peasantry of Scotland. Ruskin has said that "supposing all circumstances otherwise the same with respect to two individuals, the one who loves nature most will always be found to have more faith in God than the other." To Burns God was the God of love and forgiveness.

> "Where with intention I have erred,
> No other plea I have
> But, Thou art good; and goodness still
> Delighteth to forgive."

His whole nature rose in revolt toward a theology which regarded God as an austere, avenging deity.

> "The heart benevolent and kind
> The most resembles God."

Fear, wholly absent in Burns's make-up, could never have led him to the deity. That task was left to love, the guiding star of Burns's nature. That love was human. But though the impulses of his nature constantly led him to excess, he says:

> "Reader, attend! whether thy soul
> Soars fancy's heights beyond the pole,
> Or darkling grubs this earthly hole
> In low pursuit,
> Know prudent, cautious, self-control
> Is wisdom's root."

The real secret of Burns's lasting popularity is not to be found in any one thing alone. Surely not in superiority of imagination,

for, though it would be difficult to compare them, Burns was not so strong in imagination as Shelley or Coleridge. Nor does it lie wholly in the melody, in which few poems are superior to Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner." But Burns appeals to and is read by persons who care little for this masterpiece of melody. There is, in addition to all things which appeal to the critic, that which appeals to mankind in general. This element, the one which most of all appeals to the masses, is the humanity, the human element in Burns. There are many people to whom nature never reveals her beauties in all their splendor, many to whom the glories of the material world, interpreted by the sympathetic and appreciative poet into most exquisite verse, seem the veriest nonsense; but if manhood and feeling are not entirely deadened by crime or sensuality there is not a man who cannot rejoice in pleasures similar to his own, sympathize with woes such as he has known, and be lifted by the idealization of the life which he is living. Burns loved nature with a deep and natural love. Nature was bound up in his poetry. But he could not sit down on a hillside and describe what he saw for the love of it alone without a thought of humanity. His natural descriptions are always the background for human figures, for love, or sorrow, or joy, or mirth. Add to this love of humanity his melody, common sense, pathos, and humor, and you have the Burns that the critics admire. But strip away all save his warm, wide, human sympathies, and there still remains that which is the most essential element of Burns's popularity with the masses, a popularity which will last through all time.

Walter B. Wilson.

Art. X.—FICTION AND FATALISM

The reading mind controls the world. Specialists are but its pioneers, and are dependent upon it for their influence. The unthinking drift along in its wake. Writers of fiction have largest access to that reading, ruling mind. History, biography, science, philosophy have largely yielded the scepter in that reading world to romance. Like Athene, it is born of the public brain and then rules it. When the Waverley Novels first appeared, less than two generations ago, they were read with shyness. A generation later Uncle Tom's Cabin was read openly and universally, and even in polyglot. That cabin overturned the slaveholder's mansion. There was a pledged sale of Eleanor, another woman's novel, requiring paper sufficient to make a column five hundred and fifty feet high, or, laid edge to edge, it would reach one thousand miles.

When shall some Miriam sound the doom of rum and war as Mrs. Stowe did of slavery? A most effective way to teach is to appear not to do so. The novelist does not declare a doctrine, nor appear to argue: all the more are his assumptions received. The reader is like Pat, who took the whisky in his medicine "unbeknownst." Many of the ablest modern novels are saturated with fatalism. They tend to despair, and often by consequence to immorality. If we are not free—if there be no power of personal initiative, if no control over the outcome—we are doomed. Blame is out of order, and virtue the name of an impossibility. "Eat, drink; to-morrow we die." Teachers, parents, preachers, reformers, rulers, and economists are driving their efforts against a gulf stream of despair formed and forming in the thought of the readers of this type of fiction. If its assumption be true there is no "arm to save" and no Redeemer. We are not "coworkers with God"; we are things doomed.

This is no modern theory. It is old as human history. There are vague shadows of it in the finds of Egypt and Babylon, but it was clearly taught by Sophocles, Plato, and Euripides. The Epicureans said, "The gods care not; let us enjoy life." The Stoics said, "The gods care not; let us endure life." This infected

early Christian thought, and was taken up by Augustine and taught later by Calvin. Still later it took refuge in pantheism. Spinoza was its prophet. It declared God is all, and all is God. Human liberty is only God's act. Determinism made liberty but a cog in the universal machine. With modern materialism liberty is a brain secretion. How our enthusiasm over liberty with waving banner and song dwarfs in the presence of this secretion of gray matter! For the sake of clearness let me state the creed of fatalism. It has two articles: 1. Destiny is dead blind force and is back of all mind and spirit. 2. Human liberty is irresistibly controlled by destiny. Many of the ablest modern novels contain this creed and drag their readers helplessly over the old track of determinism, materialism, fatalism, where heroes drink, gamble, commit adultery, "platonic" and real, sigh, submit, or gloat, as Epicurean or Stoic. The outcome is a mangled faith and bedraggled morality or a stark soul corpse. This quality is more in the general trend than in details. The characters portrayed may be treated as if personally responsible, but cosmos is ruled by hopeless fatality. There is no "far-off divine event toward which the whole creation moves." All moves toward dreamless Nirvana.

Many of the greatest novelists are free from fatalism. Sir Walter Scott's creations are grotesquely, humorously human, often barbarously so, but the plot is humane. His characters fairly swarm, rulers and robbers, nobles and peasants, glorious, grotesque, gruesome, horrible, but over all is a sense of fresh air and opportunity. Thackeray introduces multitudes of people of different rank and type, many vain, silly, worthless people. His world largely is a "Vanity Fair," but he is good-natured and makes that world laugh itself out of much of its own folly. Even Pendennis was free to have been a manlier man. Charles Dickens was kindly, genial, humorous, philanthropic. He had not lain a month in his grave till a path was worn to it by the common people. They had not found him a jailer to human liberty. With Victor Hugo in such as Les Miserables, Toilers of the Sea, and the Man who Laughs, there is a Nemesis, but largely in external nature or in the organization of penal and civil government, but no spiritual fate. His characters are either blameworthy for their

sins or glorious in their possibilities, and when he lifts the veil from his own great soul, revealing a halo of immortal hope, we see, in spite of Javert, a Valjean rising like a giant, superior to galleys, prisons, starvation, and organized cruelty, which wears a uniform and carries a club. Every one of the great-hearted George MacDonald's fine Scotchie stories is full of hope and retrieval. As an antidote for despairing doubt, read his Paul Faber, Surgeon. "Ian Maclaren's" Bonnie Brier Bush is bright as a Scotch daisy, and more limpid and musical than Bonnie Doon. His Doctor of the Old School, free to ride, freeze, starve, die, is "aiblens" for a Scotch orthodox heaven. In Hawthorne, prince of American prose writers, there is freedom even in the atmosphere of New England orthodoxy. The Scarlet Letter, fateful, full of tearful foreboding, contained no unmerited doom. The actors were free, responsible, retrievable. There are widely read stories of hope and cheer and reform, which I will not name because of their lack of literary power. To those who must have tragedy, gruesome and gloomy, even Bunyan's Pilgrim escaping and singing on his way is dull.

It remained for a great gifted woman to set the pace largely backward toward ancient pagan fatalism, and therefore away from Christian liberty. In George Eliot's Spanish Gypsy there is heredity where one feels the inevitable and unescapable. In Daniel Deronda the Jew must go the way of his people, since he is a Jew. Gwendolin, the finest character in the book, has no arm to deliver, for there is no such arm. Out of the silence of the case one hears the echo of doom. Romola is a masterpiece of learning, accuracy, political sagacity, psychological acumen. The characters are powerfully drawn. They are satanic and angelic, with swirling masses between. There are a few gleams of humor which do not relieve the somber world, but only cast a fitful light on the dark seas toward which all move without power to change. Faith falters, courage dies, love turns to gall. Savonarola swerves, Tito is hateful, Baldisarre is a murderer, Romola sadder than Niobe, and no help for it all.

Two of England's greatest novelists, Mrs. Ward and Mr. Zangwill, seem to have caught George Eliot's step, not as weak

mitators, for each excels in graphic description and searching analysis, but both bind Prometheus to the rock and send on the vultures with no possible Hercules for rescue. There is no room for any Christ in such romance. In Mrs. Ward's Helbeck, as a critic says, there is the clash of souls driven to their own mutual undoing by the cosmic forces uncomprehended and seemingly blind. Eleanor is by many regarded as Mrs. Ward's greatest novel. The background is Italy, which the author knows and understands. She scans the papacy with large and penetrating intelligence. She reveals her personal familiarity with doubt. Her own soul seems at sea without a guide. Her sympathies go to the uncertainties of unsettled people. She seems to patronize admiringly the unsophisticated New England girl Lucy, but dooms her to marry Mephistophelian Manistee and tortures the heroine, Eleanor, with slow but early death, while heart and hope are dead before the frail body dies. It seems out of harmony for one of the house of Arnold of Rugby to be transferring to romance the sternest dogma of hyper-Calvinism, not consciously announced, but everywhere implied.

One could have hoped that Scotland's gifted son, Barrie, would be a champion of freedom. His Sentimental Tommy was ill-born, but an actor from the start, in that an exaggeration of the great world of childhood. He convulses you with his innocent and wonderful make-believe adventures; your admiration has many a chill foreboding for the inevitable outcome. Though his mother was a silly thing and his father a villain, you hope the author will prevent catastrophe and bring out the better possibilities of the gifted orphan. But, as a discerning reader said, "I lay down the book with the feeling that it is night." As Tommy merges into T. Sandys in the sequel you grow sad for Grizzel, but again you hope for Tommy under her glorious fidelity. Toward the last you come to despise the cad, and so does the author. It is but fitting that he should find a foolish, disgraceful end, as he hangs on a wall suspended absurdly by the collar of his overcoat. But why blame Tommy? It is in him incurable; or are we fated to censure the victims of fate, and so, in ceaseless round, the fated blame the fated for their fated deeds? Is there not another case

in James Lane Allen's Reign of Law? The local scenery and word painting scarcely have a superior. There is a buoyant and hopeful pulse in this creation of genius. But it is too bad to unsettle David, the splendid hero, by begging the Darwinian theory, and, on trivial absurd logomachy, to set him off hopelessly drifting to oblivion only the sadder that he is decorated by the beautiful flower of a lovely girl's faith. Fiction of this sort recalls the story of Œdipus: fated before his birth to kill his father and marry his mother; as a babe, pierced through the feet and sent by his father to be exposed on a mountain; handed instead by the servant to a shepherd of the king of Corinth; reared in the court, startled at the revelation of his not being son of the king; alarmed by the oracle predicting his doom; unwittingly a parricide, innocently married to his mother, the horror of it exposed by a blind seer, the blinding of himself in unmerited punishment, wandering as a beggar out of life—such seems to be the plan of many of the best modern novels. Every choice, desire, sorrow, tear of repentance, act of will gathered up into the storm which drives the victim to his fate.

Give me rather the bloom in the canyon of the Sky Pilot, or the escape of Sir Gibbie's father from a drunkard's garret, or the flight of Pilgrim from the City of Destruction.

Isaac Crook

Art. XI.—CHURCH FEDERATION FOR SALOON SUPPRESSION

Society is confronted with many social problems that spring from the same taproot of human nature. None of them, however, stands out with such boldness and clearness as that of the saloon. The essential social factors which enter into this problem, together with the underlying social principles involved and the method of their application, require thoughtful consideration. It is well to bear in mind that in social reform there is danger of confounding method with principle. Principle is essential and enduring, and admits of no liberty of choice. Method, on the contrary, is the mode of operation through the conscious effort of man to apply principle. The one is changeless, the other circumstantial. Whenever method is exalted to the plane of principle, then it becomes so antagonistic in its results as to subvert and oppose the very principle professedly accepted. Men who accomplish the most for social welfare stand firmly for principle, but are willing to lay aside prejudice and make concessions as to methods of action for the sake of unity and efficiency in advancing the cause espoused.

The saloon problem has an intimate connection with other reforms. This particular reform is singled out because it stands at the forefront of many social ills. However, if the methods of treatment of this reform are true to life and experience, they will be found serviceable in others. Then, again, the success of one social reform makes it easier for another to triumph. Let it be observed at the outset that the solution of the saloon problem is not to be found apart from existing social institutions and agencies, nor in something foreign to the common life of the people. The essential social agencies and means involved are already recognized in our social economy. The imperative need is that they should be better understood, systematized, and coördinated in order to secure definite results. Students of the saloon problem realize that it has many ramifications. There are so many sides to the question that no one social agency working singly and alone can settle it. In Christian democracy there are legislative, judicial, and executive

branches of government. All have their respective functions, with coördinate powers, to deal with the saloon problem. The reform to be effective should have the coöperation of all these social agencies. Appeal to the Legislature for laws to restrict or prohibit the giant evil of the open saloon is too frequently met by the rebuff that no more laws will be enacted against the saloon until the existing antisaloon laws are enforced. If one turn to the executive officers, who have sworn to perform faithfully their duty, and demand the enforcement of laws regarding the saloon evil, the reply comes back that, should they rigidly enforce the same, public sentiment and the moral forces will not sustain them at the coming election. Likewise appeal to the courts of justice for redress is too often in vain. It frequently happens that when one of these branches of government does its duty another finds a way to nullify its action. The church, likewise, has signally failed to meet its responsibilities regarding this social wrong. Each social agency that has a part in grappling with the social problem is shifting the responsibility from one to another. The time has come for the antisaloon forces to help fix responsibility by adopting rational methods to coördinate the various social agencies which have to deal with the saloon problem, and to make them work and cowork for the overthrow of the common foe.

The most important of the coördinating agencies in the solution of the problem is that of the federated churches. A united church has no equal as a generator of public opinion and for active sympathy in reform efforts. The social function of the church is to help translate the divine social ideals with social actualities. Hence there is need of a clear and comprehensive notion as to the content of the social ideal. The mental conception of what ought to be is the test of conduct and the measure of effort. The dream is the forerunner of reality. The church is awakening to a fuller consciousness that the divine social ideal eventually to be realized in this world is expressed in the prayer that God's will shall be done on earth in the same cheerful, happy manner that the angelic host do his will in heaven. The governing principles of Christianity are not only to be wrought into individual lives, but also interwoven into the whole social fabric. The evident aim of the divine social

ideal is to have the spirit of the Master interpenetrate all human activities, and become incorporated in all social institutions. Jesus calls this ideal condition of society a kingdom of righteousness. In other words, it implies that it is a kingdom of right relations among men, wherein each one shall love his neighbor as he loves himself. The thought of the kingdom is full of rich significance and embraces all that is highest, deepest, and best in human life. This glorious ideal outshines the brightest visions of the old prophets and becomes the inspiration of every Christian heart. It is the goal of all human efforts in modern days. God does not mock his people when he teaches them to pray and work for these ideal conditions. He expects his followers to maintain an optimistic attitude and to be coworkers with himself in the realization of an ideal which so worthily accords with human facts and human possibilities. The root problem before us, then, is the realization of the kingdom, and to carry out the work begun by the Master. The church is the chief agency instituted for the reconstruction of society upon the basis of divine brotherhood. The open saloon is the greatest obstruction to the incoming of this high social ideal. It casts its shadows athwart the pathway of progress of the kingdom of truth, justice, and mercy. All the interests of the liquor traffic are in direct antagonism to it. Consequently the church is committed to unalterable opposition to the saloon. This work is not something foreign to her responsibility. In fact, there is nothing more fundamental to the kingdom than the suppression of all forms of social evil. The church is a divine organism whose scope of activity embraces the whole human race. In its universal aspect it is divided into groups with varying forms of organized fellowship and multiform activities. Each separate denomination is a part of the kingdom and one of the instruments and means of its realization. The success of each particular denomination is measured by the law of service, and the mutual sacrifice of time and energy its members lay upon its altars for the larger life of the kingdom. The essential law of love should lead each individual church to exalt the cross above any particular denomination, and to sink all narrow selfish aims in its passionate love for the greater interest of the kingdom whose triumph is the first and highest consideration.

The enlargement of the view of the kingdom with its varied and comprehensive relations gives meaning and inspiration to the efforts of those working for some specific reform. Every single reform movement gains vitality and importance when thus associated with the larger moral movement looking toward the realization of the kingdom. It follows, then, that the best way to promote the divine social ideals among men is through the associated and concentrated efforts of the various churches working for some specific social reforms.

One means for securing federated action among the churches is to place the antisaloon movement on broad interdenominational lines. All the various denominations, Catholics as well as Protestants, should get together for the specific aim of repressing and ultimately suppressing the use of liquor as a beverage. The work of moral and social reform is so imperative that it perforce transcends all theological lines. The Christian life is something apart from a correct intellectual and doctrinal conception of it. A common cause and a common experience are enough to awaken all to a united action for furthering human destiny. Incidentally this federated effort will enable the churches to approach greater unity from the work side than from the doctrinal side. The working basis of the church in action is, "If thy heart be as my heart give me thy hand." Despite the hindrances, churches are coming closer together. Whether this be desirable or not, the peculiar characteristics are disappearing. The churches tend to flow more and more into a common current. The misdirected energy and the economic and moral waste of division among the churches is now recognized as a short-sighted policy and is gradually giving place to some better methods. There exists among the churches to-day a community of thought and a desire for closer, active fellowship. Church unity in spirit, if not in form, is an accomplished fact. Christianity is seen more and more in a unified life. The unity is not that of an ecclesiastical organism, but one of the spirit of brotherhood which bears no label and acknowledges no boundaries. The closer Christians are drawn to the cross the closer are they linked together and the more do they manifest to the world their oneness in Christ. There is no good reason why

"the household of faith" should not manifest essential unity and enter "a league offensive and defensive with every soldier of Jesus Christ" in order to overthrow the greatest foe of the home, the church, and the state. Another basis of union demands interpartisan action on the one issue "the saloon must go." This united effort should be intensely political, but not in any sense limited to a single party. The saloon problem involves political action. However, it is a moral question that is not confined to any church or party. The safe cardinal principle to guide the church in its federated action should be to avoid affiliation with any political party as such, and to maintain an attitude of neutrality on all public questions not bearing directly on saloon suppression. A broad federated church movement is far more permanent and effective than political-partisan effort. The choice of one method precludes the other. The problem should be eliminated from partisan-political entanglements and denominational bias, and be brought within the scope of the thought, plan, and purpose of the church. Such interpartisan action is not impracticable. We are not setting forth a fanciful idea nor an untried theory. In our legislative halls throughout the country it is being demonstrated that men of all creeds and political faiths will line up on the moral issue and enact laws favorable to saloon suppression. Furthermore, it has been shown that a voting church when united is an invincible power for civic righteousness. There is a widely prevalent conviction that the Christian churches and the antisaloon forces generally should be federated with the distinctive purpose of abolishing the saloon. The problem has grown to be such a serious one that no one denomination or temperance organization can hope to settle it. It is too big for any section North, South, East, or West. It is too complex for any one church to solve. Neither the Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, nor Catholic Church, however active its own denominational temperance organization may be, is able singly and alone to grapple effectively with the problem. All are inextricably involved. The responsibility does not belong especially to any particular church or organization or body of men. The problem appeals alike to all the churches and to every lover of sobriety. These are all so

many arms of power that should be wielded for advancing civic righteousness. There is no solution for the saloon problem except in harmony of sentiment, unity of purpose, and the joint action of all the churches and Christian forces concentrated at a given point to secure definite results. The situation demands interdenominational action. Without it the saloon will dominate both political and social life.

It is to be feared that some churches are betrayed into the belief that they can escape responsibility for this great social evil by relegating the antisaloon movement to their own denominational temperance organization or to some outside agency. The temperance societies within denominational lines may do excellent work in developing local public sentiment and activity against the saloon, but their range of operation is necessarily limited. They cannot in any sense discharge the work of a larger character committed to the churches in their united capacity. It requires statewide efforts to secure good local option laws whereby each community has a fighting chance against the saloon. The difficulty with many workers in reform movements is that they are narrow in their scope of thought and range of vision. When antisaloon effort does not extend beyond a particular parish or denomination it becomes a menace to the larger movement for securing results. The abolition of the saloon is either the work of the church or it is not. Inasmuch as the church is responsible for the results and these results cannot be secured except through interdenominational action, then it is high time that each church should define itself, and assume the burden of pushing the work by effective coöperation with other churches. This is legitimate church work. It is reasonable that the conscience of the church regarding the saloon should express itself in terms of Christian energy. The sense of responsibility and sovereignty in this matter cannot be delegated to some one else. The only consistent reason for any church not coöperating is that it is doing a much better work for saloon suppression than the entire federated body. Presumption of this type is incapable of measuring its own responsibility. It is futile for good men to talk earnestly against the saloon unless they are willing to engage in an effective fight for civic righteousness. The only consistent

course is for each church to make good by active coöperation the resolutions so earnestly and pathetically indorsed in their various synods, conferences, and conventions. The exigencies of the situation force the churches to federate in order to carry their opposition to the saloon to the point of effectiveness. The strength of each church is bound up in the united action of them all. The saloon exists to-day largely for the lack of determined, federated action of the churches. No individual church or denomination can maintain independent action without surrendering its associate power for accomplishing definite results against the saloon. The churches that enter such a federation in no wise surrender their identity and individuality in the warfare. The status of each church remains the same. On the other hand, each church finds its own life enriched and broadened by the larger life of the affiliated churches of which it becomes a significant part. One of the principal reasons why the churches have been unable to carry on a more successful warfare against social evils in many towns and cities grows out of the fact that there has been little, if any, common basis for permanent federation of churches with a directing head to accomplish practical results. Organized charity in many of our cities is demonstrating what can be done to improve the condition of the worthy poor. A similar federation of the churches to work against the powerful and rapacious liquor traffic is certain to produce satisfactory results. For example, Boston has nearly one thousand saloons which stand together as a unit financially and politically. They do everything they can by concerted action to promote their business. The two hundred and ninety-three churches in the city are all more or less interested in the suppression of the saloon; yet, because they are not sufficiently federated to work together unitedly, their moral influence against the saloon apparently does not count for much. What is true of Boston is equally true of the majority of our cities. Furthermore, many states are covered with the federated force of the saloon, while the various church bodies manifest no coherent activity to counteract their baleful influence.

It is a hopeful sign that the churches are coming to recognize the possibility of their power for concerted and coöperative action

against the saloon. Federation for social service is the modern watchword. Churches that heretofore have differentiated now discover and emphasize elements of unity. Father T. J. Coffey, of the Catholic church of Saint Louis, in an antisaloon rally of recent date expressed a growing sentiment when he said: "Let us not find fault with one another, but let us give comfort and aid in the cause whenever possible. Let us come nearer to one another, for this union alone will give us the strength needed in the great battle for souls, and Christ, and our country." Antisaloon activity has numerous inspiring instances where members of various denominations have come together to work and pray for civic righteousness in their own towns and cities and have accomplished excellent results. The combined effort promotes unity among the several churches of the community and of the nation. Through a common purpose and common activity a common chord is struck and a healthy Christian fellowship is developed that presages the triumph of the kingdom. The confederation and coöperation of the several churches testifies to the community their oneness in Christ. It arouses new activity and attracts men into Christian service. It not only helps to develop and increase personal efficiency, but likewise gives the church power for social elevation. With this new alignment of Christian forces the churches should stand in closer range to the battle line. The contest, to be triumphant, requires united and concentrated effort. Willful separation, and the withholding of influence to maintain a sustained movement against the organized saloon, means refusal to carry out the redemptive purpose of Christ and leaves the church without the essential power to overcome social evils. The federated churches, leagued together to accomplish results, are the accredited agents to strike the deathblow to the liquor traffic.

John M. Barkley

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

After Carlyle had published his Oliver Cromwell a friend wrote asking him about his methods of preparation, taking notes, etc., for such a work. Carlyle's reply may have interest for some of the readers of this Review:

I would very gladly tell you all my methods if I had any; but really I have, as it were, none. I go into the business with all the intelligence, patience, silence, and other gifts and virtues that I have. As for plan, I find that every new business requires a new scheme of operation which amid infinite bungling unfolds itself at intervals as I get along. The great thing is, Not to stop and break down. As to the special matter of taking excerpts and making notes, I rather avoid *writing* beyond the very minimum; I mark in pencil the smallest indication that will direct me to the thing again, and on the whole try to keep the whole matter simmering in the *living* mind and memory rather than laid up in paper bundles or otherwise laid up in the inert way. For this certainly turns out to be a truth: *Only what you at last have living in your own memory is worth putting down to be printed; this alone has much chance to get into the living heart and memory of other men.* And here indeed, I believe, is the essence of all the rules I have ever been able to devise for myself. I have tried various artificial helps to remembrance—paper bags with labels, little notebooks, paper bundles, etc.; but the use of such things depends on the habits and humors of the individual. My paper bags (filled with notes and little scraps all in pencil) have often enough come to little for me; indeed, in general, when writing, I am surrounded with a rubbish of papers and notes that have come to little:—this only will come to much for any and all of us, *to keep the thing you are elaborating as much as possible actually in your own living mind*, in order that this same mind, as much awake as possible, may have a chance to make something of it.

Doubtless Carlyle here underrates the usefulness of his paper bags, notebooks, bundles of clippings, pencilings, and references. Much of that sort of accumulations may have proved unavailable, but without such preparatory gathering of ideas, facts, and suggestions his great work could not have been written. The notebook habit is of immense value. Every man whose business is to think for the purpose of writing or speaking should practice this habit incessantly; never be without a notebook in his pocket; and never let a day pass without making notes about something relating to his work. Ideas that pass through his mind should be jotted down and kept. One idea born within him, from his own thinking and feeling, is worth more to him and for his use than a hundred borrowed from books.

SHELLEY AND LATER RATIONALISTS

Even if it be true, as is asserted, that the poetry of Shelley, having risen to the position of a classic, is now comparatively neglected, it still remains a fact that his genius is so splendid and his verse so exquisite and his character so puzzling as to constitute a fascinating literary and moral problem. Wordsworth said of Shelley, "Doubtless he was a man of beautiful dispositions; but dispositions are one thing and character is another." Aubrey De Vere concedes that Shelley's nature abounded not only in beautiful but in noble dispositions, but thinks his character had two great defects. The first was a want of robustness, solidity, and self-possession, his emotional nature being excessive in quantity and hysterical in quality. His second and chief defect was a lack of reverence quite extraordinary in a man of such genius—for high genius is commonly as quick as mere vulgar talent is slow in recognizing the greatness of the things above us. The insolent audacity on religious subjects in some of Shelley's religious poems implies either something abnormal in his cerebral organization or else an extraordinary pride such as even Byron, with all his sins and follies, was never guilty of. De Vere inclines to the former of these explanations. He detected in Shelley something angelic, such as he never saw the slightest trace of in Byron, even in his boyhood days of Byronic enthusiasm. He says:

> I never can quite make out whether Shelley was a Fallen Angel still fierce with the pride that caused that fall, or an Angel in duress struggling with sad limitations. But the angelic quality, limited or perverted as it is, is manifest to me not only in the emotional parts of his poetry but in its intellectual processes. There is a marvelous intuitive power about his intelligence, a most subtle discernment and following up of principles. His intelligence had also a keen logic, notwithstanding some critics deny him the gift of logic because his conclusions are often so wild and injudicious; this was due to the fact that he started from wild premises, and then the logical habit of his mind carried him to wild conclusions with a speed proportioned to his strength. In many things Shelley also exhibited good sense, sound practical judgment, always exercising it in behalf of his friends far more than for himself. But in connection with matters of supreme spiritual moment he flung away sound judgment and good sense by that one act of moral insanity, committed in his boyhood, by which he trampled Belief under foot. He mistook Religion for a moral tyranny, and therefore assailed it; mistook Faith for weakness, and therefore denounced it. But he could never pass out of the region of religious thoughts and things. Religion of some sort was a necessity to him, for neither material things nor human affections sufficed for him, and in worldly matters or frivolous interests he had no concern. A religion he must have, whether one strong in its divine truth or a quasi-religion shining with illusive surface-beauty though hollow at the core. As habitually as the most religious man, he mused on some

great Deliverance for the human race; but in his scheme the Deliverer was to be, not a God-man, but a Man-god, not a Redeemer descending to earth in compassionate humiliation, but a Titan fighting his way upward and hurling mountains against the heavenly seats. Prometheus Unbound is thus the Shelleyan Gospel. The victory announced by Shelley is to be that of science, and of fearless revolt against all authority, and against everything in Religion that implies veneration. All this Shelley clearly and openly proclaimed; and it was not the babble of a shallow visionary, but the challenge of the daring false prophet of song. He branded Religion as superstition and tyranny, belief as credulity and weakness, humility as cowardice and insincerity, and he left no place whatever for penitence.

De Vere asserts that the leading Rationalistic writers of our day are, without giving credit to Shelley, exploiting and amplifying his views, without a tenth part of his genius, and with such equivocal language and subtle concealments as involve a dishonesty which he would have scorned to use. These writers present us with a new Religion which is to supersede Christianity without doing it any injury, though leaving man's mind without light and his heart without hope and his life without guidance; a Religion which audaciously claims to retain the august titles of Theism and Christianity. This pretentious, all-embracing, and extremely catholic Religion includes three elements, the Religion of Nature, the Religion of Beauty, and the Religion of Humanity. Now, each of these three was announced more than eighty years ago by Shelley, and by him illustrated with a splendor which no later writer has approached. But Shelley did not attempt to pass any one of them off as a Religion, because he knew that they were not religions; but rather the actual denial and repudiation of all Religion, and the substitution for it of something which taught men to admire all things for what they were worth but admonished them to worship nothing. Shelley was far more clear-minded, candid, and honest than those persons who now affront us by claiming the name of Christian for a pseudo-religion which does not include a belief in a God (for a God, not Personal, can no more be a God than the law of gravitation is God), nor a belief in an immortal soul. By some of these disingenuous and misty minds it is contended that men can retain certain elevated and poetic emotions, after having discarded their Redeemer and their God; that mankind can obtain at a cheaper rate the imaginative excitements they have been accustomed to find comfort in, and may warm their hands sufficiently at the embers of a dying fire after the sun has been blotted out of heaven. "What matter if we take away your God?" say they. "There remains the grandeur of the Material Universe as a substitute

to wonder at with solemn awe. What matter if we abstract from the clasp of your faith a Saviour? Console yourself with the saving charms which emanate from flowers and art and poetry and benevolence." Against such shallow, thin, and petty trifiers Michael Angelo, greatest of artists, writes in one of his sonnets:

"Now hath my life across a stormy sea
Like a frail bark reached that wide port where all
Are bidden, ere the final reckoning fall
Of good and evil for eternity.
Now know I well how that fond fantasy
Which made my soul the worshiper and thrall
Of earthly art is vain. . . .
Painting nor sculpture now can lull to rest
My soul that turns to His great love on high,
Whose arms, to clasp us, on the cross were spread."

Now, we have more respect for audacious and militant blasphemy than for the pseudo-Christian compromising which loses all that we hold dear and gains nothing that is worth having. We prefer Shelley's brilliant and hysterical rage to the subtle and romancing flippancy of that "elderly and erudite butterfly," Renan, or to the cheerful gypsying, from one dark province to faithlessness to another, of that unfixed and wandering star, M. D. Conway. But the most important and gratifying fact for us in this whole matter is that neither Shelley nor these later rationalists have made any impression on evangelical Christianity to retard its rapidly advancing progress, curtail its extending influence, or diminish its increasing and intensifying activities. It is truer now than when written by the brilliant young insurgent who was drowned in Spezzia Bay that, "blazoned as on Heaven's eternal noon, the Cross leads generations on." And the glow of a new Christian revival is to-day wakening and warning the world.

A TYPICAL SCHOLAR'S LIFE

NEARLY forty years ago the University of Cambridge decided to establish a chair of Sanskrit. There were two candidates, a German and an Englishman. The method of the Englishman's canvass was peculiar; he went about telling everyone what an excellent scholar his competitor was. The university, nevertheless, was wise enough to elect the Englishman. His name was Cowell. So says the President of Magdalen College, Oxford, and adds that Cowell was a perfect type of the genuine scholar, vast in knowledge and grand in simplicity.

And it seems to be generally recognized that Edward Byles Cowell, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., who died two years ago at the age of seventy-seven, having been a professor in the Presidency College at Calcutta, India, for ten years, and Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge University for thirty-three years, was, more than any other man of his generation, a typical scholar, the true savant. From the time he was seven years old his entire life was spent in the intensely eager acquisition of knowledge. When hardly in his teens the thing which most excited the cupidity of the boy as he passed and repassed a certain store window in Ipswich was a five-volume edition of Livy's Histories, old and brown. This classic masterpiece of Latin literature he coveted until the money given him on his fourteenth birthday, added to previous savings, enabled him to buy the treasure which had tempted his hungry eyes for years. When he was sixteen the death of his father forced him to leave school and go to work in a countinghouse. While there he had for study only his evenings, which he fondly called "my golden hours of candlelight." After some years he managed to get to Oxford, where, he says, he "gained plenty of useful and interesting culture, but not the Cambridge kind of scholarship; for Oxford has not got it, as Dr. Jowett shows in his Republic."

The good angel of Cowell's life was his wife, a clever woman, fourteen years his senior, of affectionate nature and strikingly attractive personality, herself a scholar with no small learning, and with boundlesss faith and pride in her husband. To his oldest friend she writes with enthusiasm of his extraordinary powers of application: "I never even imagined such intensity of application; he has literally to tear himself from his books at night." His rigid economy of time appears in his own words: "Only by penurious thrift over the golden dust of time's minutes can anything really great ever be done. But much can be done by a resolute will and taking advantage of every half hour."

From childhood his appetite for languages was as insatiable as his power of acquisition was enormous. The boy of eighteen wrote his school friend, George Kitchin, afterward Dean of Winchester and Durham, such things as these:

> I am reading Gil Blas in French—what splendid fun it is! . . . I read recently two very fair books of our old friend Nonnus—the strangest compound of truly Homeric grandeur with truly idiotic Robert Montgomery-like bombast and unmeaning fine phrases. . . . I am now learning Norse. I have begun it with great spirit, and am reading Lodbrog Guida, or the death song of Lodbrog the hairy-breeches or pantaloon warrior. . . . I went to Chelsea to call

on Mr. Carlyle, and spent a delightful half hour with him. We had a *joli* talk about Norse, German, etc. He recommended me to leave old Norse and apply myself to German; but as I am mad over the Norse I shall go on with it. . . . I have seen another language I am mad to learn—the Provençal dialect, in which are written some most exquisite poems.

Not only in languages, but in mathematics and metaphysics his delight was equal to his diligence. In the same period of his youth he writes a friend: "I am now deep in Calculus, with which I am enraptured. My tutor gave me a push in Trigonometry and then started me in the Differential Calculus, and left me. At present I am cutting through it like cheese." A little later he writes: "I am immerged in a sea of metaphysics, busy with Thomas Aquinas, Sextus Empiricus the doubter, and some others of the old Fathers, and fools such as Duns Scotus."

At the age of twenty-three he writes again to George Kitchin:

I have begun your favorite Aristotle; I will finish the first book of his Ethics to-day. That piece about an Iliad of misfortunes being unable to destroy the well-being of the good man quite woke up my enthusiasm. I don't wonder Aristotle has been a name of power in the world; and he has exercised as much influence among Arabians as among Europeans. Aristotle and Plato will be my companions in my daily walks to Ipswich this summer. But I am afraid metaphysics and philosophy are an unsatisfactory kind of study: there is no certainty possible in them, and you can never find any opinion advanced without there being as many valid arguments to be urged *against* it as *for* it. The Germans have pursued these studies to the farthest verge, and shown that they lead no whither. They deal with words, not things, and there is no substratum of *fact* to build upon. I think that dying speech of poor Aristotle a dirge on all philosophy, "*Anxuis vixi—dubius morior*," and yet this anxious and dubious mind has formed a multitude of other minds who maintain his doctrine to be *certain* and *infallible*.

Of certain Latin and Greek authors he writes at twenty-four:

Carlyle says the greatest minds are always unconscious. One sees this remarkably in Æschylus and Sophocles. They throw themselves so *absorbingly* into their characters that everything seems real and solid in their fancy-created world; we forget the artist, and everything stands out *alive*. Now, in Euripides we see his self-consciousness at work, and this prevents the noblest kind of poetry. Still, I love Euripides—his pathos goes home to the heart in the most wonderful way. Some things in his two Iphigenias will live in my memory forever. I enjoy the letters from Pliny to Tacitus, partly because the style is exquisitely polished and Pliny is one of those real gentlemen who carry dignity wherever they go, and partly because he was the bosom friend of Tacitus. Tacitus would not write his Annals until he had assured himself that Pliny would not do them—for he considered himself inferior to Pliny. One of the Reviews calls Tacitus's writings a dark picture of mankind which makes our hearts ache. We seem to find ourselves in a gloomy region in the midst of the

dark guarled forest of our life where no ray of sunshine ever pierces the gloom, and black shading ill seems to track us on every side. How different from old Homer, in whose eyes all nature seemed to laugh pleasure and joyance in one vast ocean of delight.

For this great scholar everything has a religious aspect. He studies with his windows open toward Jerusalem. At the age of twenty-six, when deep in the study of Conic Sections, he wrote his friend Kitchin:

I have been very much interested in one of those curves at the end of that part which relates to Curves of Second Degree. I mean the Conchoid of Nicomedes and its application to the trisection of an angle. Nicomedes's fame floats down "Far as Time's wide current runs," borne securely on his curve. It seems to me very fine to discover a thing of this sort—*an eternal relation in the highest circles of pure thought*. How I envy him the pleasure of making such a discovery!

What a glorious compound it would be if we could join the Mathematician and the Poet. Perhaps the meanest Christian cottager will be this and more, when he has shuffled off this mortal coil. Here one sees the various talents of the mind so scattered—one never sees completeness; the round of faculties always breaks somewhere, the repelling $\sqrt{-1}$ comes in, when we want to trace the perfect curve; but still, I suppose, the heart's instincts are all prophecies, and as my wife says in one of her best poems,

"That which in thy restless bosom ever paints thee joys to be,
Is but the too faint foreshadowing of what thou shalt one day see."

Dr. Clarke has written a celebrated work to prove the existence of God *a priori;* we have the ideas of Infinity, Omnipotence, etc.; and as they are only attributes there must be a Substance to correspond to them. Certainly one would think the argument must hold with tenfold force to the heart's hopes and expectations. De Morgan says of Euler's expression for the sine and cosine in terms of the arc, "We cannot form a more adequate idea of an intelligence superior to that of the human race than by imagining an intelligence to which these mathematic truths should be purely elementary ones, in consequence of a sufficient rapidity of power of computation." Only fancy one day seeing—perhaps oneself *being*—all this in mathematical power joined to a more than Miltonic strength of imagination! Huber says every working bee can become a queen bee by feeding on royal jelly; and I don't doubt there are similar unknown possibilities lying beneath our present conditions.

Cowell's completest mastery was first in Persian and then in Sanskrit. Writing of the latter in the Westminster Review in 1848, he said:

India has a literature of its own, in which the Greeks are as little thought of as she is in theirs. In this ancient Sanskrit literature we have the growth of a language in all its stages of development. In the Vedas, or sacred books, we have it in all its roughness and unpolished rudeness, abounding with archaisms and irregularities, which present strange resemblances with the old tongues of Europe; in the heroic poems of a succeeding age we find it when it had undergone a little elaboration and improvement, for, as Emerson says,

"language is an edifice to which every forcible individual contributes a stone"; and in the dramatic poems and later epics we have all that extreme elaboration that precedes decline, when the weapon by dint of over-polish presents too fine an edge for daily use. There is also in the dramas a continual intermixture of Prákrit, a dialect which sprung out of Sanskrit, just as Italian and Spanish grew out of Latin—this being the language of the female characters, while Sanskrit is confined to the men. Now, all this had been going on in that very period which we are apt to think served only to ripen Greece and Rome. While Greek was passing from the Homeric dialect to the Attic of Thucydides and Plato, and thence falling into balanced antitheses and sophistries; and while Latin was slowly escaping from its Oscan nurse and shaping its sound from the *arvales fratres* to fit words to be set to the heroic music of Ennius, and passing thence to the hands of Virgil, who added to it that grace which inevitably precedes and ushers in declining vigor: while all this was passing, India was witnessing the rise and decline of as noble a Speech as either Greek or Latin, with a literature entirely her own, exemplifying in itself all those changes which scholars love to trace in the classical languages of Europe.

In the Gentleman's Magazine, in 1848, Cowell wrote concerning Jelaleddin of Balkh in Khorassan, whose great poem was the Mesnavi:

While Thomas Aquinas was twisting his syllogisms, a far greater genius was teaching a far nobler philosophy in the East, building his lessons upon no cunning logic or dexterous sophism, but on the eternal laws of the universal as enounced in the human heart, or, as Rabelais calls it, "in that other little world which is Man." . . . As life's sun set on Jelaleddin it rose on Dante, a fact not without significance. He was the last great thinker of Asia, the lineal descendant of those ancient Brahmans who thought so deeply in the old centuries, before Alexander's invasion paved a little footpath for history into the unknown recesses of Hindustan. The dawn of European civilization was breaking, while twilight was darkening over Asia, and Dante's voice, like the cry of the dervish from the minaret, woke the sleeping hum of thought and life among the nations to grow only louder and louder, we will hope, throughout the whole of Europe's long, eventful day, now counting off its momentous and resounding hours.

Incidentally his scholarship roamed through almost every field of history and literature. He gives the following account of the first translations of the Psalms into English, some fifty or sixty years before Wyclif translated the whole Bible into English (about 1370):

The Bible had been several times translated into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred and others; but after the Conquest Anglo-Saxon gradually ceased to be understood by the people, and a new dialect, compounded of the Norman, French, and old Anglo-Saxon, had risen up and slowly grown from a patois into a language. At last about 1320 a hermit in Yorkshire (his name was something like John of Campole) determined to translate the Psalms from the Latin Vulgate into the speech "understanded by the people"; and for some time his version was very much liked and used, till Wyclif superseded it. It has never been printed. An Oxford man is now (1884) collating all the extant manuscripts, numbering thirteen, and hopes to print it. When printed it will interest students in Early English as well as students of our early versions; and the old Hermit's name will suddenly break out into notice like a star from behind a thick cloud.

A letter written from Whitby has this reference to Cædmon:

> The air of these high cliffs is perfection, and the cliff on the opposite side of the harbor with the fine ruins of the old Abbey, dominating the landscape, is always a treat to the eye. The Abbey is Early English. I am so interested in it because Cædmon, the first Anglo-Saxon poet, was a monk here in the seventh or eighth century. He was quite illiterate and apparently a hopeless dunce, as he never could be made to learn his breviary, and he used to retire to the castle sheds and weep over his stupidity. One night he dreamed that an angel came to him and told him to sing of the Creation. In the morning he woke to find that he had a new unknown power struggling in his heart. He told some of his verses to his brother monks and they wondered what ailed him; they took him to the Abbot, who recognized that the verses were real poems. And Cædmon made the first and best Anglo-Saxon poetry. Milton borrowed some of his ideas from Cædmon's poem on the Fall of Man.

Cowell writes as follows of the landing of Augustine in England:

> We went one day to Pegwell Bay. The north line of chalk cliffs suddenly sinks down in Pegwell Bay and does not rise again until somewhere between Deal and Walmer, leaving a gap in the high sea wall which Nature reared for England's defense. This opening in Albion's mail-armor has always tempted foreign invaders, whether it was Julius Cæsar or Saxon Hengist and Horsa, bringing war, or Augustine with his monks and Latin Christianity. I thought when I heard the Te Deum and the Athanasian Creed at church last Sunday—*those* are two distant traces of Augustine's landing among the Pagan Saxons. The Christianity which had prevailed in England previously in Roman times and which the Pagan Saxons had extirpated or driven into the mountain fastnesses of Wales was connected with the Greek Church; hence Augustine's want of sympathy with the Old British Church represented by the Welsh ecclesiastics. The Te Deum and the Athanasian Creed are essentially Latin and Western—the one being ascribed to Ambrose and the other to Hilary; and each is unknown to the Greek Church. We hope to go to Ebbsfleet and see the meadow still pointed out as the scene of the conference between Augustine and the Saxon King Ethelbert.

Among Cowell's intimate friends the one who most appears in the Life and Letters is that brilliant though spasmodic son of genius, Edward Fitzgerald, who was in literary sympathy with Cowell, but had nothing like his knowledge, application, or universal talent. He believed Cowell would come to be the greatest scholar in England. Many a time he made a night of it over Æschylus or Calderon or other classic author, with the Cowells, in their modest home at Bramford, near Ipswich, "in that happy valley whose gossip was the mill wheel, and whose visitors were the winds that ruffled the sleepy stream which turned the mill." Fitzgerald wrote to Cowell, "What scholarship I have is due to you, my master in Persian and so much besides." Cowell introduced Fitzgerald to the most remarkable of Persian poets, Omar Khayyám, and years afterward Fitzgerald made

a translation of Omar's Rubáiyát, which he called one of his "peccadilloes in verse." Far from being a literal rendering from the Persian, it is part translation and part original, part Omar and part Fitzgerald, ingeniously tessellated into a sort of Epicurean eclogue in a Persian garden. Fitzgerald sent an early copy of it to Cowell in India. Cowell, being a very religious man, was alarmed at the publication of the wickedness in the Rubáiyát; but had his own explanation of Omar's skepticism, which, he said, resembled that of Lucretius. In both, unsatisfied religious fervor had turned to asceticism and mysticism; and when these failed to give satisfaction and peace, bitterness and cynicism took their place. Omar took to railing against the religious, filled his verses with bitter satires upon the pretenders to sanctity as sensual hypocrites. The evil and folly of the charlatans and empirics he could see with a clear eye. But he saw dimly and darkly in really spiritual things. In his blindness he denied the existence of the soul's disease, or at any rate the possibility of any cure or help. In this, like Lucretius, he cut himself loose from *facts;* and in both of them we see unsatisfied instincts turning rancid, curdling and clouding the clear depths of the soul with atrabilious colors of misanthropy and despair. Like Cowell, Omar was a scholar —in youth a student of one of the great doctors of Islam, and all his life busy in winning knowledge of every kind. Here the likeness ceases, for Cowell, in all his large and lofty learning, kept the sweet and simple faith of childhood, only stronger and clearer as the studious years brought him greater knowledge and maturer wisdom. He could see nothing noble or sensible in epicureanism or cynicism. Indeed, nothing is more unworthy, ridiculous, and contemptible than the cynicism of the luxurious epicurean, which is what disgraces Omar Khayyám, and which filled that rich society woman who "lived and died full of bitterness and good dinners." This great scholar's reverence was humble and profound, and his trust in God was both rational and absolute. He committed all his way unto the Lord and felt that He directed his steps. He said, "We want to learn to trust in Providence as we believe in and trust the power of gravitation." The trustful spirit of his whole life is in the words now graven on his tombstone: "This God is our God forever and ever; He will be our guide even unto death."

About his friends the Brownings, Cowell writes, at various times:

We do not place Mrs. Browning as high as Dean Kitchin does—still I quite own her greatness. Some of her poems are very beautiful, and many of her

thoughts are magnificent. I liked the "Vision of Poets," "The Poet's Vow," and "The Knight's Page." But her verse is unmusical, her rhymes are often atrocious, and she is rather too rugged to please me. I fear I am too fond of the beautiful and the harmonious—I return to Virgil with ever fresh enthusiasm. . . . I cannot bear her husband's poetry [this was in 1862], which has what Dr. Johnson called the nodosities of the oak without its grandeur, the contortions of the Sibyl without the inspiration. Her poetry is on a far higher platform of Parnassus than his. . . . A Sanskrit verse says, "Two fruits of heavenly flavor grow on life's bitter poison tree—the friendship of the noble heart and thy rich clusters, Poetry!" Robert Browning's clusters are not such as one finds in Wordsworth, Gray, or Shakespeare. His poetry does not give one the quiet rest and pleasure which really beautiful verse naturally does.

Nevertheless Tennyson and Browning are said to have been his favorite contemporary poets, and he quotes Browning here and there in a way to show that he has felt his quickening power. At the Cowells' fireside Tennyson sat and smoked the short black pipe he always carried. References to him are such as these: "Last Saturday [1852] Elizabeth and Fitzgerald and I went down and dined with Tennyson and enjoyed it very much. Alfred the Great was very genial, and talked finely about many things, and altogether it was a memorable day;" [1898, after reading Tennyson's Life:] "I taught him a little Persian fifty years ago, but the Persian letters daunted him. There was great simplicity in his character. He was a really great man—he looked one and was one." The rustic neighbors of the Tennyson family said of them, "They'd allus books in their hands, meet them where you would." One singular thing in this great English Orientalist is that the one contemporary essayist he seems familiar with is our American Emerson. There is hardly a sign in Cowell's letters that this eminent Oxford and Cambridge scholar ever heard of Matthew Arnold, but he knows his Emerson by heart and makes frequent reference to him.

In a letter written by Tennyson's wife in 1862, just after the death of the Prince Consort, to Mrs. Cowell in India, we have this glimpse of Queen Victoria:

I cannot but hope that our prayers for the future of India are beginning to be fulfilled. If the queen's own spirit could be infused into her empire I am sure they would. I do not think anyone knew till this time of her sorrow how really great a being she is. Alfred had a private interview with her. She stood pale and motionless as a statue, and in a low sweet voice poured forth her love and grief. Alfred says there was a stately innocence about her, different from any other woman. She really does seem to know what it is to meet a friend heart to heart, spirit to spirit, and also what it is to live in spirit with God. Is not this the great lesson we have to learn in this world?

In 1863 Cowell writes from India to Dean Kitchin:

I don't regret leaving Oxford and even England itself when I see how it is distracted by theological disputes. Almost every kind of obsolete error seems to be revived. We are burrowing out old Zoroastrian, Babylonian, and Hindu dreams which have not seen the daylight for millennia—and now even the old Nile has had to give up its secret. Renan seems to me to be going back to Buddhism with his abstract godhead of *le beau, le vrai, et le devoir.* And what is Colenso but Porphyry and Celsus over again? Out here I get only faint echoes of these disputes. I have plenty to interest me in teaching those Hindus who are studying Christianity under me; and I will never regret coming to India if I can do a little good in that way. I am holding Bible classes in my own home.

In 1899, Cowell wrote the following indirect comment on Professor Jowett:

I am reading a new Life of Erasmus. It is interesting from its glimpses into the time, which was one of great importance, as it was so full of the revival of learning and the consequent Reformation movement; but Erasmus is not an interesting character. He reminds me of Dr. Jowett of Balliol College, Oxford—he had the same enthusiasm for learning coupled with the same timidity and uncertainty in religious determination. He was afraid to speak out boldly, and so trimmed his course to suit all parties as far as he could. Of course he was a feeble character beside Luther. But in his feeble way he did some good by his efforts to spread a knowledge of Greek and of the then unknown Greek Testament.

Missionaries in India testify that Professor Cowell was a missionary-hearted man. To teach Christianity in government schools not being permitted, he held Bible classes in his own home and taught the way of life to many. A Mohammedan Court Interpreter said the mere fact that Professor Cowell was a Christian made it seem probable that Christianity is true. He was such a layman as made a native Hindu gentleman say of two other laymen, Reynell Taylor and Donald McLeod, "All you need do is to send us *ferishtas* [angels] like them, and India is sure to become Christian." One of Cowell's pupils says, "I think his perennial enthusiasm and freshness were largely due to his religious character. I always felt in his company that I was in the presence of a deeply religious man." Many years after leaving India he wrote to the Babu Bhagavan C. Chatterjea, one of his early converts in Calcutta: "I was much interested in your lecture on the Atonement, and am glad it has reached a second edition. We want more and more to make Hindus see how Christ's Atonement satisfies all our needs and solves our difficulties. As I grow older I grow tired of argument, and value hymns and books of devotion more. When one feels 'with thronging duties prest' and troubled with life's sorrows and cares, it is more and more a blessing

to find rest and shelter in the promises of Christ. We want more and more to take his word as our guide and comfort, as the years run on and we draw near the end. I am nearly seventy years old now, and I should like my age to be not frosty but mellow and kindly." One of his Hindu pupils wrote from India: "You enriched me not only with much knowledge, but with far nobler things. By your example you taught me Christian virtues—patience, sacrifice, and gentleness. I saw only a little of your life, but was benefited much. The crumbs that fall from your table can save a man's life."

In a letter to his mother written from Calcutta in 1863 are the following views:

You would have been startled at a letter I wrote lately to a Babu, whom I have helped out of some Unitarian difficulties. He wanted to know the differences between Church and Dissent. I told him they belonged to the region of *Feeling*, not *Conscience*. Those who admire antiquity and system, and hold by the aristocratic part of our constitution, would always prefer the Established Church—while the lovers of progress and reform and the democratical principle would prefer Dissent. To my mind, any hymn book or Missionary history is a convincing proof that the Spirit's influence is diffused upon *each*. A dissenting hymn book cannot exclude the hymns of Keble and Bishop Ken, and we Anglicans are forced to include Watts and the Wesleys. I am very glad that I am not living in Oxford now. The movements there would not suit me at all. The reason why I dislike Stanley is that, while he has much that fascinates, it is mixed with so much that is bad. He interests by the intense light and warmth which he throws on the scenery and framework of Scripture—he makes us realize vividly its human and secular side—that which it has in common with Greek and Roman story; but it seems to me this is more than counterbalanced by the chill he throws over all that is Divine and Spiritual. His attempts to nibble at the Miracles are just a part of the same tone of mind which leads him to represent Abraham's offering up Isaac as an attempt to introduce Phœnician human sacrifices into Judaism—that is, to abolish any idea of atonement by blood from Old and New Testament. The battle has begun around the Old Testament, and it must go on; the world is in for it. I always tell my Babus, when they are perplexed about any of these difficulties, to remember Isa. 54. 17: "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper; and every tongue that shall rise against thee in judgment thou shalt condemn." It has certainly been fulfilled hitherto. The smoke seems thick and obscures the scene just now; but wait a while and it will all clear off and pass away *as smoke*, and leave no trace behind. I am exceedingly interested in Dr. Pye Smith's Scripture Testimony to a Messiah. It is a first-rate book, heavy and dull perhaps, but abounding with information on many points. I am also fascinated by a book by Dr. Mill on The Mythical Interpretation of Scripture, lately republished to offset Essays and Reviews. His learning enables him to *settle* many points. I have been making a list of some of the striking protests of great men against the paganism of modern civilization. Arnold says: "The Gospel sets Christ before us as the object of our intense admiration, and this feeling is necessary to our highest perfection." Joubert says: "The surprising surprises once—the admirable is always more and more admired. That knowledge which takes away admiration is an evil knowledge." Wordsworth says: "In a life without love there can be no thought, for we have

no thought (save thoughts of pain) except so far as we have admiration." The grand remedy for the present epidemic of doubt seems to me to be personal interest in the struggle against evil; everybody who wishes to keep his spiritual intuition clear must try and *do* something to make his convictions *living*. The world, just now, is like Solon's republic—no man can continue neutral in the conflict.

In 1863 he was profoundly moved by the persecution and martyrdom of native Christians in Madagascar, and wrote:

I am reminded of the persecution of the early Christians and the martyrs of Lyons, and have a new realization of the grandeur of old Ambrose's words, "The noble army of martyrs praise Thee." It is very remarkable to witness how, as the attacks seem to thicken against the external evidences of Christianity, the internal evidences are only more and more strengthened. I was explaining this only yesterday to some intelligent Hindus. I showed them how on purely scientific grounds we are justified in placing the Martyr, who dies amid an unsympathizing crowd, among the very foremost men of the race. His position and action surpass in real glory a Shakespeare or a Newton, because it more entirely depends on moral causes and it is man's moral nature which is his true glory. We share intellect with Satan, but we share moral feelings with angels and archangels. Now in these recent martyrdoms we see how in one generation men can make a gigantic stride from the savage state to the very pinnacle of human greatness. These accounts of the eighteen Madagascar converts, four of whom were buried alive, recall Polycarp and Ridley; there is really no difference between the heroism of the converted savage and that of the educated Greek or Englishman. In the highest possible sense there is neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in them all. I try to impress the wonderfulness of such transformations on my Hindu friends here. The Hindu mind is agitated with many inquiries about Christianity. I had students with me nearly six hours yesterday in my home, and the whole time was occupied in reading the Bible and discussing certain doubts and difficulties. When I first came here I used to think the *moral* nature of the people dead—they seemed to have no appreciation of religion or religious truth. It is very different now. I would not be surprised if a great change took place suddenly in a large section of the educated mind. The great obstacle is caste. The Hindu who turns Christian has to undergo a martyrdom, though not of fire and sword, and this makes many hesitate and "linger shivering on the brink." I have hopes that a long letter I wrote on the Personality of the Spirit has helped to decide a Hindu pupil of mine who was wavering on the brink of Unitarianism, and that I may, with God's blessing, soon see him baptized.

This great savant, the typical Scholar of his time, so erudite that Dr. Perowne, the revered Master of Corpus Christi, Oxford, wrote that "one half the learning stored in Cowell's brains would have turned the heads of most men," found nothing in all the wide range of his encyclopedic learning to weaken in the least his Christian faith. Various lesser men have given up their faith, like poor Robert Elsmere, for very shallow reasons. Renan lost his boyhood's faith by studying the Semitic languages, which are the philological link with

the Bible. Moncure Conway got hold of the Bhagavat Geeta in Emerson's library at Concord, and was so overcome as to put it on a level with the Bible in his canon of Sacred Scriptures. In contrast with these light, slight men, driven to and fro by winds of unbelief, Professor Cowell is a shining proof that really great and exhaustive learning only strengthens faith, and especially that complete mastery of the "sacred" books of the East does not dim but rather enhances the incomparable superiority of the Holy Bible.

The marvelous combination of wisdom, strength, and prodigious intellectual powers, with gentleness, modesty, purity, and simplicity of nature, seen in Edward B. Cowell, makes him a source of joy and inspiration to all who value Christian scholarship or saintly character, and justifies our presentation of this brief sketch of a typical scholar's life. A glimpse of two of his friendships may fitly close this writing. Dean Kitchen once wrote to Cowell concerning their lifelong friendship: "Such friendships affect us powerfully and help to establish our faith in humanity. In deep and marvelous ways men's relations are intertwined even in a brief lifetime on this earth. And what mysterious relations have we with the souls of just men in the Church Triumphant and with the most Holy Spirit of God. We live not for ourselves, but for many others, and for the future and forever. May our friendship be lasting and built up in the sure faith of Jesus Christ." Similar light upon the nature of Cowell's friendships is found in letters passing between him and Max Müller in 1897. The latter wrote to Cowell: "My dear old Friend: I think both of us have followed through life Tennyson's lines,

> 'Not clinging to some ancient law,
> Not mastered by some modern term,
> Nor swift nor slow to change, but firm.'

It is delightful that our friendship has remained unbroken in spite of our differences. I cannot have much more time on earth, and I feel I have had my full share of everything. I also feel that there is no break, but rather continuity, between this world and the next—just how we need not inquire. So I shall be quite content to close my eyes and await what is beyond." In Cowell's reply we read: "We are growing old. It is a great happiness to me that our friendship has lasted so long. Our great trial in these days is to keep our childlike trust in God in spite of all the conflict of opinions around us. . . . My life is mostly past and my work done. I can only thank God for a long and happy life, and trust He will forgive all my mistakes."

THE ARENA

ANOTHER VIEW OF EMERSON

If it can be shown that the influence of Emerson upon the popular mind is to vitiate the sense of moral distinctions, that influence should be opposed with the strength and directness indicated in Francis T. Brown's article, "William James and the Philosophy of Emerson," published in the REVIEW of September-October, 1904.

It seems to me that this demoralizing influence is asserted rather than proven, yet we are willing to grant the position while we suggest that the fault may not be in Emerson but in the "popular mind." Just because "thinking is the connecting circuit between feeling and volition," the feeling being wrong and the will being weak, has thought become distorted. Because the theologian deals with wrong feelings and weak wills, and because personality furnishes the only basis for freedom of the will, he must insist upon personality, and for obvious reasons he must exaggerate the will out of its relative proportions and divorce it from the other determining factors in man's character and destiny.

That the importance of the will, in relation to the present opportunity, cannot be exaggerated is not inconsistent with the sentence quoted from Emerson: "All the sallies of his will are rounded in by the law of his being, as the inequalities of Andes and Himmaleh are insignificant in the curve of the sphere." If it is only within limits that man is free, it is still all-important that he should act within those limits. It is only the relative good that he can "hold to" and "define well" at any time, yet in its choice is wrapped up the acceptance of the absolute good, with its corresponding effect upon moral character.

Suppose we regard Emerson himself as the "regal soul" evolved from the loyally fighting Crump. Will not such a view justify both demands of the controversy? Our beloved New England poets and philosophers seem to have had little experimental knowledge of human depravity. Is it not significant that those old Puritans who fought so bravely their devils and demons produced a race of men who seemed to sing upon the conquered heights! They wrote from the victorious side of human nature, and their fathers' theology had revealed it. Of this fine fruit was Ralph Waldo Emerson.

We have Father Taylor's testimony to the fact that "Mr. Emerson was one of the sweetest creatures that God ever made." His will was so at one with the will of God that he was conscious of the flow of the divine through his soul. If this be pantheism, then the fifteenth chapter of Saint John may be termed pantheistic. That Mr. Emerson ascribed his own measure of the divine to all men seems to have been his chief mistake. That he was driven by the theology of his time to make statements that are misleading is to be deplored. Doubtless it is hard for the "popular mind" to conceive of a man so satisfied with God that his only

prayer is, "Thy will be done;" moreover, praying this continually in terms of the great cosmic order. The Bible has taught us to fear and to tremble, to believe, and to trust, and to love, but when there comes a man fearing, trembling, believing, trusting, loving continually, as in the Divine Presence, we say, "He hath a philosophy." "He has imitators in scores who omit no part of the man but his wisdom and wit," says Mr. Lowell of him in A Fable for Critics. So he seems to have numerous readers, "blind to the soul's style and make," who see in Emerson everything but his reverent spirit. He did not attempt to transcend Jesus except as Jesus ever and ever transcends each historical conception of himself. Christianity is an organic growth, unfolding diviner and yet diviner forms.

But it must be remembered that transcendentalism had no language. It hovered about the writings of a few men and women, it emanated from certain beautiful lives, but it awaits the finer phrase of an untainted race to become incarnate in language.

WILHELMINE WILLSON.
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SHALL FAITH PERISH FROM OFF THE EARTH?

IN every age there is a visible breaking away of the old and outgrown branches and a putting forth of new growing twigs on the tree of human progress, and the crackling of dead limbs makes much more noise than the swelling of the new buds. Customs, theories, doctrines, methods, and habits of life obtain a hold, become rigid, and persist long after they lose their pliability and responsiveness to the needs of men. When the new growing life within does at last throw off dead form it breaks away in great masses, and for the moment it seems as if the whole structure of things is going to pieces at once. There being no equivalent substitute at hand to take the place of the discarded form, it seems as if the loss has no compensation, and there are always men who spend their lives gazing at the brush pile and declaring that there shall be no more trees. Such men see only the whitened stubble, and the autumn of every generation of men finds the pessimist who laments that things are not as they were in the spring. There are, however, great fields whose germinating seed silently sends up new and successive waves of life and growth, and while these fields bring forth their increase seedtime and harvest will continue and faith shall not perish from the earth.

1. There is an enormous mass of religious feeling and conviction that is dormant in the lives of men. In the depth of human consciousness there is a conviction that God exists and that ultimately he rules this universe. This belief rarely finds expression in form of words, but it acts as a mighty balance wheel in human affairs and sustains even the unbelieving in many a crisis of life. Silent but powerful, there is a moral law of gravitation that is infinitely greater in its ultimate results than the occasional landslide that makes much dust and noise and some damage. Outward forms have changed, but this inner consciousness of the reality of the divine is as strong to-day as ever, and if men depend less on the

outward expression of things that are seen they may also live more by the unseen and eternal.

2. Up through the channels of childhood come the streams of the living waters of faith. In every home there is a new incarnation of things divine when the parent looks with seeing eye and for the first time realizes that "of such is the kingdom of heaven." Many a woman has been untouched by every appeal of church and friend and Spirit till she beheld in the face of her babe the light of neither land nor sea, and then there welled up in her mother heart a sudden stream from the great love-fountains of eternity, and the world-old miracle was repeated once again; love divine had filled her heart and finished then a new creation there, and living faith took the place of indifference and unrest.

3. The nascent spiritual consciousness of adolescence is perpetually struggling to express itself in terms of faith, and the seething life forces must find somewhere a footing. The old men may dream dreams of better days long gone, but the young men shall see visions of greater things to come, and because they are strong their faith shall be contagious. The swelling bud becomes a vigorous limb, and, while it is different in form and direction from the broken branch, it becomes a part of the onward growth of the tree of life.

4. There are innumerable cumulative influences in life that are silent and unseen, but are nevertheless steadily building human character. The chance word spoken in season, the song overheard, the sentence from some sincere prayer, a fragment of a sermon, some remembered text of childhood, the never-to-be-forgotten prayer of a godly mother, the great pervasive atmosphere of a Christian home, be it halfway around the world, the echo of a voice that is still, the pressure of a hand that is gone, the chance clipping from a paper, the still small voice of the Comforter of men, whose province it is to remind us of the things of Christ—all these are seeds sprouting here and there in human hearts and sending up new growth to take the place of the old things that have passed away. As a result, there is always, in every place, some one who is nearly ready to step over the line and begin a new life of faith in the Son of God. He may not step over in just the old way, nor at just the old point of crossing; it may be in a new way of his own, for he is a new creature and the product of a new growth. It by no means follows that the new is inferior to the old.

If these things be true it follows that the Christian teacher is not to yearn for the old, but to keep in the current of life and grow with the new. Neither the old days nor the old forms can ever come back, and the new heaven and the new earth will be established only as a result of obedience to the new commandment. It is now obvious that periods of formality must be followed by a spiritual dearth and drought because the springs are dried up and the living waters have ceased to flow. To open the springs and make new channels for the waters and cause the earth to bring forth and bud is not the work of a moment nor a day, and it has happened that the man who has seemed to be slow and barren of results has patiently digged again the wells, and repaired

the broken channels, and some other man has followed him and with the glad notes of the harvest horn has reaped the results of the life that went before. Such opening of springs was the mission of the "voice" crying in the wilderness, and such was the ministry of Him who left as the visible results of his divine ministry a bare handful of men gazing up into an empty sky. But he opened springs of life eternal, and the widening streams of human life and faith have been watering a thirsty world ever since. "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" Not unless the eternal can die, and the fountain opened in the house of David cease to flow, shall faith perish from off the earth.

Manila, Philippine Islands. GEORGE A. MILLER.

A MUCH NEGLECTED QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE

THE operative principle in our representative government is that expressed in a maxim of law so generally accepted that it has never been seriously questioned: "Qui facit per alium facit per se" ("He that acts through another acts through himself"). Here the sovereign people direct their agents, representatives, servants, or officers by constitutional provisions. The government is administered by a political party. The party acts for the men who support it and believe in its principles. The party is the agent of the sovereign citizen who votes for it. When my party steadfastly and regularly does wrong, that wrong becomes mine, for my party is my representative and servant. Therefore my party affiliations are a matter of conscience, for my agents' deeds are mine. If my agent frames iniquity by law I am responsible. If my agent runs a saloon, so do I; and this is many fold more lamentable and true than it is funny. My agent's acts are mine. Escape from this shameful conclusion is impossible. It holds in law, in logic, and in morals. A license party is now administering the government and it wants the job as long as possible. It is the agent of multitudes of good men gone wrong. In administering the government it runs illegal saloons in Maine and Kansas, and it runs saloons in every Old Soldiers' Home where the saloon has not been ousted by the influence of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. It stores and bonds liquors in vastest quantities and skims off one dollar and ten cents from every gallon of distilled spirits. For twenty-five dollars it will give its permission to any man "of good moral character" to sell rum in any prohibition territory in the nation. This party's chief financial asset is from putting the bottle to the lips of men. It has, by deliberate and formal legislation, legalized that which without its sanction is an outlaw, and that which so soon as sanctioned becomes a steadfast criminal. It has by its patronage, protection, and consent made the hovel of rum to prosper into the palace and has turned the groggery into the gilded saloon. It has made the most destructive of modern sins respectable by legalizing it. In Vermont and New Hampshire and Maine it has corrupted what it pretended to exalt; it has hugely violated what it trivially obeyed. Its "Ideal" temperance law now operating in Massachusetts has in the last

ten years caused an increase of seventy-seven per cent of drunkards committed, ninety-four per cent of drunkards recommitted, fifty-four per cent of drunkards committed between the ages of twenty-one and forty, and fifty-seven per cent in convictions for offenses against public order. Who is responsible for this? Surely we may not accuse the agent when the principal is at hand. The party is simply the agent of the men who support it. Nor can one escape these most woeful conclusions by simply saying that he did not mean or intend to do the things done by his agent, or by simply saying that he does not feel his guilt. It is a wise and just principle of law that "one intends the natural and reasonable results of his acts." The abomination of legalized vice is not to be laid at the door of my party, but at my own feet. Doubtless the party is guilty enough, but it gets its guilt from those whose agent it is.

After all is said that may be said in favor of the license system, its revenues, its restrictions and regulations, it is still a rank offense morally because it is simply a system of consent to vice. By this system good men are persuaded, year after year, to consent to the saloon when they hate it. For a fee they consent to that in politics which they oppose in the school, the home, and the church. And this matter of consent is the chief distinction between vice and virtue. Virtue may be assailed, overthrown, and outraged, but it never turns to vice until it consents. Assenting to an existing condition and consenting to it are two very distinct matters in morals. The ethics of harlotry and the ethics of the license system are identical in this, that they are both systems of consent to vice—and that too, generally, for money. License is consent. When my party licenses the saloon it consents to it, and it does so for me; for it is my agent. For years all power has been given into the hands of the license parties. They believe in and perpetuate license. They make good men partners with them in dealing out poison for revenue only. Under their rule the total consumption of wines and liquors in the United States has increased from 8.33 gallons per capita in 1877 to 16.43 gallons per capita in 1899, and yet we are solemnly assured that this increase of one hundred per cent is the only practical way to prohibition. The party press and machinery hoot and hiss at prohibition, and still they would persuade good men that this is the only way to prohibition. They even assert that all that has been done for prohibition has been done by them. Herein they forget that all our territory is by inherent right prohibition territory and that the saloon comes in only by legal enactment. The saloon is an outlaw until it is made legal by license. The natural and inherent right of every city and state to freedom from the saloon did not come by any political party, and for a political party to take credit for this inherent right is to deal in stolen goods. Prohibition is a failure, so far as it is a failure, because the laws are not honestly enforced; and indeed it is hopeless to expect a license party to enforce a prohibition law. The theory of the license party is this: "You make what laws you want, but leave enforcement to us." The license party will give "no license" with one hand—the state law—and with the other —the national law—it gives license pure and simple in the very same

territory. And then the press and the multitudes will with one voice declare that this double dealing is their ideal and that nothing better can be done. And thus it happens that the saloon is perpetuated by a union of good and bad men all enamored of a license party which daily debauches them. The church, fired by any enthusiasm, may attack the saloon as she will, but the moment the saloon finds sanctuary in politics our great American bosses rise up and say to us uncertain and feeble saints:

> "Look where it stands;
> Around its form we draw the awful circle of our party.
> Step but a foot within this hallowed line,
> And on thy head—yea, though it be a Christian's—
> We'll hurl the curse of politics."

And so our wrath is bottled up lest we disturb some party feasting on its prey. We are begged to remain quiet lest some little disaster come to pass. And the church stands by with uplifted voice but down-hanging hands. Thus is she staked down alongside the saloon. When she starts after her bitterest enemy—the saloon—she finds herself lassoed and made to lie down with the saloon and wallow with it in the mire of licensed wrong. To enjoy the doubtful good of local option she is made to condone a system of national license, for license is a national evil and no local option can cure it. To be a believer in license and in prohibition at the same time is not only an attempt at bad logic but an evil thing in morals. The whole license system is the great Serbonian bog, which, if not soon abandoned, will swallow both church and state.

Boston, Massachusetts. CHARLES A. CRANE.

"JEFFERSON'S BIBLE," OR THOMAS JEFFERSON'S LIFE AND MORALS OF JESUS

IN the METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW for January, 1859, being then a budding young lawyer, I published a résumé of the Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson. This was written chiefly for the lack of something to do (and to flesh an untried pen), and was based mainly on Jefferson's "Complete Works, being his Autobiography, Correspondence, Reports, Messages, Addresses, and other Writings, from Original Manuscripts," in nine volumes, published by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C., not long before.

In this article, among other aspects of Mr. Jefferson, I discussed his "Religious Views," and described him as being "not an atheist," indeed, but rather a "sort of deist"—not accepting the Scriptures literally at all—and then added:

> Yet he thought Jesus the most incomparable being that ever appeared on earth, greatly superior to Socrates or any other philosopher before or since; clipped from the New Testament what he believed to be passages containing his very words, pasted them on the leaves of a blank book, and named this singular synopsis the Philosophy of Jesus.

And then I quoted from Vol. VI of his said "Works," p. 518:

> I have made a wee little book which I call the Philosophy of Jesus; it is a

paradigma of his doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book (New Testament) and arranging them in the pages of a blank book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen; it is a document in proof that *I* am a *real Christian*, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus.

It was a query with me then, what had ever become of this singular compilation—this curious "Philosophy of Jesus"—and little did I think I should ever lay eyes upon it. I supposed, of course, it was only a great man's passing fancy or intellectual diversion, and, like so many other theological notions, especially of young men, had long since passed into the limbo of the "crazy and the queer." But, to my surprise and delight, it has recently been unearthed, like a Babylonian brick or Pompeiian marble, and I now give the following further concerning it.

This little book, it appears, was compiled by Mr. Jefferson about 1804-07, and consisted at first of an octavo volume of forty-six pages, which he afterward enlarged into a book of eighty-two pages. He said he had taken the four gospels, and cut from them every verse recording the moral precepts of Jesus, and arranged them in a certain order of time and subject, and "although they appeared but as fragments, yet fragments of the most sublime edifice of morality which had ever been exhibited to man." Again he wrote, in 1816: "I made (some years before), for my own satisfaction, an extract from the evangelists of the text of His morals, selecting those only whose style and spirit proved them genuine, and his own. . . . I gave it the title of 'The Philosophy of Jesus Extracted from the Text of the Evangelists.'" He said he had selected only "the matter which is evidently His, and which is as easily distinguished as diamonds in a dunghill." Evidently he regarded the other verses as only monkish tradition or priestly invention—however revered by others.

This first volume was the work of a few evenings only, when he lived in Washington as President of the United States, overwhelmed with official business, and was done "after getting through the evening task of reading the letters and papers of the day." But in 1819 or 1820, when out of the Presidency and back again at Monticello, having plenty of time for fads and fancies, he expanded this first volume into another volume, of eighty-two pages, and improved it greatly. He took duplicate copies of Greek, Latin, French, and English Testaments and cut out whatever texts suited him, and pasted these in a book of blank pages in parallel columns, so as to have the whole subject readily before him. His original idea was to have the life and teachings of Jesus told in simple form "for use of the Indians," he said, thinking this best adapted to them. But afterward he abandoned this, and made the above described book for his own "individual use." He used the said four languages, with all of which he was familiar, in order that he might have the verses side by side for collation and comparison. In this little book he pasted a map of the ancient world and the Holy Land for ready reference when studying his Bible. He bound the whole in red morocco, and entitled it on the back in gilt letters, "The Morals of Jesus." It made a book eight and a quarter inches high, about five inches wide, and one inch thick. The covers and

edges were tooled in gold, and it was bound by Fred. A. Mayo, Richmond, Virginia. On the title-page he wrote himself:

The
Life and Morals
of
Jesus of Nazareth,
Extracted Textually
From the Gospels
In
Greek, Latin,
French, and English.

This is the only copy he issued, and it does not seem that he ever contemplated its general publication, but made and kept it for the private edification of himself and friends.

Subsequently, in 1895, this so-called "Jefferson Bible" was found in the possession of a Miss Randolph, then living at Shadwell, Virginia (a relative of Mr. Jefferson, I surmise), and was obtained by purchase and is now the property of the United States National Museum, Washington, D. C. The two copies of the New Testament from which he extracted his selected verses were found in 1886 in the library of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, their title-page bearing date 1804. They were purchased at the sale of Mr. Jefferson's library, and are the same referred to in Jefferson's Works, Vol. VI, p. 217. What became of the Greek, Latin, and French copies I do not know.

This unique and historic little "Bible," however, was brought to the attention of the Fifty-seventh Congress (1902), and ordered published by photo-lithographic process, but was not published really until 1904.[1] The result is a handsome little volume in red morocco which is an exact reproduction of Jefferson's old and faded book, binding and all, and a real "curiosity of literature." For a copy of this I am indebted to Hon. John F. Dryden, United States Senator, New Jersey, and I desire to acknowledge his courtesy here.

The contents of this little "Jefferson's Bible" are noteworthy, but not so radical and iconoclastic as might be expected, all things considered, and on the whole exhibit good sense and excellent judgment from his viewpoint. He commences with Matt. 2, the birth of Jesus, and concludes with Matt. 27, mixed up with Luke 23 and John 19—his crucifixion and death. Of course, he excludes all miracles, and everything he regards as supernatural, but he includes the birth of Christ (without its supernatural features), the disputation with the doctors, the preaching and the beheading of John, the exquisite parables, the inimitable Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, his vindication of the Sabbath, the story of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the alabaster box woman, his welcome to little children, the laborers in the vineyard, the story of Zacchæus, of Lazarus the beggar and the rich man, of Mary and Martha (but not Lazarus their brother), his ride into Jerusalem, the driving of the money changers from the temple, the marriage feast (not Cana of Galilee), the

[1] It was before Congress in 1890, but nothing resulted then.

rebuke and reproof of the Pharisees, the story of the ten virgins and the several talents, the unfaithful steward, the betrayal by Judas, the trial before Pilate, and his crucifixion and death. Of course, he omits the resurrection *in toto*, as miraculous and unthinkable. He does not follow the regular narrative in full, but eliminates and excides verses here and there, and sometimes transfers verses from one chapter to another, or even from one gospel to another, in order to secure what he regards as historical continuity, or logical accuracy, or even rhetorical beauty. He makes no note or comment whatever, but gives these wonderful sayings of Jesus pure and simple, naked and unadorned. On the whole, it must be confessed, one is deeply impressed with the reading of this "wee little book"—with the apparent conscientiousness of its author and the singular beauty and sublimity of its verses. It does indeed make "a beautiful and precious morsel of ethics," as Jefferson says; "the most sublime and benevolent code of morals which has ever been offered to man," as he claims. Socrates and Plato, Aristotle and Marcus Aurelius, Confucius and Buddha, have little to equal it, and accepting these sublime precepts, and shaping his life by them, Jefferson may be permitted to say he was "a real Christian—a disciple of Jesus," as he claims, though not in our orthodox and usually accepted sense.

Thomas Jefferson certainly lived an upright and manly life. In many respects he was the sanest man of his age and time. He was the representative Democrat of his day and generation (in the best sense of that word), and far in advance of his time, though in 1904 I think he would have voted for President Roosevelt. He wrote the greatest state paper of his own or any other age—our immortal Declaration of Independence —that made George III tremble on his throne, and will yet bring in "The parliament of man, the federation of the world," and put all kings and emperors out of business.

He was opposed to slavery, even down in old slavery-ridden Virginia, and at his death he freed his deserving slaves and made due provision for them—all honor to his humanity! And, on the whole, I incline to think he acted "up to his lights" the best he knew how, for the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Had he lived in our day, with the full blaze of the twentieth century around him, it is to be hoped he would not have mutilated and spoiled eight good Testaments, in four different languages, in order to make an inferior one to order, but, rather, after weighing the matter further and duly counting the cost, he would have wisely concluded, with Whittier:

> "We search the world for truth; we cull
> The good, the pure, the beautiful
> From graven stone and written scroll,
> From the old flower fields of the soul;
> And, weary seekers of the best,
> We come back laden from our quest,
> To find that all the sages said
> Is in the Book our mother read!"

Trenton, New Jersey. JAMES F. RUSLING.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB

SUGGESTIONS ABOUT BIBLE STUDY

How may a pastor attract the people of his church to biblical study and maintain in them a permanent and progressive interest in the great Book? It is a question worth asking; and the right answer would do lasting good. There is a spiritual and subjective side of Bible study which appeals to a limited class even of church members. It deals with the phenomena of the inner life—the sense of sin, the conflict of flesh and spirit, the conquest over appetite, temper, passion, selfishness, and worldliness, the witness of acceptance with God, the presence in the heart of "the fruit of the Spirit," the "growing after" conformity to the life of Christ. There is a study of "doctrine" for which some good people have adaptation. They love to trace in the epistles the thoughts of apostles in support of some specialty of their own, and not always for controversial ends, but to conform their opinions in this particular phase of faith.

Sometimes a pastor would find a small, enthusiastic following in literary studies of special books—a department of critical biblical study much in vogue in our age. The light thrown upon a passage by a knowledge of the particular local conditions which caused the writing of it, or of the immediate circumstances of the author of it, would give to that part of Holy Writ a new significance. And he is a very sensible pastor who knows the peculiar tastes of his people and caters to them, and who is versatile and broad enough to be interested in a variety of motives which incline and impel different classes of believers and seekers for truth to search the Scriptures—an afternoon class of ladies, an occasional evening Bible class of men, short courses of lectures on the various books of the Bible and especially on the light thrown upon Scripture by modern archæological researches and the literary and linguistic investigation of present-day specialists. An interest in such subjects would do much toward the enrichment and strengthening of the pastor himself, and would attract to him and his church the increasing number of really awakened Bible students. Thus the pastor would strengthen his church on the spiritual and on the literary and intellectual side. His Sunday sermons would attract a great many people just outside of his own communion.

When the writer of these pages took his pen in hand to write about Bible study he did not purpose at once to discuss either the subjective and spiritual or the literary and critical aspects of Bible study, but to give the experiences of a pastor many, many years ago, who made an experiment in a weekly class in the study of Bible history, biography, and geography. The class was maintained for nine or ten years, and to this day it yields good fruit.

It was not a "scholarly" but a "popular" process, attractive to children and interesting to adults. It demonstrated the fact that adults are "only children of a larger growth," and that when a woman of thirty or forty does not know a fact she is as likely to be interested in the acquisition of it as a boy or girl equally ignorant would be.

The class was held on Saturday afternoons in the lecture room of the church. It was made up of children, youth, and adults from ten to fifty years of age. All denominations were represented. The main purpose was to fix in the memory of every member an outline of the principal facts and characters of Bible history, in chronological order, make every member perfectly familiar with the geographical world in which these characters lived. All biographical careers were arranged in chronological order and so adjusted topographically that every pupil who knew the name of a Bible person could at once locate him in *time* and *place*. The maps used were large, but without a single name of city, sea, mountain, or river to indicate its location. The pupils had to associate the person with the place by the study of the outline map. They were expected to know a complete list of all Bible lands, waters, mountains, islands, towns, cities, and any member was ready to take pointer in hand and, standing before the outline map, to point promptly to every place connected with the career of any Bible character (so far as the facts could be known) from Adam to Saint John and from Mount Ararat to the island of Malta, the city of Rome, or the coasts of Spain.

The process by which the names and places were made so familiar was by the old-fashioned, and perhaps now abandoned, method of rhythmic repetition known then as "singing geography." If not scientific pedagogy it was an effective aid to memory, full of harmless humor, guaranteeing an absolutely unforgettable treasury of facts, and saved from superficiality by the most rigid personal examinations, to which every member was subjected.

To aid in this personal thoroughness and to maintain enthusiasm the class was graded. After examination in the initial course a pupil became a "Pilgrim" to Palestine and received his certificate as "Pilgrim." The second grade completed and a personal examination passed, the "Pilgrim" became a "Resident" in Palestine and was assigned to one town which he was expected to study and to represent as the class might call for information concerning it. Thus the whole land from Dan to Beersheba was occupied by "Residents," and all the members knew the towns or mountains occupied by the class and could tell where each one belonged. As the class moved forward in its study of Bible history and the personal examinations were passed the "Residents" in Palestine became "Explorers" and were assigned to Bible lands, mountains, or cities outside of Palestine. Thus Mary Smith, who was a "Pilgrim" to Palestine and then a "Resident" of Cana-in-Galilee, became "Explorer" of "Mount Ararat," perhaps, or of "Greece." Later on, as the study of the class extended and examinations were passed, the Explorers returned to Palestine and became "Dwellers in Jerusalem," and finally, when the course was completed, embracing the book from Adam to Saint John and from Eden

to Patmos, successful students became "Templars," and not a few little gold medals are to-day treasured by children and grandchildren of those who completed the full course, passed good examinations, and have prized the Bible all the more through all the years because of a pastor's fidelity and enthusiasm in teaching his people the land and the book, the history, the characters, the chronology, and the topography of the Book of books.

A few years ago a gentleman of large wealth from Chicago made the tour of the Holy Land. One day during the journey from Jerusalem to Damascus his dragoman said to him: "You have evidently been here before. You know more about the country than any American tourist I have ever conducted." "No," said the Chicago banker, "I have never been here, but in my boyhood I attended a class in ———, under the care of Rev. ———, my pastor, and there I gained the knowledge that made me an enthusiast in Bible history and Bible geography."

The methods which one pastor used so successfully in five pastorates may not be practicable for every pastor or in every place; but it is not without significance that God's revelations to humanity came through the concrete lives of real men who lived in and journeyed over regions of country and in cities and by seas and riversides that still remain and which are accounted "holy" because of the wonderful events of sacred history. And no countries are so prized to-day by tourists; and none are so crowded with associations nor so packed with corroborative facts by which the divine claims of the Book are sustained.

And is it not strange that pastors do not more generally lead their flocks into a knowledge of these regions and of the important events of history which made them sacred regions? I know that "parents ought to do it" and that "Sunday school teachers ought to do it"; but when the pastor does it the influence of it is fourfold more effective. And when *he* announces for his Sunday sermon a text or study that relates to the field of the class work he is conducting, his pulpit utterances gain added power. The semisecular character of the weekly class in Bible history and geography only increases the interest and confidence of the youth and adults he thus guides through the holy fields.

The pastor of Corydon Church turns his knowledge of Bible biography, history, and geography to good account in his church life. Instead of setting his people at work to find in themselves and in their sorroundings sources of satisfaction he leads them to look into God's Word. He believes in an inner life, but he is very anxious that this inner life be genuine; from divine and not from human sources; in harmony with God's revelation and begotten by God's Spirit rather than by human arts and merely natural excitements. To be "spiritually minded" is one thing. To have one's emotional susceptibilities played upon is a very different thing. The moving of the waters may be caused by winds that blow upon them

or by the force of a perpetual fountain springing up from beneath or brought down from exhaustless reservoirs in the mountains. He tries to connect the life of his church with the divinely provided energy of truth found in the Word of God. "Never mind how you *feel*," he says to his flock. "Keep your soul full of God's truth, and bring all your energies of will to accept and to obey and to rest in that truth, and you will have reproduced in you all that is most interesting in the Word of God. You will live over again within your own souls the experiences of the patriarchs, of the Israelites, of the exiles, of the New Testament. The Psalms will be to you new unfoldings of religious conviction and longing, of faith and triumph. The more you know of the external history of the Old and New Testament times the more distinct and definite the molds into which shall be poured the molten gold of grace as you draw near to Christ and receive the power of his own Holy Spirit.

Thus Bible history and Bible geography opened up to our pastor and his people, old and young, a region of fascinating story, delightful poetry, and brilliant imagery. The modern travel records about the East from which he read to his people confirmed their faith in the Word of God. And the spiritual interpretations and illustrations and applications in prayer meeting, class meeting, and sermons led his flock into the green pastures and by still waters of a personal spiritual life.

THE MELCHIZEDEK PRIESTHOOD (CONTINUED)

IN a previous paper we discussed the personality of Melchizedek. The discussion and argument of the chapter concerns the typical character of Melchizedek as represented in the brief history in Gen. 14. 18-20: "And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God. And he blessed him, and said, Blessed be Abram of the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth: and blessed be the most high God, which hath delivered thine enemies into thy hand. And he gave him tithes of all." Also Psa. 110. 4: "The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." It is a form of argument unusual in our day, but must have been pertinent in the day the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. Probably the sentence which involves the comparison is found in verse 3 of the seventh chapter—"made like unto the Son of God." This does not mean that Melchizedek was made like Christ, but that Melchizedek in some form was a type of Christ; in other words, that the history of Melchizedek was in some sense a type of the priesthood of Jesus Christ. In this connection Westcott says: "The comparison is not between Christ and Melchizedek, but between Christ and the isolated portraiture of Melchizedek, and that in regard to the divine nature of the incarnate Son and not to his human nature in which he both was born and died, nor even to his official dignity. It does not, however, imply that the account in Genesis was purposely designed to convey the meaning

which is found in it, but that the history sketched by prophetic power has the meaning." Similarly C. J. Vaughan writes: "The silence of Scripture as to the parentage and ancestry of Melchizedek, as to his birth and death; the way in which he suddenly steps forth for the mysterious interview with the father of the faithful, and then retires again into profound mystery without one hint given as to the termination of either his life or his ministry—all this serves to make him, and seems to have been designed to make him, a type of One to whom such supernatural characteristics actually belong."

The first argument employed by the writer shows that Abram paid tithes to Melchizedek. He who pays tithes is regarded as inferior to the one receiving them, and Melchizedek is recorded here as having received tithes from Abram, the father of the Levitical priesthood. It was customary for the Levitical priests who were descendants of Aaron to receive tithes from their brethren. Abram represents not only himself, but also his posterity and all the Levitical priesthood, and this is in the conception of the writer the acknowledgment of the superiority of Melchizedek to the whole Levitical priesthood. It is said in the seventh verse that the less was blessed of the greater, and thus the superiority of Melchizedek is again acknowledged. There is force also in the designation of Abraham as "patriarch." In the Greek this statement is at the close of the sentence, making it emphatic. The fact that he gave tithes is used to show the superiority and greatness of Melchizedek's priesthood. The typical character ascribed by the writer to Melchizedek's history completes the argument. If Melchizedek was a type of the Christ it follows that Christ as the true High Priest was far above the Levitical priesthood. Another argument set forth for the superiority of Melchizedek's priesthood is that it is continuous and permanent. The Levitical priests were dying men (verse 8): "And here men that die receive tithes." One high priest passed away by death and another received him. The persons who were in the Levitical priesthood were constantly changing, and this in the conception of the writer of the epistle is an element of weakness. On the other hand, Melchizedek is represented as abiding—"but there is one of whom it is witnessed that he liveth." It is not a direct statement that he liveth, but it is the testimony of silence. As Delitzsch well remarks, "The actual historical Melchizedek no doubt died, but Melchizedek of the sacred narrative does not, but lives." There is nothing in the statement in Genesis or the psalm that mentions his death. In this respect Melchizedek typically represents Christ. His priesthood is not only an everlasting priesthood, but is also a continuous one. Again, representing Melchizedek's priesthood as typical of Christ's priesthood, we have another argument for its superiority. A further indication of the superiority of Melchizedek's priesthood was the manner of its appointment. The Levitical priesthood was by succession. It was hereditary.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

EXCAVATIONS AT HERCULANEUM

THE great earthquake of 63 A. D. played havoc with a large district of Campania. It was not, however, till sixteen years later that several towns of this same region were literally wiped out from the pages of history by a terrible volcanic eruption. It was August 24-26, in the year 79, that the subterranean fires of Vesuvius, supposed to have been extinct, gave vent to their fury and hurled vast masses of volcanic dust and pumice stone into the heavens, only a few minutes later to begin falling in copious showers over the beautiful cities along the Bay of Naples. This debris "mingled with torrents of rain, and flowed as a vast stream of mud down over Herculaneum." The direction of the wind likewise favored the complete destruction of this fashionable city, which for centuries has lain buried under nearly eighty feet of volcanic waste. It is believed that the level of the country around Herculaneum was raised by this eruption seventy feet. No wonder, therefore, that for many centuries the city of Hercules had ceased to be remembered.

Pompeii, though as completely destroyed as its sister city—they were only eight miles apart—was not so lost to the world; for here the average depth of the debris was less than twenty feet, thus leaving the tops and roofs of many houses above the ruin. It was but natural, therefore, that those Pompeiians who had escaped with their lives should, when the storm had subsided, return in the hope of recovering as much as possible of their buried treasures. It was thus that excavations in Pompeii were commenced immediately after the catastrophe. These, with intermissions, have been carried on throughout the ages, and have abundantly rewarded those engaged therein. Not so with Herculaneum. Its temples and theaters, its public and private edifices, were so deeply buried as to discourage even the most enterprising. This is not hard to understand when we remember that other towns of Campania presented fewer difficulties and promised a more immediate harvest. In the course of time the modern towns of Portici and Resina were built over the very site once occupied by Herculaneum, thus precluding, as it were, all ideas of further excavation. The modern archæologist is not easily discouraged. The marvelous results of the last fifty years in his line of study and the abundant harvest which have crowned his efforts in so many ancient lands have so increased his enthusiasm that no obstacle seems too great.

It was in 1709, not accidentally, as often asserted, that excavations were commenced at Herculaneum. The honor for the small beginning then made is due to an Austrian general, Count Elbeuf, who had a shaft sunk into the ruins of the old city. As fortune would have it, this shaft connected with the rear of the stage of the theater. Few pieces of statuary of exquisite workmanship were brought to the surface. Count

Elbeuf had neither the time nor the money to prosecute the enterprise. So but little was done till 1738, when work was resumed under the direction of Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies, and again in 1866 under the patronage of Victor Emmanuel. Not one of these enterprises was entirely successful. This explains why operations have been suspended here time and again. And yet when viewed in the proper light the excavations at Herculaneum, interrupted as they have been, have, nevertheless, been of such a nature as to find many enthusiastic advocates for a more vigorous campaign. More than thirty years ago Professor Barnabei had the following to say: "The antiquities excavated at Herculaneum in the last century form a collection of the highest scientific and artistic value. There are marble statues of astonishing art and perfect preservation, of which it is sufficient to mention the two equestrian statues of the Balbi, and the so-called statue of Aristides. With the exception of a few pieces, nearly all the great bronzes of the museum [at Naples] belong to Herculaneum. It is thence that we have obtained the reposing Hermes, the drunken Silenus, the sleeping Faunus, the dancing girls, the bust called Plato's, that believed to be Seneca's, the two quoit-throwers or discoboli, and so many masterpieces more, figured by the academicians in their volumes on the bronzes. Mural paintings of extraordinary beauty were also discovered, such as those that represent Theseus after the slaughter of the Minotaur, and Chion teaching Achilles the art of playing on the lyre. Notwithstanding the recent discoveries of the stupendous paintings in the gardens of the Villa Farnesina on the banks of the Tiber, the monochromes of Herculaneum remain among our finest specimens of the exquisite taste and consummate skill displayed by the ancient artists."

In view of the fact that Herculaneum, where comparatively so little effort has been put forth by the scientific archæologist, has, nevertheless, revealed such a wealth of treasure, it is no wonder that so distinguished an authority as Professor Charles Waldstein, of the University of Cambridge, England, an American, and at one time the director of the American School at Athens, is at the head of a mighty movement for excavating Herculaneum. It was hoped till within a few days ago that his plan had been perfected. If his scheme succeeds, the work will be international, though under the immediate control of the Italian government. It was reported that Italy was fully committed to the work, which is also approved and will be financially and otherwise aided by several other countries. King Edward and Emperor William have pledged their ardent and active support; so have Presidents Roosevelt and Loubet, not to mention the rulers of other smaller lands. Some of these countries will make direct government grants, a thing not done by either Great Britain or the United States. Nevertheless, there will be many wealthy Americans and Englishmen who will lend a helping hand to so worthy an enterprise. Indeed, the purse of the Briton and American has always been opened in the interest of excavation and archæology.

It is the purpose of Professor Waldstein to excavate Herculaneum on strictly scientific principles. "Engineers now suggest that the city need

not be uncovered to the surface, which would destroy the Italian town of Resina, but that it might be opened as an underground city, lighted by electricity, making a sort of artificial Mammoth Cave, with occasional openings to the surface for fresh air, and to give display to particular villas of importance." This plan of excavating recommends itself chiefly on economical grounds. It would, moreover, prove very advantageous in the case of mural decorations and other works of art not easily transportable. The fine wall paintings, of which there must be many excellent specimens, could be left in their entirety *in situ*, and that without any exposure whatever to the elements.

All know the rich art treasures yielded up by Pompeii and less important Campanian towns. From what has been said above there is every reason to expect a much greater harvest in Herculaneum, this old Greek city with its Hellenic culture, though a favorite resort of the more cultured Romans. If, as many believe, Herculaneum had achieved greater literary glory than its sister city, then we have every reason for expecting the discovery of many a valuable library. We know that wealthy Romans of the first century of our era possessed large libraries, though few of their books have come down intact to us. It is said that Tyrannion, the noted grammarian, had no fewer than thirty thousand rolls in his library. One writer says: "It is as certain as anything can be in this world that, buried far beneath the soil, preserved from decay by the peculiar mixture of friable ash and water which overwhelmed Herculaneum, there are many splendid libraries which belonged to the Roman gentlemen who made up the Herculaneum colony." Indeed, the one villa already subjected to the examination of the archæologist has yielded close upon two thousand rolls of papyri. A third or more of these have been with great difficulty unrolled and deciphered. Unfortunately, almost all the papyri discovered in this villa were confined to Epicurean philosophy, a clear proof that we have here the library of a specialist. The fact that they were all on one subject and none of them from any well known names lessens their value. Other villas will doubtless yield up their literary treasures, more valuable and varied, for certainly all the great men of Herculaneum were not Epicurean specialists. No wonder, therefore, that Professor Waldstein fully expects to find in these venerable ruins many a poem from the pen of Sappho, as well as choice pieces of literature of the great Greek writers which have not yet been discovered. It is known, for instance, that Æschylus was the author of nearly one hundred plays, though only one tenth of these have come down to us.

The editor of Biblia grows eloquent on the subject, as the reader may see from the following words: "Now a whole world of romance is offered, a city lost to all knowledge will be restored. It will be possible to look back into the life of the past with the same living reality as if the past were still with us. The homes of some of the greatest men of Rome will be found just as they were left when the volcano drove the owners to flight with the warning of barely an hour. It will be as if the visitor had surprised them in their houses, sauntered with them through their galleries of paintings and sculptures, and heard the dead themselves

tell their tastes and describe the manner of their lives through the medium of their most intimate surroundings."

DELITZSCH'S LAST LECTURE

Professor Delitzsch has for several years delivered a lecture during the month of February before the German Orient Society. This year was no exception. This is one of the great events in the German capital, the more so since the emperor and other dignitaries grace the occasion with their presence. Our readers will recall the unusual stir caused by Delitzsch's deliverances two years ago. The facts are too fresh in their memories to necessitate their reiteration here. The lecture this year was delivered on February 25 before an unusually brilliant assembly, including the emperor. Delitzsch on this occasion, doubtless mindful of the advice given him two years ago by Kaiser Wilhelm, confined himself strictly to the province of the archæologist, historian, and geographer. No reference whatever was made to theological or biblical questions. As in former lectures, the stereopticon was made to render valuable service, for a large number of absolutely new views fresh from the field of discovery were exhibited. The subject of the lecture was "The Latest Discoveries in Assyria." The learned lecturer traced this ancient land to the earliest period of its history, presenting vividly the principal works and efforts of some sixty priest-kings, who labored incessantly for many centuries to make Assyria the greatest power on earth. Assyria stood high in the scale of civilization. Its power was immense, yet not so great as the classic writers of Greece would have us believe. These have given us an exaggerated estimate of Assyria's power. It is now well known that the armies of Assyria, in the days of that country's greatest prosperity, were small in contrast with those of modern Europe. Never did any Assyrian monarch have a larger number of soldiers than are now in five army corps in Germany—a corps has forty-five thousand men and twelve thousand horses. The city of Assur was quite small compared with the city of Berlin. Indeed, Assur was not a city in the modern sense of the word, but a labyrinth of lanes and alleys.

We are indebted to the ambition of the Assyrian rulers for the greater part of the history of that ancient land. These old kings delighted in enumerating their glorious deeds on tablet and cylinder, which they placed under the corner stones of their temples and palaces. These old documents, having remained in their places for millenniums, have been dug out by the modern excavator and deciphered by the Assyriologist. These introduce to us very vividly many a mighty ruler of the forgotten past. It is thus that we become acquainted with the tyrannic Asurnasirpal, "the most cruel of his dynasty, whose reign drips with blood."

The Assyrians, though very warlike, had attained a high degree of civilization. This is conclusively shown by the many exquisite specimens of fine art brought to light by the excavator. They were masters in ceramic and enamel work. The glazed tile of their palaces displays wonderful skill, which is hardly equaled by German artists of our day.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT

W. Wrede. While the vast majority of New Testament scholars now hold to the genuineness of Second Thessalonians, there is here and there one who regards it as a forgery. Wrede is among this small number. But he differs from the majority of those who regard it as spurious in that while they base their belief on the eschatological deliverances of the second chapter he bases his on the literary relationship of the Second to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. His views have been recently published in his Die Echtheit des Zweiten Thessalonischerbriefs untersucht (The Genuineness of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians Investigated), published in Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur. Herausgegeben von Oscar von Gebhardt und Adolf Harnack. Neue Folge. Neunter Band, Heft II (Texts and Researches in the History of the Early Christian Literature. Edited by Oscar von Gebhardt and Adolf Harnack. New Series. Ninth Volume, Part II). Leipzig, 1903, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. Wrede places the portions of the first and second epistles which are parallel in parallel columns, thus exhibiting the large quantity of matter common to both epistles. A careful examination of these parallels shows that in the two letters there is presupposed the same situation, and that the same ideas recur in each; and that, what is even more remarkable, the most of the parallel passages occur in the same order. Wrede thinks that this proves that the author of the second epistle must have followed the first epistle; and since it seems to him impossible that Paul should have made his first epistle the basis of a second, he thinks the second must be a forgery. He finds the occasion for the forgery in a supposed excitement relative to eschatological questions, and thinks the whole letter was written for the sake of saying what is given in chapter 2. The forgery was in the name of Paul because of Paul's emphasis on eschatology, and it was addressed to the Thessalonians because in First Thessalonians Paul's eschatology was more strongly marked that in any of his other epistles. All this presupposes a body of Pauline writings already accepted, and hence a comparatively late date; and yet not later than Marcion, who knew the epistle, nor Polycarp, who apparently quotes from it. The defenders of the genuineness of the epistle cannot be satisfied with such a treatment of the subject. It would not be at all wonderful for Paul to repeat himself in his second letter. Indeed, it would be most natural for him to do so. Hearing of the excitement produced by his first letter, he would study it, if he preserved a copy, or strive to recall the contents of it, in order to see whether his words justified his readers' inferences. Filled with the subject-matter of the first, he would naturally reproduce it in the second. Then a comparison of 2. with 3. 17 seems to forbid the idea of a forgery. In the first of these passages Paul says there is nothing in what he had ever said or

written to them to warrant their alarm. There is in the passage a slight suggestion (in the words "as from us") of the possibility that Paul thought some one had palmed off on them a letter which he had not written. In his second letter he takes pains, therefore, to call attention (3. 17) to his chirography, so that they could distinguish the false from the genuine. This a forgerer would not have done. Besides, the reference to the temple indicates that it was still in existence, and hence that the letter was written prior to 70 A. D. There is not very much at stake in this matter; for, as Wrede shows, there is but little new in the second epistle. But in all investigations of this kind it is worth while to get at the truth, which seems, in this instance, to be on the side of the genuineness.

Max Reischle. In a course of vacation lectures held in Hanover he has undertaken to show the unsatisfactory character of the methods of history in the sphere of religion, and particularly of Christianity. See his Theologie und Religionsgeschichte (Theology and the History of Religion). Tübingen, 1904, J. C. B. Mohr. Reischle admits that the study of religions, not excepting Christianity, demands an investigation of the connection and influence of neighboring religions, since great religious modifications and developments occur for the most part by such contact. Investigations in religious history have for their special object that subjective religion known as personal, and only secondarily such matters as rites, dogmas, and organization. Also that the question of the nature and validity of Christianity must be determined by considerations drawn from the historical and philosophical comparison with other religions. The essence of the historical religious method consists, according to Reischle, in the abandonment of specifically Christian presuppositions relative to the Bible and the religious development of mankind. His chief opposition to the method arises just here, since, if a specifically Christian theology is to be had these very presuppositions are necessary, and that, in fact, the theory of knowledge and the psychology of faith demand these presuppositions. Hence he maintains that Christian theology is provided with an entirely independent principle in its science of revelation. All this falls gratefully on the Christian sensibility. We should be glad were the matter so simple as Reischle regards it. But as a matter of fact it is far more difficult to found our faith, once we begin to ask ourselves a reason, than he regards it. It is true, as Reischle says, that the possibilities of error are great in the application of the historical method to religion. It is also true that Christian history cannot exist, any more than any other history, without the estimate of values, and that the Christian estimate of values is a fixed one in that it includes the conviction of the universal validity and truth of Christianity. But while judgments arising from or expression of faith are necessary in history, and especially in any personal religion, it is not true that this faith or conviction in any way settles questions of fact except for the individual who holds the conviction. On the contrary, any intelligent faith or con-

viction is and must be influenced by the results of historical investigation. Such faith may be temporarily influenced unfavorably to Christianity by the results of historical study. But it will come out more clear in the end. Troeltsch, in criticising Reischle's position, points out that the conviction which Reischle makes the basis of his judgment of other religions can be thought of in only two ways. Either this conviction is the result of a study of the facts, including the comparison of Christianity with other religions, in which case the method of the historian of religion is followed, or it is the result of our familiarity with Christianity arising from our lifelong contact with it, in which case it has no objective validity. Reischle is a Ritschlian, and does well to emphasize the great truth of his whole school that for personal religion the all-important thing is conviction. But it is a fault of the Ritschlians that they overlook the difficulty of settling questions of personal religion independent of all our other departments of life. Personal religion cannot be thus divorced from life as a whole. The demands of the intellect cannot be ignored.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Das älteste Evangelium. Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Markus-Evangeliums und der ältesten evangelischen Ueberlieferung (The Earliest Gospel. A Contribution to the Understanding of the Gospel according to Mark and of the Earliest Gospel Tradition). By Johannes Weiss. Göttingen, 1903, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. At the outset it will be interesting to notice that Weiss places the date of this gospel at 64-66 A. D. He does this on the ground that it was evidently written after the death of Peter, and that it must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem, as Mark betrays just the slightest hint of the occurrence of that event. But he is not inclined to the view that the author was John Mark, Paul's companion. Notwithstanding this, he is of the opinion that the gospel betrays a decidedly Pauline element. He holds this on the ground that the gospel exhibits the misunderstandings and unbelief of the primitive disciples in a manner which would probably have occurred only on the basis of Pauline recollections. But there is no reason to suppose that Peter would not have recollected and related these things. Again, in connection with the emphasis which Mark's gospel gives to the sufferings and death of Christ he is inclined to see Pauline influence. But it is incredible that Paul alone should have originated the doctrines of the cross. Weiss thinks that for Mark the gospel was the message concerning Jesus Christ, the Son of God; and that Mark conceived of Jesus as the supermundane, supernatural Son of God, who walked the earth in divine glory. But he also thinks that according to Mark the secret of his glory was revealed during the lifetime of Jesus only to his disciples. It was hidden from the mass of the people of set purpose. This hiding is manifested in the frequent instances in which Jesus refused to allow his wonderful works to be made known to the people. The motive for the concealment was to punish them for their

hardness of heart. Weiss is of the opinion that while Mark unduly emphasizes this phase of the ministry of Jesus there was some justification in Christ's own words. The thing was not made up out of the whole cloth. As to the purpose of the gospel, Weiss does not regard it exactly as doctrinal, but, on the other hand, he does not regard it as biographical. The memoirs and biographies of antiquity gave an account of the childhood and youth, and a personal description of the subject, and a real chronology. All these are wanting in Mark, who does not lay any stress upon a supposed development in the inner life of Jesus. Mark seems to have written in the interest of the propagation of Christianity. His purpose was to preach the gospel. As to the synoptic sources Weiss is doubtful about the two-source theory, and thinks, unjustly, that the holders of that view overlook the difficulties in the way of it. As a matter of fact, the holding of the view that the Gospel of Mark or a gospel essentially like it was the basis of the narratives in the gospels generally does not prevent one from maintaining that Matthew and Luke had a collection of sayings of Jesus from which they took much. Weiss thinks that for the most part the Gospel of Mark was composed of recollections of Peter, but that the author was some other than John Mark, the companion of Paul and Barnabas, and that John Mark may be the mysterious presbyter John of whom we hear so much and know so little in the early writings of the fathers. The work is one which will well repay careful study, and but the most meager outline of the work in some of its parts has here been given.

Ueber den Tod der Söhne Zebedæi. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Johannesevangelium (On the Death of the Sons of Zebedee. A Contribution to the History of the Gospel of John). By E. Schwartz. Berlin, 1904, Weidmann. The author of this book received his suggestion from a remark of Wellhausen on Mark 10. 39 in which Jesus says to James and John that they shall drink the cup that he drinks of and be baptized with the baptism that he is baptized with. Wellhausen says (Das Evangelium Marci, p. 90): "The prediction of martyrdom referred not alone to James, but also to John, and if it had been only half fulfilled it would hardly have found a place in the gospel. A strong doubt is thereby raised against the trustworthiness of the tradition that the apostle John died a natural death at a very advanced age." Schwartz looks upon it as a fixed fact that John and James suffered martyrdom at the same time. If one takes seriously the claim of the sons of Zebedee to the places of honor at the right and left hand of the returning Messiah the conclusion cannot be escaped that they both died as martyrs, and that they should have the chosen seats is only comprehensible if they died at the same time. Schwartz thinks this a strong confirmation of the assertion of Pepias as reported in an excerpt from his writings published in Gebhardt and Harnack's Texte und Untersuchungen, v, 2, 1888, p. 170, to the effect that John the Theologian and James his brother were put to death by the Jews. The account in Acts 12. 2 mentions only the death of

James, and Schwartz thinks the death of John was omitted because of the tradition of his living to an extreme old age. Not alone the tradition concerning John, but Gal. 2. 9 stands in the way of Schwartz's interpretation. So he undertakes to show that the John of the latter passage is not John the brother of James, but John Mark. He has to strike out Acts 12. 25 and 13. 5, 13 as unhistorical in order to make his point. But what is left—that is, Acts 12. 12 and 15. 37—could be understood of John Mark, especially if we distinguish him from the Mark of the Pauline epistles. But this is a very remarkable proceeding to eliminate inconvenient passages and to fix the identities of historical personages simply in the interest of an hypothesis and thus to reckon this proceeding as a part of the proof of the hypothesis. But it still remains for Schwartz to explain the origin of the tradition of John's death in extreme old age and of his residence in Ephesus. As to the old age the argument is somewhat complicated. It can be reduced, however, to comparatively simple terms. That Papias called John the Theologian is evidence that he knew the fourth gospel, and that he not only prized it as the best but regarded it as measurably in contrast with the synoptics. But he did not hold it as the latest gospel. His knowledge of the simultaneous death of John and James would forbid that. The criticism of the fourth gospel by the Alogians (Schwartz thinks the whole of that party consisted of one person, the Roman presbyter Gaius) led to the theory that that gospel was written in order to supplement the other three. This, of course, demanded a late date, and as the Johannine authorship was agreed upon it was necessary to correct the tradition of the simultaneous death of John and James. Thus the legend of John's extreme old age is accounted for by the desire of the Ephesians for the reputation of having great lights such as Rome possessed. One would suppose, however, that if the Ephesians wanted to boast of their great lights they would have chosen Paul, whose reputation was certainly greater than that of John. Besides, that passage in Papias of which so much is made does not say that John and James were put to death at the same time. Nor is it in any sense necessary to draw from Mark 10. 39 the conclusion that Wellhausen and Schwartz draw from it.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL

Theological Disputes in Norway. Everywhere the struggle between the old and the new goes forward. On the death of Professor Petersen, of the University of Christiana, a new professor of dogmatics had to be chosen. According to custom a committee was appointed, and candidates were invited to send in printed works and to deliver two trial lectures. Two candidates complied, one of them a certain Pastor Alding. The other candidate was, after test, not regarded as qualified. Pastor Alding satisfied the committee of his theological ability and of his orthodoxy on the person and work of Christ, but on the subject of the sacrament he was unsatisfactory. For, lo! while he believed for sound reasons in continuing the custom of baptizing children he denied the theory of the

opus operatum. In other words, not baptism but personal faith saves! For this "modern" theory he was rejected. A strife lasting many months with much heat, not to say ill will, arose, and a new committee had to be appointed and the work begun afresh.

Blasphemy according to German Law. The Social-Democratic editor of the Volkswille, in Hanover, was recently sentenced to three months' imprisonment on the charge of blasphemy. The occasion was a satirical article ridiculing a much discussed process at law. In this article Editor Westermeyer represented Martin Luther as having translated and published in the Chinese empire speeches of a certain Jesus, born in Nazaretto in Palestine, in which Jesus spoke in an unheard-of way about the scribes and Pharisees, thereby stirring up the people against internal affairs of the state. This Jesus, who was proved to be an agitator and deceiver of the people, was declared by Luther to be the Son of God who came from heaven. The empress of China, whose son was called the son of heaven, felt herself insulted that anyone should call any but her son the son of heaven, and especially one judicially condemned. The prosecuting attorney sought in vain for anyone who had been offended by this satire. Two prominent clergymen were called and declared that they saw nothing blasphemous in the words, and especially when the purpose was considered. Two others who confessed that they had not read the article thought certain expressions read to them were blasphemous. And so Editor Westermeyer was condemned although he declared his reverence both for Jesus and Luther, and another layer was added to the stone wall separating the German masses from the church.

The Roman Church and the Worship of Mary. On the thirtieth of November, 1904, a world congress was opened in Rome in honor of the fiftieth year of the proclamation of the doctrine of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. A brief in the same spirit was read from the Pope, praising all who were in attendance for the purpose of devising plans by which to propagate this doctrine and the worship of Mary. Among the speakers was the Cardinal Archbishop Fischer, of Cologne. The religious editor of the Kölnische Volkszeitung said that the archbishop, together with his diocese, intended to erect a Church of the Virgin Mary as a jubilee monument, thereby proving that the Cologne of the twentieth century was the equal of the Cologne of the fourteenth century in its love for the Virgin. Cologne, he said, has been and is yet *Romanæ Ecclesiæ fidelis filia*, but it is equally also *fidelis filia* B. M. V. On December 4 the congress closed, and on December 8 the Pope celebrated high mass in connection with the crowning of a statue of Immaculate Conception. The Roman Catholic world moves, no doubt, but which way?

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

Mr. Alfred Austin, nominally the Poet-laureate of England, having affirmed that there is a growing distaste for the higher forms of poetry, various comments have been offered or called out from publishers, poets, and editors. An English critic, Edward Thomas, says that the poets of to-day are "a crowd of pleasant singers but no heaven-sent choir." Bliss Perry says that "poets to-day are not working at their trade." Among the publishers, John Lane reports that "there has not, at any time, been so much good poetry written as there is to-day. Every week there comes before me, in manuscript, verse which, if it had been written in the early part of the nineteenth century, would have won renown for its authors;" while Houghton, Mifflin & Co. suggest that Mr. Austin may be misled by the distaste which the public manifest for his own writings, which his self-esteem considers to be among the "higher forms of poetry"; and these publishers report from their experience that edition after edition of all great poetry is called for, and that, so far from the demand decreasing, it increases with enormous strides. The Critic (New York) recently invited the opinions of a score or more of American poets and published them in its March number. Henry van Dyke, supposing for the moment that there may be some justification for Mr. Austin's complaint, says: "Who can tell what are the causes which make people more hurried, more tired, more feverish for the strong excitement of speed, more thirsty for the crude stimulants of sensation, and less susceptible to the high and delicate pleasures of the imagination? Perhaps commercialism, or militarism, or material luxury has something to do with it. Perhaps the modern pulpit is at fault—it is safe to blame the preachers for almost anything that seems unfortunate. Perhaps the teaching of literature in our colleges and universities has become desiccated, so that there are many professors who can show you how to pull a book to pieces, but few who can help you understand and enjoy it. I do not feel competent to pass judgment upon these questions." One of the poets whose views were solicited by The Critic is Frederick Lawrence Knowles, who sees no reason to find fault with the reception accorded to-day to real poetry. As to the alleged "slump in poetry," Mr. Knowles replies as follows, and with his judgment we agree: "I firmly believe that poetry is more popular than ever. One reason for this conviction is the fact that the magazines continue to print so much verse. Editors never conduct a periodical merely for their own satisfaction—if they attempt to, they are not editors long. On the contrary, they are as keenly sensitive to variations in popular taste as a barometer is to changes in the weather. The law of supply and demand obtains here as everywhere. Editors would cease to print verse if subscribers ceased to want it. And the fact that most of the verse printed is without special distinction serves only to confirm me in my view. If the reading public are so incurably addicted to poetry that

they prefer indifferent verse in their magazines to the complete absence of verse, only one conclusion can fairly be drawn. But if there is a market for even the artificial, self-conscious poems of the magazines, there is a far readier welcome for work that makes a genuine human appeal. We are tempted to look back upon the heyday of Longfellow's fame as to a lost golden age. And yet Mr. Riley's poems sell far more widely than Longfellow's ever did. Childe Harold and The Raven leaped into fame no more quickly than The Man with the Hoe, and reached the eyes of no such extensive circle of readers. What would Browning not have given, as a young man, for the audience that awaits every new poetic drama of Stephen Phillips, or volume of lyrics by William Watson? And what English-speaking poet from Chaucer to the present has commanded, during his lifetime, half the number of readers that greets every new ballad of Mr. Kipling? For the first time in history, telegraph and cable bring the whole reading world to the feet of the poet who, like Kipling or Swinburne, has something of international interest to say. Consider the fact, for a moment, that, according to the trustworthy statistics of the Publishers' Weekly, the new books of 'poetry and the drama' published in the United States during 1903 numbered 421, and during 1904 (a Presidential year at that) numbered 530. Then add the fact that several metropolitan dailies have lately adopted the policy of adding to their editorial page one celebrated poem a day; and throw in, for good measure, the fact that in the department of 'Notes and Queries' conducted by so many journals, the great majority of inquiries still relate to the title, authorship, or text of favorite poems, and you begin to gain from these and similar suggestive indications, faith in the truth of Arnold's *dictum* that 'the future of poetry is immense.' Let another poet with a real message appear, he is destined at once to command an audience which will astound the timid apologist for modern verse, and drive the pessimist quite out of business. A gentleman high in the counsels of the publishing house which issues more poetry of merit than perhaps any other on America, recently informed me that this distinguished firm derives more income annually from the sale of the standard American poets whose copyrights they own than for the works of any novelist on their list. The demand for the writings of our better-known poets is constant and increasing. What city or school library can afford to be without the collected works of Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier? Even in the days of the famous 'blue and gold poets,' the place of this trio was no more firmly settled than now in the affections of American readers. Indeed, it was probably less so. If Will Carleton outsells Aldrich, Sill, and Gilder to-day, it is equally true that the blue and gold editions enshrined not only the poems of Tennyson, Bryant, and Holmes, but also the effusions of Sprague, Willis, George P. Morris, Pierpont, and Tupper, and the innocuous verses of those good ladies, Mrs. Sigourney, Felicia Hemans, and L. E. L., while Saxe was for many years far more popular than the author of the Bigelow Papers. There has always been a small upper circle of readers which demands artistic work, but it was formerly much more limited than to-day. The men and women who would have reveled, two generations ago, in

such moralizing commonplace as Young's Night Thoughts and Pollock's Course of Time, and one generation ago in such sentimentalizing commonplace as Lucile and Bittersweet, are reading to-day Browning, Maeterlinck, Ibsen, Phillips, and Yeats. Even looked at from a commercial point of view, which furnishes the only test that would be convincing to many, the place of poetry in our time is vastly better than of old. How meager was the income made by the older poets, except as they were also teachers, lecturers, and doctors! Yet I was talking only the other day with an American poet hardly yet middle-aged, who told me he had made more than thirty thousand dollars from verse alone. This figure represented his earnings from newspaper and humorous rhymes and from lyrics composed for the librettos of comic operas, as well as from magazine verse and published books of poems. And yet this gentleman, whose work is very clever, is thought of rather as a popular journalist and public reader than as a poet. He is at best distinctly in the 'minor group,' and I find that his name is unmentioned in Miss Rittenhouse's recent volume on the Younger American Poets or even in Stedman's encyclopedic Anthology. Yes, the public wants poetry of all kinds, from the humbler and more ephemeral varieties to the higher, and, what is more, is willing to pay good money for it. It does not want, however, verse that is imitative, involved, obscure, or oversubjective, or poetry whose underlying basis is—to use Whitman's phrase—'a denial and insult to democracy.' The poet's audience is enormously greater than ever before, and our free public libraries and free public schools are constantly augmenting it. There never was such an opportunity. It rests alone with the poets to see and to grasp it." We are told that the following is "the opinion of a well known writer of the higher forms of poetry"; we will guess Richard Watson Gilder: "I feel as much exercised at the suggestion that people are 'losing their taste for the higher forms of poetry' as I should at that of their 'losing their taste' for food, sunlight, companionship, love, or adventure. Poetry appeals to a perfectly primitive and perfectly ineradicable passion, and as long as man is human he must and will continue to delight in it."

Winthrop Packard, writing from the West Indies to the New York Evening Post, gives the following account of the little town of Samana in the island of San Domingo, and of a colony of Methodists there: "Just as you enter Samana Bay there is a great headland, Cape Samana, which bears a grotesque resemblance to a human head. Its top is covered with negro wool, while from its chin a long Uncle Sam whisker sweeps to the tide. The facial outline is quite clearly at first that of a snub-nosed, thick-lipped African, but as you go on up the bay it changes. The nose grows clear-cut, the thick lips draw in, and the last you see of it is a well-modeled Anglo-Saxon type. The sailormen say this is prophetic of changes to come to the country, but I notice through it all the negro wool remains. Samana Bay might better be called Samana Gulf. Its two great headlands are well down on the horizon, one from another, and the bay itself is

thirty miles long by fifteen broad. All the navies in the world might congregate there, as President Grant said, and be jolly well wrecked, too, if they caught a hurricane, for the bay is so big it is like an open roadstead. It has reefs and shallows on either shore, and much of the southern shore is flat and would give full sweep to the wind. Near its entrance is a group of islands, and nestling behind these in a beautiful but little harbor is the town of Samana. One or two of the big ships of all the navies of the world would find snug and safe anchorage here, but not many. There is not room. Samana is pretty, from a safe distance. Near, you lose the enchantment. Revolutionists have burned it several times, and it has risen from its ashes only in part. It numbers only a few hundred inhabitants. Yet it is noteworthy for one thing. In it dwells a considerable population of American negroes. Long ago, in 1824, or thereabouts, there was quite a movement in the states for the emigration of American colored people to the tropics, and from Delaware and the Carolinas in the main came to Samana a delegation of colonists which settled and grew up with the country. Some of them did it very well, too, for one of them, known as Mother Wright, is over a hundred years old, still lives, and has descendants numbering a hundred and fifty. Another, Mother Dismay, is undismayed at a hundred and seven years. All these people are vigorous Methodists, and shout for their religion and their country, which they still claim is the United States. When the revolutions rage about them they produce American flags, and hanging them over their doors defy the dusky warriors of the uprising. I met the Rev. Mr. James, pastor of the Methodist church, which has one hundred and fifty communicants of American descent, besides others from the Dominicans. These negroes have been fairly prosperous, says their pastor, but only after the fashion of the country. They could hardly be so in any other way. They have a climate that gives a man little concern as to clothes, and the hills are full of fruit, and the bay of fish. They can be lightermen, fishermen, sailors, and planters in a small way, and one even became a locally celebrated revolutionist. If the country could be stable they would be fairly prosperous, but as it is their lot is a rather hard one. The pastor himself comes of a line of ministers who have preached to the exiles since they came, and is still at it. He is a sober little black man, who looks wisely at you through steel-bowed spectacles, and is very much in earnest in his solicitude for the welfare of his people."

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

The Unaccountable Man. By DAVID JAMES BURRELL, D.D. 12mo, pp. 310. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Twenty-nine sermons from the pulpit of the Marble Collegiate Church, New York city. The first is on the text, "What manner of man is this?" It begins by saying that the question of questions is not "What think ye of Christianity?" but "What think ye of Christ?" All the truths of Christianity radiate from him. Not dogmatic apologetics, but the Person of Christ, is the stronghold of the Christian church. The sermon goes on to point out Christ's extraordinary and mysterious purity, wisdom, power, and benignity—all inexplicable on the theory that he is mere man. Then the manifold claims and testimony of Christ himself as to his nature, rank, power, and mission. It concludes thus: "One thing is perfectly clear: Jesus was what he declared himself to be, or else he was not even a good man. He stated his claims in unequivocal words, and the reason why he was crucified was that he claimed to be divine. His enemies, in order to accomplish his death, laid many things to his charge. He was accused of sedition; but that fell through. He was accused of refusing to pay tribute to Cæsar; but that also came to naught. He was accused of putting himself forward as a rival claimant to the throne; but that, too, was thrown out of court. All that was left of the indictment was this: 'He maketh himself equal with God.' And it was under this charge that he was sentenced to the cross. Why did he not deny the accusation? He might have saved himself with a word; but he never uttered it. *He died for making himself equal with God.* It is clear that Jesus was either more or less than the best of men. If Christ was what he claimed to be, he is worthy of all adoration and service; if not, he should be repudiated as an impostor, since by no stretch of imagination can he be regarded as merely a good man. The place to study Jesus is in the dark tragedy of the cross. The centurion who had charge of the crucifixion watched him during the hours of his mortal anguish; heard his 'It is finished'; and when all was over felt constrained to say, 'Verily this was a righteous man.' But the soldier could not stop there; he had not uttered all the truth. And as he rode down from the scene of the tragedy to Jerusalem, where the evening lamps were now kindling, he turned and looked backward. The dark cross stood outlined on the crest against the twilight sky; and the centurion spoke again, 'Verily this was the Son of God!'" Preaching of the power of Satan in human life, Dr. Burrell says: "At the risk of being deemed a setter forth of old-fashioned truth, I venture the statement that nothing in the spiritual realm is more clearly demonstrated than the personality of Satan. Our Lord has put himself upon record in the petition, 'Lead us not into

temptation, but deliver us from the Evil One.' It seems to me strange that a fact so widely attested in human experience, recognized in all ethnic religions and accepted through all centuries, should be called in question. As I walked home from an evening service with my church treasurer twenty years ago, we spoke of certain deeds of violence which were reported to have been recently perpetrated in the neighborhood by a mysterious garroter. My friend, the treasurer, was incredulous, saying that the whole matter was a hoax and an unfounded rumor, and the 'garrote' an impossibility. I had scarcely seated myself at home when there came a violent ring at the door and my treasurer entered, announcing excitedly that he had been waylaid and relieved of the evening collection. When I suggested that the garrote was an impossibility he replied at once, 'A rumor could not place its knee in the middle of my back, throw its arm around my neck to choke me, and leave a black mark like this.' Now, Satan is not a rumor; we have felt his power; he has left his mark upon us; what is to be gained by denying it?" A sermon on "The Bright Side of Failure" has this illustration: "On the night of the battle of Marston Moor, when the parliamentary army had been defeated by Rupert and his Cavaliers, Oliver Cromwell, the captain of the 7th Troop of Horse, said to his commander, 'The sun has gone down, but the moon is still full; let me advance my men!' And before daybreak he won a victory, driving the Cavaliers like chaff before the wind. Blessed is the man who when the sun is down goes on fighting by moonlight. It is so easy to quit; and God loves not quitters. Pluck up heart, spite of all the day's failures. Has the sun gone down? Fight on! There is still light enough to see by. Quit you like a man to the end! And God will be with you." Dr. Burrell believes in biblical experts, but says: "The true 'biblical experts' are not such as dwell in cloisters and pass upon the Scriptures by the light of midnight oil, but rather those who test the effectiveness of the Word of God in the thick of the fight on the high places of the field. The best judge of a Damascus blade is not a metallurgist, but a soldier who adventures his life upon the quality of the steel, who knows what it has done and can do. The reason why biblical criticism does not awaken much interest in missionary fields is because a man in active service is unlikely to interest himself in demonstrating that his only weapon, which is the Word of God, is a wooden sword." Speaking of the magnificent results already achieved by foreign missions, our preacher says: "To speak of the cost of missionary evangelization is to argue the question on the lowest level; but the simple fact is that no gold-bearing bonds have ever yielded such an income. The amount expended has been but the pin money of the church. There is more money in the finger rings of God's people to-day than in the treasuries of all the boards engaged in the evangelization of the world. What our churches have invested thus far is less than one third of the estimated fortune of a single American multimillionaire, and about one seventh the cost of the British campaign in the Transvaal." Ex-President Benjamin Harrison, speaking at the Ecumenical Conference on Missions held in New York a few years ago, pointed to a Hindu woman who sat

beside him on the platform, and said: "If I had been worth a million and had given it all to foreign missions, and if there were nothing to show for it but this one convert from Brahmanism, I would not want my money back." To this Dr. Burrell adds: "And if all the money and effort thus far spent had not made so much as a momentary rift in the deep darkness of the pagan world, we should still have no alternative but to obey our marching orders, 'Go ye into all the world and evangelize!' But no such strain has been put upon our faith and courage. Great have been the results. And now to the old question, 'What of the night?' there is but one answer from the missionary stations of the world, 'The morning cometh!'" One sermon begins thus: "The Bible is a book of therapeutics. It offers specifics for all the ills that human souls are heir to. Here is one for heart trouble: 'Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.' For pain of conscience, due to conviction of sin: 'Come now, saith the Lord, let us reason together; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.' For a morbid memory, dwelling on a mislived past: 'Forgetting the things which are behind and reaching forth unto those things which are before, let us press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.' For insomnia: 'I will both lay me down in peace and sleep, for thou, Lord, only makest me dwell in safety.' For nervous prostration, resulting from fret and worry: 'Consider the lilies of the field how they grow; your Father careth for them, shall he not much more care for you, O ye of little faith?' For hypochondria, its symptoms being doubt, discouragement, and fear: 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you.'"

The Forgiveness of Sins, and Other Sermons. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 266. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This volume of fifteen sermons, "first preached from the pulpit of Queen's Cross Free Church, Aberdeen," though dedicated to "old comrades," finds a welcome in the hearts of many friends unknown to their author. "Literature and art," writes Dr. Smith in the sermon on "The Song of the Well," "have no more real use for us than to throw us back with new light upon ourselves and our work; showing us how high we stand and how glorious it may be." These are sermons that show the glory of the preacher of a positive message for a world of sin. Noticeable indeed is the fact that the first sermon—the one which gives a title to the book—treats of "The Forgiveness of Sins." "In our youth religion attracts us more by the ideals and aspirations with which she inspires our strength than by the remedies and reliefs which she offers to our weakness. But as the years go on it is the sense of the need of forgiveness of which we became most aware. . . . In what does the forgiveness of sins consist. . . . The element in forgiveness which the Bible most frequently emphasizes is God's new trust in the soul he has pardoned; the faith that despite our frailty, our unworthiness, our guilt; despite the mistrust and despair which the memory of sin induces, God still trusts us, God believes us capable of doing better, God confides to us

the interests and responsibilities of his work on earth." Everywhere in these sermons there are evidences of a most sympathetic study of human nature and human institutions. The student of the Bible knows equally well the man he meets in daily life. Notice, for instance, this summary of the place of the Bible in the sermon on "The Word of God": "One could prove that the Bible built the home and provoked the beginnings of popular education; that it molded new languages; that it articulated and enforced the efforts of young nations toward independence and their destined work for humanity; that it brought health to art and literature; that it enlightened the ignorant and ennobled the humble; that it gave courage to lonely men to stand alone for truth and justice; and that it endowed the oppressed poor of all the centuries with an energy and a hope of struggle with which nothing else could have inspired them." Surely these are the words of a student, and yet the devices of the so-called "scholarly" preacher are lacking—and his sermons are thereby the gainer. There are few quotations, and of the few almost all are from the Scriptures. The pages are broken only two or three times by poetry. There is nothing labored—nothing overcarefully done, nothing changed evidently from its original form. We have the sermons as they were preached—and the love of the preacher for his people and his exultation over his opportunity are not disguised. There is only one illustration, and that from his own personal experience. "I remember," says he in his sermon on "Our Lord's Example in Prayer," "some years ago climbing the Weisshorn, above the Zermatt Valley, with two guides. . . . My leading guide stood aside to let me be first on the top. And I with the long labor of the climb over, and exhilarated by the thought of the great view awaiting me, but forgetful of the high gale that was blowing on the other side of the rocks, sprang eagerly up them and stood erect to see the view. The guide pulled me down—'On your knees, sir; you are not safe there except on your knees.'" There is no attempt at striking originality; still it may be questioned whether ever before a preacher found so much—if indeed anything—in the item in the record of the journeyings of Israel found in Num. 21. 16-18, which the preacher calls happily "The Song of the Well." Few men would make Gideon the central figure in two sermons on doubt—and yet each one who reads them is eager to do so at the next opportunity. "It is remarkable," says Dr. Smith, "that God chose a man who not only had felt the strain of these terrible times but whom the strain had wearied and torn with many doubts. For the very highest work God often chooses men who have doubted. . . . Doubt, if it be honest, means generally the mind to think and the heart to sympathize; and without thought and sympathy I suppose not God himself could make much of any man." Whatever the theme, the sermon leads to Christ. In the sermon on Esau, for example, he says: "Above all, then, lay hold on Christ. He is near you—nearer your youth than ever; if you refuse him now, he can appear to your later years. . . . Have you ever understood what he desires of you? It is not the taking of an arbitrary bond. It is not trust in a bare transaction. It is not assent to a creed. It is the giving of the heart

and will to a living love and victorious example which have never failed any who have put their trust in him." The other sermons in this list, as suggestive as any of those referred to, are on the themes, "Temptation," "While Ye Are in the Light," "The Two Wills," "The Moral Meaning of Hope," "The Good Samaritan," "To Him that Overcometh," and two "Sermons Before Communion."

The Ethical Teaching of Jesus. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 293. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, 50 cents net.

The author of this work is well known as an exponent of the so-called "advanced higher criticism" of the Bible, and we are not disappointed in our expectation to find his views presented frequently in these pages. Yet the reconstruction of the text according to the most recent opinions is not the striking feature in this book. Its plan is simple, to classify the teachings of Jesus Christ. With reference to method, he finds four kinds of the teaching in the recorded words of Jesus: 1. The parabolical; 2. The gnomic form, or logia, after the manner of the wisdom-literature of the Old Testament; 3. The expositions and application of Old Testament teaching, such as were called "Halacha" by the Jews; 4. The prophetic teachings. The principal words of Jesus are arranged under these four divisions. It is the belief of this author that the greater portion of the ethical teaching of Jesus was given originally in the form of the Hebrew Wisdom, in poetic lines, like those in the book of Proverbs. This he affirms to have been the method of the rabbis and wise men of the Jewish people. He would print nearly all the words of Jesus in this manner:

"Whoso findeth his life shall lose it;
And whoso loseth his life shall find it."

"A servant is not greater than his lord;
Neither is one that is sent greater than he that sent him."

"Whosoever doeth the will of God,
The same is my brother and my mother."

"Ask and it shall be given you.
Seek and ye shall find.
Knock and it shall be opened unto you.
For everyone that asketh, receiveth.
And he that seeketh, findeth.
And to him that knocketh, it shall be opened."

Our author would arrange most of the matter in the teachings of Christ, as given in the gospels, in the form of verses like those above. Another classification given is that by subjects, the matter of Christ's teaching regarding the Will of the Father, the Word of Jesus, the Kingdom of God, and other topics, sixteen in all. The arrangement and treatment of these subjects is striking and suggestive. Complete indexes, both topical and textual, add greatly to the usefulness of this book. Some of the opinions expressed in this work will not be acceptable to all its readers, but they will suggest thought and inquiry, and many preachers and Bible students will find the book helpful.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE

Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses. By HENRY SIDGWICK. 8vo, pp. 374. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $2.50.

Marian Evans Cross said Henry Sidgwick was a man whose friends tacitly expected him to conform to moral standards higher than they themselves cared to maintain. That this was true of him in comparison with Mrs. Cross will not be disputed. F. W. H. Myers says that Sidgwick is worthy to receive the tribute which Marcus Aurelius paid to his honored teacher, Maximus: "From Maximus I learned self-government, and not to be led aside by anything; and cheerfulness in all circumstances, even in illness; and a just admixture in the moral character of sweetness and dignity; and to do what was set before me without complaining. I observed that everybody believed that he thought as he spoke, and that in all that he did he never had any bad intention; and he never showed amazement or surprise, nor did he ever laugh to disguise his vexation, nor, on the other hand, was he ever passionate or suspicious. He was accustomed to do acts of beneficence, and was ready to forgive, and was free from all falsehood. He presented the appearance of a man who could not be diverted from right. I observed, too, that no man could ever think that he was despised by Maximus, or ever venture to think himself a better man than Maximus." There is no doubt that Henry Sidgwick was a man of singular sweetness, sincerity, and purity. He was the first President of the Society for Psychical Research. He engaged in the work of that society, investigating spiritualistic phenomena, in the hope that the English mind with its uncompromising matter-of-factness might be able to put the final question to the Universe with such determination and steady persistence as to get from the unseen world some answer, some manifestation, which might be scientific proof of the reality of a spirit world surrounding us and point-blank evidence of human immortality. Such scientific proof he did not obtain, but he was a nobly humble investigator seeking truth and fact; and he felt sure that "the humblest scouts who loyally strive to push forward the frontier of Science, even though Science at first disown them, are certain to hear, in time, her marching legions possess the unfrequented way." In his last illness he said to a devoted friend who had come to see him and was about leaving him, "As I look back on life I see many wasted hours. Yet I cannot be sorry that you should idealize me, if that shows that I have made my ideals felt. We must idealize or we should cease to struggle." The volume of essays and addresses before us, collected and edited, since his death, by his wife and son, falls into three divisions, according as they deal with literature, or economics and sociology, or education. First is a Westminster Review essay on Professor J. R. Seeley's book, Ecce Homo; next a Macmillan's Magazine article on Matthew Arnold; next a study of the poems and prose of Arthur Hugh Clough; next two articles on Shakespeare, with special reference to Julius Cæsar, Coriolanus, and Macbeth Then a group of discussions of the Scope and Method of Economic Science, Economic Socialism, Political Prophecy and

Sociology, the Relation of Ethics to Sociology. Then others on the Theory of Classical Education, Idle Fellowships, and the Pursuit of Culture as an Ideal. Discussing Professor Seeley's book, Mr. Sidgwick notes with it that Christ's teachings make it the positive duty of his followers to attempt the restoration of the criminal classes. Practical men may plausibly urge that such an enterprise is hopeless, but Christ and Maud Ballington Booth and the Salvation Army lay it as a duty upon the church to reclaim the lost, because they do not think it Utopian to suppose that the church may be inspired by that enthusiasm for humanity which can charm away the bad passions of the wildest heart, and open to the savage and the outlaw lurking in moral wildernesses an entrancing view of the holy and tranquil order that broods over the streets and palaces of the city of God. Sidgwick closes his criticism of Seeley's Ecce Homo thus: "His method we think radically wrong; his conclusions only roughly and partially right. But the one thing in which we agree with him outweighs all else. We desire as sincerely as he does that the influence of Jesus on the modern world should increase and not decrease. That his book will produce this effect on the majority of readers we cannot doubt. We cannot possibly have sound history without uncompromising criticism and perpetual controversy; but it is good to be reminded from time to time to drop the glass of criticism and let the dust-clouds of controversy settle. Many students may be led by this book to contemplate devoutly and with more intelligent sympathy the one Life, the one Character, which the world may come to reverence more wisely, but can never love too well." Sidgwick's critical study of Clough and his poetry is extremely self-possessed, discerning, judicious, and lucid. The following is accurate and just: "The external aspect of Clough's career justifies our regarding his life as wasted—at best an interesting failure. [Every faithless, undecided life must inevitably be a failure.] Clough is a man always trying to solve insoluble problems and pondering the eternal mystery of existence—at once inert and restless, finding no fixed basis for life nor any elevated sphere for action, tossed from one occupation to another, and exhausting his energies in work that brought little profit and no fame; a man who cannot suit himself to the world nor the world to himself, who will neither heartily accept earthly conditions and pursue the objects of ordinary mankind, nor positively reject them as a devotee of something different and definite; a dreamer who will not even dream pleasant dreams—a man who makes the worst of both worlds." Clough once wrote of himself: "My reasoning powers are weak, my memory doubtful and confused, my conscience, it may be, calloused or vitiated." As to Clough's poetry, it is not harsh to say in plain candor that very little of it is worth anybody's reading. It really has little or nothing in it to make men wiser or stronger or happier or better. For one thing, skeptical, cynical irony never did anybody any good; and of that there is too much in Clough. In one of his unfinished poems he puts very fairly the feeling toward religion of the average worldling, who makes no pretension of being pious himself, but who considers religion indispensable as a guardian of order, propriety, secur-

ity, and a sort of soothing sirup to the mind in trying hours and experiences. The average well-to-do, respectable man of the world would view with apprehension anything that threatened the overthrow of religion. Clough pictures him as happening to pass along where an attempt is being made to destroy the Christian Faith; this is what the worldling does and says:

> "And the great World, it chanced, came by that way,
> And stopped, and looked, and spoke to the police,
> And said the attempt, for order's sake and peace,
> Most certainly must be suppressed, the nuisance cease.
> His wife and daughter must have where to pray,
> And Whom to pray to, at the least one day
> In seven, and something sensible to say.
> Whether the Fact so many years ago
> Had, or not, happened, how was he to know?
> He took, himself, no living interest in it,
> Yet he had always heard that it was so.
> As for himself, perhaps it was all one;
> And yet he found it not unpleasant, too,
> On Sunday morning in the roomy pew,
> To see the thing with such decorum done.
> As for himself, perhaps it was all one;
> Yet on one's deathbed, all men always said,
> It was a comfortable thing to think upon
> The Atonement and the Resurrection of the dead.
> So the great World, as having said his say,
> Unto his country house pursued his way."

In the essay on Clough this bit is quoted from Emerson: "Everything is beautiful, seen from the point of the intellect; but all is sour if seen as experience. Details are always melancholy; the plan is seemly and noble. It is strange how painful is the actual world—the painful kingdom of time and place. There dwell care and canker and fear. In the realm of thought, in the ideal, is immortal hilarity, the rose of joy." Here is one verse from Clough which reminds us of Tennyson's question, "If the wages of virtue be dust, would we have the heart to endure for the life of the worm and the fly?"

> "But for the steady fore-sense of a freer and larger existence,
> Think you that man could consent to be circumscribed here into action?
> But for assurance within of a limitless ocean divine—o'er
> Whose great tranquil depths unconscious the wind-tossed surface
> Breaks into ripples of trouble that come and change and endure not—
> But that in this, of a truth, we have our being, and know it,
> Think you we men could submit to live and move as we do here?"

And then he exhorts that, as limited beings, we leave knowledge to God, who has it completely and always, and beyond this

> "Let us in His sight accomplish our petty particular doings—
> Yes, and contented sit down to the victual that He has provided."

Referring to Luther, who found irreligion and secularity marking the educated class, including the leading clergy of Germany, the most civil-

ized country in Europe, and who was not willing to let Leo X and Company go on secularizing the age and commercializing religion, Clough says in an ironical passage:

> "He must forsooth make a fuss and distend his huge Wittenberg lungs,
> And bring back theology once yet again in a flood upon Europe."

In his essay on the Pursuit of Culture as an Ideal, Sidgwick asks again the old question of the time of Socrates, "Can virtue be taught?" and answers, "Virtue can be taught by a teacher who loves virtue, but not otherwise; since, as Goethe says, 'Speech that is to stir the heart must from the heart have sprung.'" We have not space to notice the weightier essays which make the bulk of the volume, and in which, for educators, sociologists and political economists, the greater part of its value is found.

Personal and Ideal Elements in Education. By HENRY CHURCHILL KING, President of Oberlin College; Author of Reconstruction in Theology, Theology and the Social Conscience. 12mo, pp. 277. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

This book has much to say to teachers, students, and ministers. The principal conviction underlying its chapters is that in education, in ethics, in religion, and in all true living, the most important facts are persons; and the proposition most insisted on is the essentially fundamental nature of religion in all life, individual and national. Religious faith logically underlies all reasoning, all work worth doing, all strenuous moral endeavor, and all earnest social service. The two chapters of deepest interest to the minister and lying most within his sphere are those on "Christian Training and the Revival as Methods of Converting Men," and "How to Make a Rational Fight for Character," which fill the latter half of the volume. Speaking of the absolutely fundamental nature of religion and its indispensableness to human nature and life, President King repeats that great sentence of Augustine that has voiced the heart of the church through the centuries: "Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our hearts are restless till they find rest in Thee;" and then says: "In our deepest nature we are religious, and we cannot escape it. Man is alone the religious animal, and he cannot escape the demand of religion until he escapes from his deepest self. No wonder Sabatier says man is incurably religious; or that Royce should give the highest worth to religion among the interests of humanity; or that Coe should affirm that 'worship is so wrought into the fiber of our minds that we need only come to ourselves to find God'; or that Granger should say, in arguing for the right of free thought in matters of religion, 'The religious sentiment needs no adventitious aids; for it is safe here to trust the unbiased instincts of mankind. So far as prophecy can reach, it seems certain that man will always worship, and also that the symbols of the Christian tradition will afford the ultimate vehicle of his devotion. We can hardly do less, therefore, than to confess with George Macdonald that 'Life and religion are one, or neither is anything. Religion is no way of life, no show of life, no observance of any sort. It is neither the food nor the medicine of being. It is life essential.' Religion is the one absolutely fundamental necessity." Referring to the reasonable-

ness and, so to speak, the naturalness of spiritual communion between the Great Spirit and man who also is a spirit, Dr. King quotes the familiar sentence from Pfleiderer: "Why should it be less possible for God to enter into loving fellowship with us than for men to do so with each other? I should be inclined to think that He is even more capable of doing so." In writing of Christian training and the revival, five dangers of the merely educational method in religion are pointed out: 1. The danger of overemphasis on the intellectual side. 2. The danger of lacking a powerful grip through feeling upon the life of a man. 3. The danger of losing the sense of God in it all. 4. The danger of losing a deep significant inner life as the support of all outer activity. 5. The danger of ignoring basic temperamental differences among men. Next some liabilities of the revival method are mentioned: 1. The mistake of demanding one uniform type of experience from all men; thus laying emphasis upon a particular form of religious experience rather than upon the real fundamental ethical relation to God and to men; and leading men to try to imitate others' experience; and sometimes throwing into darkness if not despair some of the most conscientious and sincere men and women because they had not attained to experiences related by persons of a different temperament and history. 2. The liabilities that sometimes attend sudden and marked experiences. 3. The danger of a somewhat mechanical and practically superstitious view of the work of the Spirit of God in the hearts of men. 4. The danger of failure in sensitive, delicate reverence for the personality and the moral initiative of men. In President King's book there is no lack of emphasis upon the need and value of the crisal hours marked by awakenings of conscience, deep conviction, change of heart, when we pass from the easy and careless mood to the sober and strenuous state of thought and feeling—hours which make new men of us, and of which even Matthew Arnold wrote, when

> "A bolt is shot back somewhere in our breast,
> And a lost pulse of feeling stirs again."

Laying stress on the importance of religious feeling, Dr. King refers to the strong effort of William James to rehabilitate the element of feeling in religion and to subordinate its intellectual past, and quotes him where he says: "Individuality is founded in feeling; and the recesses of feeling are the only places in the world in which we catch real fact in the making, and directly perceive how events happen, and how work is actually done"; and Coe is quoted as saying that "We are suffering not from an excess of emotion in religion, but rather from the little emotion, from the narrowness of our emotional range." One chapter of preëminent practical value is the last, on "How to Make a Rational Fight for Character." It grew from the attempt to answer this question which an old pupil brought to the President of Oberlin, "What are we to do in those poorer movements when the higher motives have lost their power to appeal?" One answer given is: "In such low moments let a man say to himself, '*Everything is now at stake; it is fight or die.*' Let him say, 'I have simply to let myself go on along this line in which I am now tempted, to have it all over

with me, and to be lost, absolutely lost.'" One incident given to illustrate the fight for character is this: "There was seen some time ago, in the city of Denver, a man running, as for his life, through the suburbs of that city. An on-looker could scarcely have guessed what the man was running for. As a matter of fact, he was fighting for his very life against the liquor habit, and the appetite was fearfully strong upon him just then. He dared not stop to consider or argue the matter at all; he knew just one thing—he must get out of the range of the saloons or sink again into the abyss of ruin. His only safety was in running. So he ran and was saved." Dr. King quotes from Hugh Price Hughes's introduction to a recent edition of Wesley's Journal: "He who desires to understand the real history of the English people during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries should read most carefully three books—George Fox's Journal, John Wesley's Journal, and John Henry Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua. . . . The Religious Question cannot be ignored. It is *the* Question; in the deepest sense it is the only Question. It has always determined the course of history everywhere." He also quotes Brierley: "Spite of the modern assertion to the contrary, our problems of living are finally religious, and look to religion for their solution." On another topic Emerson's fine saying is quoted: "The office of a friend is to make us do our best."

Niagara and Other Poems. By BENJAMIN COPELAND. 12mo, pp. 133. Buffalo and New York: The Matthews-Northrup Works. Sold by Eaton & Mains, New York, and by H. H. Otis's Sons, Buffalo. Price, cloth, $1.

These verses were born out of a soul's life. They show a broadening and deepening of feeling from the author's later experiences since the issue of his previous volume of poetry several years ago. This book takes its title from the opening apostrophe to the majesty and power of Niagara, which now the dry lips and greedy gulping thirst of commercialism are threatening to drink up entirely. Some poems of Nature follow; we should like to quote entire the ten simple yet exquisite verses entitled "The Meadow Air is Sweet." Characterization and justification of the poet are in the verse:

> "To lift and lighten the heart of man
> Was ever the Poet's lofty plan;—
> Confederate with stars and sun,
> His songs their radiant courses run."

Some of these poems express the tender and trembling pathos, the submissive grief, of domestic bereavement. The touching verses entitled "Little Theodore," on page 81, were finished in the morning of the day on which the beautiful boy's face was covered with the coffin lid, the first copy of these verses clasped within his little fingers. The lines remind us of Browning's Evelyn Hope. On page 85 is "The Easter Answer," full of the Christian's consolation at the grave-side. Most of the poems in this volume are religious and flow up from the deep places of the soul. "Out of the Depths" would be a not unsuitable title. Some of them are only one verse long, as "A Sure Foundation":

"Hold firmly, for thy soul's behoof,
This holy faith, divinely broad:—
The good in us is blessed proof
Of goodness infinite in God."

Two admirable verses are entitled "Assurance":

"Not where the Martyrs knelt, but where *we* kneel,
Is holy ground for us and ours;—
Not what the Saints have felt, but what *we* feel,
With strength divine the fainting soul empowers.

"Not what the Apostles held, but what *we* hold,
Makes radiant death's dread mystery;—
From *living* faith, deep-welled, has onward rolled
The widening stream of Christian history."

The poems in this volume are pure, sensitive, alive, sincere, unstilted, genuine. They are capable of bringing a comforting, cheering, and inspiring message to many minds.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

The Heart of Asbury's Journal. Edited by EZRA SQUIER TIPPLE, D.D. 8vo, pp. 720. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The making of this book is a distinct service to the church. It should stand on Methodist shelves alongside Wesley's Journals, which it resembles in piety and sense, in reflecting the prodigious labors and in giving the spirit of the life of one of the greatest of God's strong servants; the two books together recording the early history of Methodism in England and in America. No adequate portraiture of the character of Asbury exists as yet in our literature. We point out this lack as offering a fine chance for some master hand to achieve distinction and render a service by giving the church a great monograph on Francis Asbury. The nearest possible approach to that is the view of this heroic leader of American Methodism furnished by The Heart of Asbury's Journal now presented by Dr. Tipple. It is simple justice to say that the selections are so wisely made that the book before us justifies its title by giving us the parts which are most significant and essential, and which taken together set before us a complete picture of Asbury and his labors. In one comprehensive sentence in his Introduction Dr. Tipple describes the work of our great pioneer bishop, "who for half a century, like a spiritual Atlas, bore the American continent on his shoulders; builded altars in almost every city and town in the land and kindled thereon fires which have not yet gone out; heralded the doctrine of democracy when our nation was in the throes of a gigantic conflict with Paternalism and Aristocracy; inculcated respect for law and created ideals of righteousness and citizenship along the mountain roads, and through the trackless forests, where Civilization walked with slow yet conquering steps; kept Hope alive in thousands of hearts where Despair ever stood at the door with a coffin; startled the im-

penitent to action, halted the reckless in their mad pursuit after forbidden pleasures, comforted myriads in their sorrows and agonies, and like a tender mother cherished multitudes from New Hampshire to the Southern sea who had received remission of sins; and sowed the seeds which, growing up, have made Methodism in its history, its spirit, and its purpose an American Church." The Journal as presented in this volume begins with August 7, 1771, at Bristol, England, and ends with December 7, 1815, at Granby, South Carolina; although Asbury lived nearly four months after that last entry, preaching his last sermon at Richmond, Virginia, March 24, 1816, and dying twenty miles from Fredericksburg on Sunday, March 31, at the home of his friend George Arnold, in whose family burying ground his remains rested until removed to the vault of Eutaw Street Church in Baltimore, where they reposed until in 1854 they found their final rest in Mount Olivet Cemetery in Baltimore, in which are also the graves of Robert Strawbridge, Reuben Ellis, Wilson Lee, Nathan Richardson, Jesse Lee, Hamilton Jefferson, John Haggerty, Abner Neal, James Smith, Enoch George, John Emory, Beverly Waugh, and others of Methodism's glorious dead. The history of American Methodism up to 1815 is largely contained in Asbury's Journal, which has previously been published in three volumes, but Dr. Tipple has condensed into one volume, giving us the pith of the whole, and interspersing many concise but illuminating explanatory and historical notes. The intense ardor, incredible hardships, and fervent evangelism of the pioneer preachers are reflected in this Journal. It is difficult to choose what to select for quotation from the wonderful story of the life of this greatest of American itinerant bishops, who for thirty-two years traveled annually a larger episcopal see than any bishop of any church ever continuously ruled and covered. One thing which increases our wonder at his enormous labors is the fact that much of the time he traveled and toiled in a condition of ill health and suffering which would seem to forbid all exertion. In this appears the resolute will and the heroic fiber of the man. Another marked fact is that because of weakening illness, physical torture and exhaustion, and perhaps from a despondent tendency in his constitution, he suffered much from extreme depression of spirits, against which he often had a terrible fight. On May 26, 1799, his Journal says: "This day entered the state of Delaware. I have had great dejection of mind, and awful calculations of what may be and what may never be. I have now groaned along three hundred miles from Baltimore." In the summer of 1776 he spent a season at the hot springs of Virginia for the recovery of his health. Accommodations were not of the best. He writes: "The house in which I live at the springs is not the most agreeable; the size of it is twenty feet by sixteen, and there are seven beds and sixteen persons therein, and some noisy children. So I dwell among briers and thorns; but my soul is in peace." He criticises Samuel Spragg, one of his preachers, as follows: "He uses pompous, swelling words, which pass for something great with short-sighted people, but are not calculated to do them much spiritual good." One Sunday evening after a day of preaching, he found himself shut up in the company of "men who were destitute

of religion, and full of sin and politics." Of them he writes, "We were glad to have prayer in the morning and leave them. If there were no other hell than the company of wicked men, I would say, From such a hell, good Lord, deliver me!" He gives his experience with a family at whose house he was entertained at West Farms, near New York: "After supper I asked the family if we should have prayer. They looked at one another and said there was need enough. The next morning, when I asked a blessing before breakfast, they seemed amazed. I told them they lacked nothing but religion. The old father said it was not well to be too religious. The son said he thought we could not be too good." Of his first sermon after his ordination as bishop he says, "My mind was unsettled, and I was low in my testimony." In June, 1776, he was fined twenty-five dollars for preaching the gospel. The next June he laid aside his wig, and began the daily use of the cold bath for his health. In May, 1785, he called on George Washington, and heard him express his opinion against slavery. At Bath Springs he found "the living very expensive, four dollars per week." Concerning his Journals Asbury himself wrote, "Perhaps if they are not published before, they will be after my death, to let my friends and the world see how I have employed my time in America. I feel the worth of souls, and the weight of the pastoral charge, and that the conscientious discharge of its important duties requires something more than human learning, large salaries, or clerical titles of D.D., or even of Bishop." Sixteen years before his death Asbury tried to resign his episcopal office, but the General Conference refused to allow him to do so. In 1800, while traveling through Connecticut and Massachusetts he wrote: "The simplicity and frugality of New England are desirable—you see the woman a wife, a mother, mistress, and maid, and in all these characters a conversable woman; she seeth to her own house, parlor, kitchen, and dairy; here are no noisy negroes lounging and running about. If you wish to breakfast at six or seven o'clock there is no setting the table an hour before the provision can be produced." In South Carolina he writes: "I cannot record great things in religion in this quarter, *but cotton sells high.* I fear there is more gold than grace." In 1802, after preaching in a certain house in South Carolina he wrote: "It was not at all agreeable to me to see nearly a hundred slaves standing outside and peeping in at the door, while the house was half empty. They were not worthy to come in because they were black! Farewell to that house forever!" Leaving New York to travel through country regions in June, 1802, he indulges in this expression of his pleasure in the change: "How sweet to me are the moving and still-life scenes which now surround me on every side! The quiet country houses, the fields and orchards, bearing promises of the fruitful year, the hills and vales, and dewy meads, the flocks and herds, the gliding streams and murmuring brooks! And thou, too, Solitude, with thy attendants, Silence and Meditation, how dost thou solace my pensive mind after the tempest of fear, and care, and tumult, and talk, experienced in the noisy, bustling city!" Wherever he went, this great apostle not only preached and prayed, but sowed the seed of life by distributing tracts and pamphlets and books. Riding

through Pennsylvania he says: "People call me by my name as they pass me on the road, and I hand them a religious tract in German or English; or I call at a door for a glass of water, and leave a little pamphlet. How may I be more useful? I am old and feeble and sick, and can do little." In New York state he wrote: "We reached New Durham. I prayed at Runyan's and gave away books. The people wanted to hear me; spent with labor and sorrow, how could I preach? I hope the truth was felt." Stopping at another house he "prayed heartily for the family, and gave them some good books, and blessed the household in the name of the Holy Trinity." On his way to Wilmington, North Carolina, he writes in 1811: "I am happy, my heart is pure and my eye is single; but I am sick and weak and in heaviness by reason of suffering and labor. Sometimes I am ready to cry out, 'Lord, take me home to rest!' Courage, my soul!" To this saddlebags apostle, living mostly on the road, often shelterless in rough weather and wild regions, the generous hospitalities of Baltimore seemed too luxurious, and he writes: "O the clover of Baltimore circuit! Ease, ease, not for me! Rather toil, suffering, coarse food, hard lodging, bugs, fleas, and certain et ceteras besides!" At Germantown, Philadelphia, the sick and worn bishop was attended by two eminent physicians, Dr. Benjamin Rush and Dr. Physic, the latter of whom was called "the father of American surgery." Asbury expressed his gratitude for the relief they gave him and inquired of them what he should pay for their services. They answered, "Nothing but an interest in your prayers." At once the bishop said, "As I do not like to be in debt we will pray now;" and he knelt down and prayed that God would bless and reward them for their kindness to him. On a June day in 1811 he writes: "I read Adam Clarke, and am amused as well as instructed. He indirectly unchristianizes all old bachelors. Woe is me! It was not good that *Adam* should be alone for better reasons than any that Adam Clarke had given!" In 1804 Asbury set down in his Journal the reasons why he never married: "If I should die in celibacy, which I think quite probable, I give the following reasons for what can scarcely be called my choice: I began my public exercises in my seventeenth year; at twenty-one I traveled; at twenty-six I came to America. It had been my intention to return to Europe at thirty years of age, but the war continued and it was ten years before we had a settled, lasting peace. This was no time to marry. At forty-nine I was made bishop. Among the duties imposed upon me by my office was that of traveling extensively, and I could hardly expect to find a woman with grace enough to enable her to live but one week out of fifty-two with her husband. Besides, what right has any man to take advantage of the affections of a woman, make her his wife, and by a voluntary absence subvert the whole order and economy of the marriage state, by separating those whom neither God, nature, nor the requirements of civil society permit to be put asunder? It is neither generous nor just. I may add to this that I had little money, and with this I ministered to the needs of a beloved mother till I was fifty-seven. If I have done wrong I hope God and the sex will forgive me. It is my duty now to bestow the pittance I may have to spare upon the widows and fatherless girls and poor married

men." In 1812, when Asbury heard what had happened to one of his preachers, Rev. Nicholas Snethen, he wrote: "Great Snethen is chaplain to Congress! So; we begin to partake of the honor that cometh from man. Now is our time of danger. O Lord, keep us pure, keep us correct, keep us holy!" Joshua Marsden, of the British Conference, who labored many years in Nova Scotia, in his admirable description of Asbury, wrote: "As a preacher, though not an orator, he was dignified, eloquent, and impressive; his sermons were the result of good sense and sound wisdom, delivered with great authority and gravity, and often attended with a divine unction which made them refreshing as the dews of heaven. His talents as a preacher were respectable, but his chief excellence lay in governing; for this no man was better qualified. He presided with dignity, moderation, and firmness over a large body of men, all of whom are as tenacious of liberty and equal rights as any in the world; and yet each of them submitted to an authority founded upon reason, maintained with inflexible integrity, and exercised only for the good of the whole." Among Asbury's dear friends was Governor Van Cortlandt, of New York State, who was a hearty Methodist, very rich, inheriting much of the old Cortlandt manor, and living in a spacious mansion near the mouth of the Croton River. Besides Bishop Asbury, Lafayette, Washington, Franklin, and Whitefield were entertained there. One of the most pathetic and characteristic entries in Asbury's Journal was on July 19, 1814, in which he tells how the old bishop broke away from the tender affection which wished to detain and nurse him in order to prosecute his journey and his work. "I would not be loved to death," he says, "and so came down from my sick room and took to the road, weak enough. Attentions constant and kindness unceasing have pursued me to this place (Greensburg, Pennsylvania), and now my strength is increasing. I look back upon a martyr's life of toil and privation and pain, and I am ready for a martyr's death. The purity of my intentions, my diligence in the labors to which God has called me, the unknown sufferings I have endured—what are all these? The merit, atonement, and righteousness of Christ alone make my plea!" There ought to be no weaklings, no cowards, no sluggards, nor shirks among the spiritual descendants of such men as Wesley, Coke, and Asbury. This book and The Heart of Wesley's Journal ought to be in every Methodist home, side by side. They are truly great books.

Christian Life in the Primitive Church. By ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ, D.D., Ordinary Professor of New Testament Theology in the University of Strasburg. Translated by Rev. GEORGE BREMNER, B.D., and Edited by Rev. W. D. MORRISON, LL.D. Pp. xxxix, 438. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. London: Williams & Norgate. 1901. Price, $3.

This is one of the Theological Translation Library of the London publishers, Williams & Norgate, whose motto is the apocryphal utterance of Galileo, "E pur si muove" ("Yet it does move"), and who have done for liberal and Unitarian German literature what the famous Presbyterian brothers T. & T. Clark of Edinburgh have done for evangelical. Now the liberals seem to have the field, Clark's Foreign Theological Library having had no additions for some years, though they were never narrow

in their appropriation of the best things in German scholarship. Does this quiescence of the Clark Library mean that theological liberals are more intellectually alert, that they read more books, than conservatives? Professor von Dobschütz is a conservative Ritschlian, and, like too many of the younger scholars of Germany, a disciple of Harnack. He rejects the apostolic authorship of 1 Peter, assigns John's writings to a "John of Asia Minor" who wrote in the early part of the second century, and thinks the Epistle to the Ephesians the effusion of a "profound Christian thinker" who had been influenced by Paul. It is remarkable how easily the German critics and their American imitators pick up "profound Christian thinkers" in postapostolic times to father the most spiritually quickening and original writings of the New Testament, while we know that writings which belong to the second century or thereabouts are comparatively jejune, prolix, lifeless. To the New Testament books these are like a sand heap to Mont Blanc! However, these critical views of Dobschütz are never obtruded, and for the investigation which he has on hand do not affect the great and lasting value of his most interesting and valuable book. He quotes at the start the beautiful description of the moral life of the Christian by Aristides, and places side by side the darker picture of Hermas, and then asks, Which is the truer picture? What was the ethics of early Christianity? How far did the first Christians prove true to the moral teachings of Christ and the apostles? We do not remember now a single book which sets before it this exact task, though, of course, books in church history and in the history of Christian ethics touch this field. (See the literature in the last edition of Schaff, i, 432, ii, 311, 312.) With untiring patience, with ample scholarship, with inner appreciation of the true spirit of Christianity, with impartial judgment on the whole, Dobschütz carries forward his investigation of the life of the primitive Christian churches, first taking up the New Testament, then considering the writings of the first half of the second century, and he comes to the conclusion that on the whole Aristides was right, that Christianity vindicated itself as the only divine religion in its moral transformations, and that it conquered the world by the heavenly dynamic of its holiness and its love. The author treats with discrimination and justice the relation of the early Christians to slavery, to social customs, to asceticism, to riches, to labor, etc. He quotes Hausrath's view, that "to-day, after the gospel has worked in the human heart for eighteen centuries, the most desolate Christian church approaches the ideal of the Sermon on the Mount more closely than the most outstanding of the second century," but thinks that does injustice to the early church. There were grave lapses, but Christianity gave new life to every society which it touched. "This is no imaginary picture," says Dobschütz (p. 371); "every single fact has been supported by documentary evidence. The apologists were thoroughly entitled to represent morality in the Christian churches as Aristides has done. Heathen like Pliny, Lucian, Celsus, were compelled even against their will to witness to the correctness of the picture. The Christians themselves were well aware that it was not sufficient to point to their splendid and marvelous moral teaching if its realiza-

tion in actual practice failed. . . . It is equally clear indeed that the ideal was not always realized. But offenses against it were exceptional, and have less significance, as they awoke at once the moral consciousness of the spiritual leaders and of the congregations." "By their fruits ye shall know them," said the Christ. "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, that ye love one another." And Dobschütz thinks that it was the compelling attraction of Christian life and love that won the empire for the cross. "It was as a charitable organization that the Christian church carried to a victorious issue its mighty contest with the Roman empire, the heathen religion, and its own sects" (p. 378). It is not necessary to say with our author that "Christianity did not owe its final victory to superiority of dogma." It did and it did not. *The life sprang from the faith*, and faith in Christ as Saviour had in it the germ of the later dogma of his divinity. Nor was it merely to its higher moral teaching that Christianity owed its victory; for, as the author truly says, Stoicism and Neoplatonism produced fine moral thoughts. "Yet neither of them could enable artisans and old women to lead a truly philosophical life. Christianity could and did; the apologists point triumphantly to the realization of the moral ideal among Christians of every standing. That was due to the power which issued from Jesus Christ and really transformed men. The certainty and confidence of faith based on him, with reliance on God's grace in Jesus Christ, begot in Christians a matchless delight in doing good. Joy in good was more potent than abhorrence of evil. In the midst of an old and dying world this new world springs up with the note of victory running through it: 'If God be with us, who can be against us?' 'And this is the victory which overcometh the world, even your faith'" (p. 379). In the appendix are six scholarly and long notes: 1. On ancient statistics. 2. On slavery among the ancients. 3. On the divine judgment in Corinth. 4. On James, the Lord's brother. 5. On vegetarianism in the ancient world. 6. On the terminology of morality—this last alone almost worth to the New Testament student the price of the book, which closes with complete indices. We only wish that Dr. Morrison had thrown his editorial scissors into one of his Scotch firths when he took up Dobschütz's Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden: sittengeschichtliche Bilder, or Bremner's excellent translation, and made no omissions whatever. Why cut out the author's dedication to his friend, Professor Drews, or the valuable note on p. ix of the original which tells us where Hegesippus and Hippolytus placed the golden egg of the church? Nor was there any need of abbreviating the bibliography (p. 264 of original, p. 380 of translation).

MISCELLANEOUS

Doctor Luke of the Labrador. By NORMAN DUNCAN, Professor of English in Washington and Jefferson College. 12mo, pp. 342. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, $1.50.

A story of the Labrador coast, with vivid pictures of the life of its fisher folk, full of hardship, heroism, patience, and simple pathos; a story

of love and crime and tragedy and tenderness. The wild waves foam over its pages and the sea winds flutter its leaves; salt water and salt air from first to last. Here are the words of a Labrador boy coming early under the dangerous fascination of the sea: "When the weather turned civil I would away to the summit of the Watchman—a scamper and a mad climb—to watch the doughty little schooners on their way. And it made my heart swell and flutter to see them dig their noses into the swelling seas—to watch them heel and leap and make the white dust fly—to feel the rush of the wet wind that drove them—to know that the gray path of a thousand miles was every league of the way beset with peril. Brave craft! Stout hearts to sail them! It thrilled me to watch them beating up the sudsy coast, lying low and black in the north, and through the leaden, ice-strewn seas, with the murky night creeping in from the open. I, too, would be the skipper of a schooner, and sail with the best of them! 'A schooner an' a wet deck for me!' thought I." The book closes with the dying of Skipper Tommy, just as a new day, bright, clean, and benignant, is coming up out of the sea. Hear the grateful, good old man: "The Lard gave me work. Blessed be the name of the Lard! The Lard gave me pain. Blessed be the name of the Lard! The Lard gave me love. Blessed be the name of the Lard! The Lard showed himself to me. 'Skipper Tommy,' says the Lard, 'let's you and me be friends. You'll never regret it, boy, if you make friends with me,' says the Lard. Blessed be the name of the Lard!" And he tells how death seems to him: "'Tis like wakin' from a troubled dream, to the sunlight of a new day. The Lard takes our hand and says to us: 'The day is broke. Dream no more, but rise, child o' mine, and come into the sunshine with me!' 'Tis only that, only his gentle touch and the wakin'. Don't you go gettin' scared. 'Tis a lovely thing—that's comin' to you!"

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